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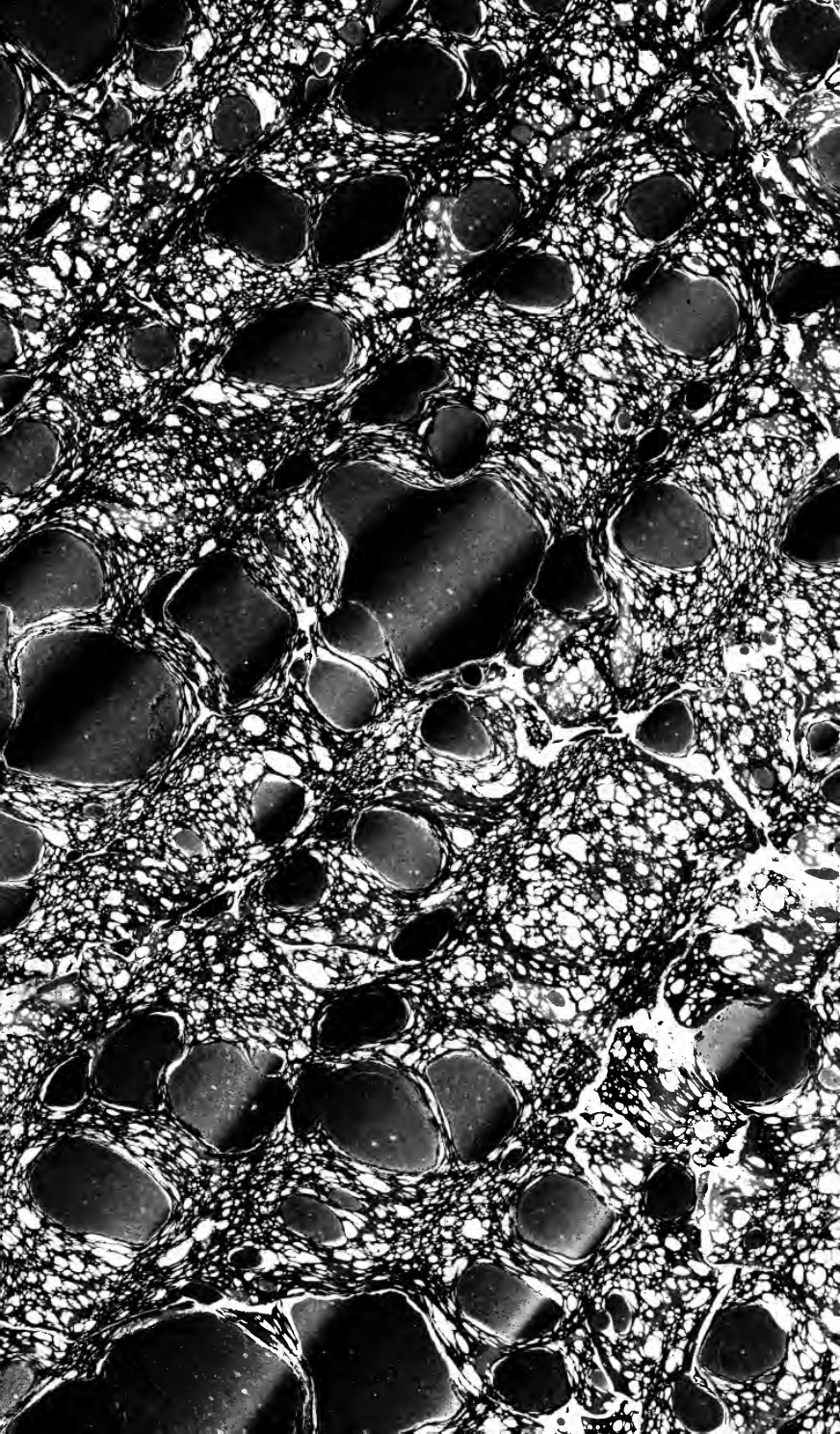
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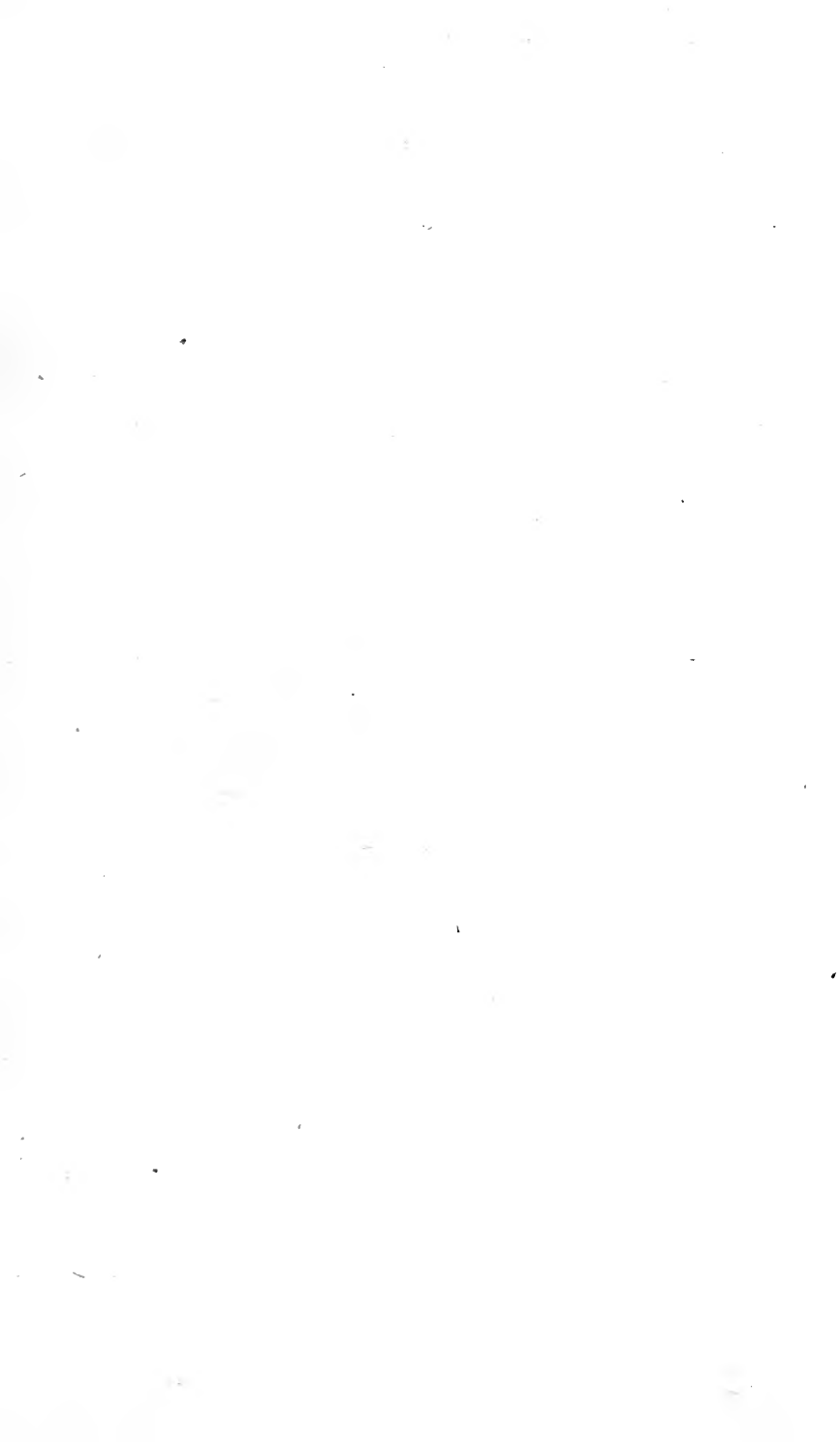














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# CONTENTS

OF

No. XXXVII.

ART.	PAGE.
I.—The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, which obtained the Gold Medal and Prize of the Royal Irish Academy. By George Petrie, R. H. A. —V. P. R. I. A. Dublin: Hodges and Smith. ...	1
II.—1. The Natural History of Man, comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family. By James Cowles Prichard, M.D. London: 1843.	
2. Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. By James Cowles Prichard, M. D. London: 1844. ...	67
III.—1. Vox Stellarum; or, a Loyal Almanac for the Year 1845. By Francis Moore, Physician. London: 1844.	
2. Combination of the Zodiacal and Cometical Systems, (printed for the London Society, Exeter Hall,) London: 1843.	
3. The Triumphal Chariot of Friction. London: 1829.	
4. The Sublime Science of Heliography; or, the Sun no other than a Body of Ice; overturning all the received Systems of the Universe. London: 1798.	
Cum multis aliis. ... ..	99
IV.—Hawkstone, a Tale of and for England in 184—. In 2 vols. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1845.	129
V.—Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq., M. P., on the Extension and Improvement of Academical, Collegiate, and University Education in Ireland, at the Meeting held for that purpose at Cork, Nov. 13, 1844, with Notes documentary and illustrative. London: 1845. ...	145

# CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE.
VI.—Egypt and Mehemet Ali. 3 vols. 12mo. Newby, 1845. By Prince Pückler Muskau. ... .. 174	
VII.—1. Lettres, Instructions, et Memoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse. Par le Prince Alexandre Labanoff. 7 tomes. Londres : Charles Dolman, 1844.	
2. Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots. Edited by Agnes Strickland. H. Colburn, 1844.	
3. Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots. By William Turn- bull, Esq.	
4. History of Scotland. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq. Vols. 6, 7, and 8, containing the Life of Queen Mary. 1842. ... .. 195	
VIII.—The History of Sweden, translated from the original of Anders Fryxell. Edited by Mary Howitt, 2 vols. London : 1844. ... .. 229	
IX.—Palæographia Sacra Pictoria ; being a series of Illustra- tions of the Ancient Versions of the Bible, copied from Illustrated MSS. executed between the Fourth and Sixteenth centuries. 4to. By J. O. Westwood, F. L. S. London : William Smith, 1845. ... .. 265	
Notices of Books. ... .. 271.	

# CONTENTS

OF

No. XXXVIII.

ART.	PAGE.
I.—The Military History of the Irish Nation; comprising a Memoir of the Irish Brigade, in the service of France. By the late Matthew O'Connor, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. Dublin: 1845. ... ..	281
II.—Anthologia Germanica—German Anthology; a Series of Translations, from the most Popular of the German Poets. By James Clarence Mangan, post 8vo, 2 vols. Dublin: 1845. ... ..	312
III.—1. De l'influence du Clergé en Belgique. Par M. de Decker, Membre de la Chambre des Representans. Bruxelles: 1843.	
2. Journal Historique et Littéraire de Liège, 1842-3-4-5.	
3. Almanach Royal Officiel de Belgique. Bruxelles: 1845.	
4. Journal de Bruxelles, Politique, Litterature et Commerce. 1845.	
5. Histoire de la Belgique. Par le Chanoine J. de Smet, 2 vols. cinquième edition, Gand: 1839.	332
IV.—The Ballad Poetry of Ireland. Edited by Charles Gavan Duffy. Dublin: 1845. ... ..	373
V.—Brownson's Quarterly Review. Nos. v., vi., vii., viii., January—October, 1845. Boston. ... ..	390
VI.—1. German Protestantism, and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. A brief History of German Theology, from the Reformation to the Present Time. In a Series of Letters to a Layman. By Edward H. Dewar, M. A., 8vo. Oxford and London: 1844.	

# CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE.
2. A Letter to D. A. Neander, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, &c., containing some Remarks on his Review of a Work, entitled "German Protestantism, and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture." By Edward H. Dewar, M. A., 8vo. Oxford and London: 1845. ... ..	401
VII.—1. A briefe instruction and maner howv to keepe bookes of Accompts after the order of Debitor and Creditor, &c.....Newely augmented and set forth by John Mellis Scholemaister. Imprinted at London: 1588.	
2. The Elements of Book-keeping. By P. Kelly L.L.D. London: 1839, Eleventh Edition.	
3. Double Entry Elucidated. By B. F. Foster. London: 1843. ... ..	433
VIII.—The Plea of Conscience for Seceding from the Catholic Church to the Romish Schism, in England. A Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, Nov. 5th, 1845. By W. Sewell, B. D. To which is prefixed an Essay on the process of Conscience. Oxford: Parker. ... ..	453
IX.—Le Prêtre, la Femme, et la Famille—Priests, Women, and Families. By T. Michelet, translated from the French, (third edition,) with the Author's permission, by C. Cocks. London: 1845. ... ..	458
X.—A short Series of Lectures, on the Parochial and Collegiate Antiquities of Edinburgh; read at the Holy Guild of St. Joseph, by a Member of the Guild. Edinburgh, J. Marshall: 1845. ... ..	519
XI.—1. An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. By John Henry Newman. London: Toovey, 1845.	
2. A Letter, on Submitting to the Catholic Church. By Frederick Oakeley, M. A. London: Toovey, 1845.	
3. Twenty-two Reasons for entering the Catholic Church. By Thomas William Marshall, Author of 'Notes on the Catholic Episcopate.' ... ..	522
Notices of Books, ... ..	545

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ART. I.—*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, which obtained the Gold Medal and Prize of the Royal Irish Academy.* By GEORGE PETRIE, R. H. A.—V. P. R. I. A. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.

IT rarely falls to the lot of an Irishman, writing upon Irish subjects, to gain such favour from his countrymen, as Mr. Petrie appears to have gained by this work. It has been so well received by all parties, that we trust the time has at length come, when Irish literature and art can be discussed without that political prejudice which too often disgraced them. The work embraces topics of exciting national interest; for though originally a short essay on the Round Towers, read thirteen years ago before the Royal Irish Academy, it has now grown into a quarto volume of more than 450 pages, comprising, together with copious documents on the civilization of Pagan Ireland, historical and monumental evidences of Christian Ireland, previous to the Norman invasion, never yet published. To most people, its chief merit will be the discussion on the Round Towers; but whatever may be the fate of that controversy, Mr. Petrie's name must for ever rank among the first of our ecclesiastical historians. On that period of which he treats, he combines in his own person excellencies never before united; an intimate acquaintance with our written history, supported by its collateral but hitherto sadly neglected evidences, in those churches, monasteries, and other monuments of religious art, which have survived more than a thousand years.

Though we knew the temperate and reverent spirit of  
VOL. XIX.—NO. XXXVII.

Mr. Petrie's contributions on Irish matters to some of our popular periodicals, though we saw the same spirit in the section of the Londonderry Memoir drawn up under his care, though his Academical Essays on Tara Hill, Irish military architecture, ancient Irish bells, and other objects of Irish religious art, had established his fame for candour and original research; yet, when we heard that in his present work he was to speak of monumental crosses and prayers for the dead, of shrines and pilgrimages, of monks and legends of the saints, of holy wells and monasteries, and ancient Irish religious paintings and sculptures; and when we thought of the way in which such subjects have generally been discussed by Irish Protestants, we could not be sure that he would not let some word escape him unworthy of the historian. We had no certainty that sacred Archæology would be treated in Ireland, as it has been in England and on the Continent, even by those who regard it merely as a matter of history. But happily, we can say, after a diligent study of Mr. Petrie's work, that except on one or two points of fact, of which he gives no proof, there is not a single expression offensive to Catholic feeling.

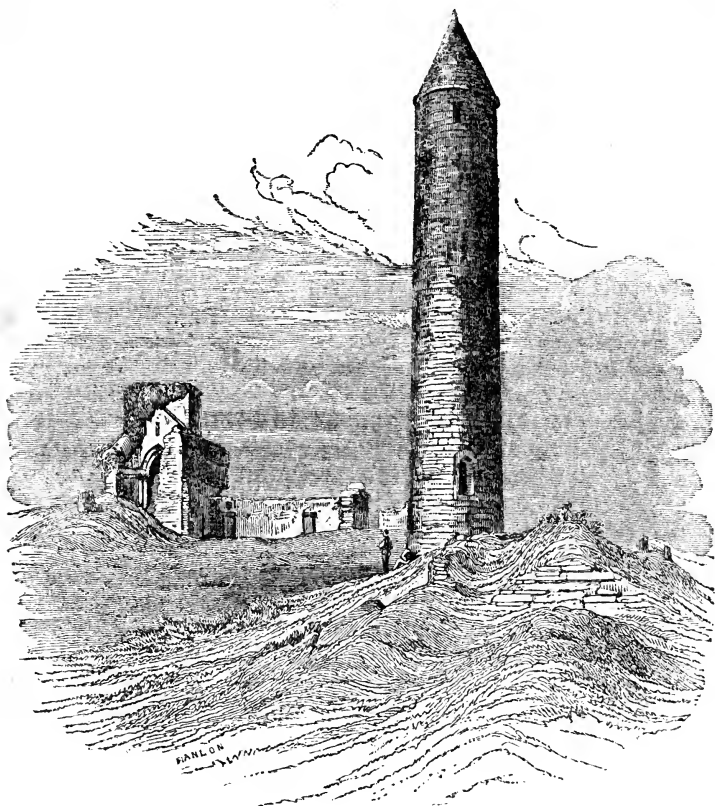
As it would be absolutely impossible, within the short compass of a Review, to give any thing like an adequate notion of the various subjects treated with elaborate verbal description and artistic illustrations in a work of 500 pages, the best that can be done, is to select what is more closely connected with the great objects of public curiosity, and of Mr. Petrie's original design—the origin and uses of the Round Towers of Ireland. Around those venerable monuments of the olden times, he has grouped the scattered relics of religious art which have escaped the hand of time, and political convulsions and pagan and modern barbarism. They are the gleanings of a life nobly devoted to the highest purpose that ever animated the human heart; the rescuing from ruin of the religious monuments of his calumniated land, and the restoration of Ireland's right to as high a rank in the kindred arts, as she confessedly held in religious and profane learning. If, therefore, we cannot dwell on each of those beautiful crosses that marked the graves of our father, with their simple but solemn petition of a prayer for the artist or the dead; if we cannot trace the endless variety of form into which Irish piety wrought the symbol of faith on the covers of their books, the walls



of their churches, and the shrines of the saints; if we cannot follow the copious details of a primitive Irish ecclesiastical establishment, with its snow-white oratories, holy groves and stone-roofed cells; it is because such subjects are too important to be passed over briefly, and afford ample materials for a separate notice. It would be unjust to Mr. Petrie, to compress within a few pages his specimens of ornamental architecture from Glendaloch, Rahen Church, Killaloe, Clonmacnoise, Cong Abbey, Cormac's Chapel, Tuam Cathedral, and other buildings, and it will be more useful to our general design to give, at some length, the train of evidence by which he proves that from the earliest periods the Irish erected stone churches, and of course could, if they wished, erect the Round Towers. Besides, as many of those plain primitive churches are still found in several parts of Ireland, where one would least expect to find them after the convulsions of centuries, it must please many of our readers to have those architectural peculiarities, by which they can be known and, if possible, preserved from ruin. An acquaintance with those venerable remains, may help to raise the science of Irish ecclesiastical antiquities, to the rank similar subjects have attained in other countries in Europe.

But there is another and a very urgent reason why we should confine this notice to the primitive churches and round towers. Mr. Petrie holds an opinion opposed to Dr. Lanigan, Dr. O'Connor, Moore, Mr. D'Alton, and others whom our public naturally regard as authorities. He holds that the towers were built by Irish Christians at different periods between the sixth and the twelfth centuries, as appendages to their ecclesiastical establishments, as belfries and church castles for protection in times of danger. As this opinion, however agreeable to the wishes, is certainly against the convictions of many of our readers, it is but fair to them, and to Mr. Petrie, and to our other historians, to state in detail the various opinions and the arguments on which they are grounded. It is right that all should have the means to decide for themselves; and as a help against the force of authority or long established opinion, we commence with the following accurate description of the towers, from which it will at once be seen, that the doors do not face the west, that the windows in the top do not face the cardinal points, and are not always four in number, as has been confidently stated

by Dr. O'Connor, Dr. Lanigan, and Moore, in proof of their oriental hypothesis.



“These towers, as will be seen from the annexed characteristic illustration representing the perfect tower on Devenish Island in Lough Erne, are rotund, cylindrical structures, usually tapering upwards, and varying in height from fifty to perhaps one hundred and fifty feet; and in external circumference, at the base, from forty to sixty feet, or somewhat more. They have usually a circular, projecting base, consisting of one, two, or three steps, or plinths, and are furnished at the top with a conical roof of stone, which frequently, as there is every reason to believe, terminated with a cross formed of a single stone. The wall, towards the base, is never less than three feet in thickness, but is usually more, and occasionally five feet, being always in accordance with the general

proportions of the building. In the interior, they are divided into stories, varying in number from four to eight, as the height of the tower permitted, and usually about twelve feet in height. These stories are marked either by projecting belts of stone, sets off, or ledges or holes in the wall to secure joists, on which rested the floors, which were almost always of wood. In the uppermost of these stories the wall is perforated by two, four, five, six, or eight apertures, but most usually four, which sometimes face the cardinal points, and sometimes not. The lowest story, or rather its place, is sometimes composed of solid masonry, and when not so, it never has any aperture to light it. In the second story the wall is usually perforated by the entrance doorway, which is generally from eight to thirty feet from the ground, and only large enough to admit a single person at a time. The intermediate stories are each lighted by a single aperture, placed variously, and usually of very small size, though in several instances, that directly over the doorway is of a size little less than that of the doorway, and would appear to be intended as a second entrance. In their masonic construction they present a considerable variety; but the generality of them are built in that kind of careful masonry called spauled rubble, in which small stones, shaped by the hammer in default of suitable stones at hand, are placed in every interstice of the larger stones, so that very little mortar appears to be intermixed in the body of the wall; and thus the outside of spauled masonry, especially, presents an almost uninterrupted surface of stone, supplementary splinters being carefully inserted in the joints of the undried wall. Such also is the style of masonry in the most ancient churches; but it should be added, that in the interior of the walls of both, grouting is abundantly used. In some instances, however, the towers present a surface of ashlar masonry, (but rarely laid in courses perfectly regular,) both externally and internally, though more usually on the exterior only; and in a few instances, the lower portion of the towers exhibit less of regularity than the upper parts.

“In their architectural features an equal diversity of style is observable, and of these the doorway is the most remarkable. When the tower is of rubble masonry, the doorways seldom present any decorations, and are either quadrangular and covered with a lintel of a single stone of great size, or semicircular headed either by the construction of a regular arch, or the cutting of a single stone. There are, however, two instances of very richly decorated doorways in towers of this description, namely, those of Kildare and Timahoe. In the more regularly constructed towers the doorways are always arched semicircularly, and are usually ornamented with architraves or bands on their external faces. The upper apertures but rarely present any decorations, and are most usually of a quadrangular form. They are, however, sometimes semicircular headed, and still oftener, present the triangular or straight-sided arch.

I should further add, that in the construction of these apertures, very frequent examples occur of that kind of masonry, consisting of long and short stones alternately, now generally considered by antiquaries as a characteristic of Saxon architecture in England."—Page 355.

We shall now give the different theories on the origin and uses of these towers. They have been attributed to the Danes, or to Persians, or Phœnicians, or Buddhists, or Christians.

John Lynch, one of the most learned and zealous advocates of the ancient glory of Ireland, was, by a singular fatality, the first to suggest the Danish origin of the towers. Giraldus Cambrensis having described the round towers said to be sunk in Lough Neagh, as built in the Irish fashion, (more patriæ), Lynch replied that they were said (dicuntur) to have been erected not by the Irish but by the Danes. What was thus put forth merely as an opinion, and in the spirit of contradiction, perhaps, to the Welsh slanderer, was maintained some years later as a certainty by Peter Walsh, in his "Prospect of Ireland." Molyneux adopted the same opinion, but with this very remarkable difference, that according to him the towers were erected by the Danes *after* their conversion to Christianity. In more modern times the Danish origin has been maintained by Ledwich, who in support of his opinion, uses arts, which in the words of Mr. Petrie, "no person could have used, but one desirous of upholding an erroneous hypothesis, by false assertions."

The arguments, if such they can be called, in favour of this opinion, have not the slightest weight. Lynch gave nothing but a hearsay, which probably took its rise from confounding the Danes with the Danaans, an ancient Irish colony, to whom many of the stone buildings in Ireland are still attributed by popular tradition. Walsh brings nothing but his own assertion, and makes the Danish origin wildly improbable, by supposing that the heathen Danes would build their citadels in churchyards alone, which often have no natural features to recommend them. Molyneux assumes that the ancient Irish were barbarians, that they owed their coinage, their trade, their art of war, their civilization, to the Danes, and that the Danes, therefore, were the builders of our towers. Ledwich follows in the same track. But does it appear from our annals that the Christian Danes were at any one period so firmly fixed

in the country, that they had time to raise those towers? Why were they not built in Waterford, and Wexford, and Limerick, and other undoubted seats of Danish power? We do not find them in France, or Belgium, or England, or other countries harassed by the Danes; we do not find them in the Lowlands of Scotland; but we do find them with the Scoto-Irish colony, between which and the mother country a friendly intercourse was maintained. These facts are decisive against the Danish origin of the towers, even though we had not known that the Danes, so far from civilizing Ireland, had burned her churches and monasteries, and indelibly associated their name in our popular traditions with all that is barbarous and inhuman. Neither Molyneux nor Ledwich pretends that similar towers are found in Denmark, or in any other seat of the Northmen invaders; and even the fanciful conjecture of Molyneux, "that the Danes might affect to build round towers as bearing some resemblance to their old pagan monumental stones, mounts, and forts," has no foundation in fact, as appears from the following letter sent from Holland by his brother William to Molyneux in 1684.

"I am intimately acquainted here with a young gentleman that comes from Denmark, though he is a Norwegian by birth, his name is John Scheldrop; he is very inquisitive after antiquities, especially of his own country and of Ireland. I have often discoursed with him concerning both, and especially of our great Dane's mounts; I have told him your thoughts on them, and the reasons you ground them on, taken out of Olaus Wormius, who was his grandfather, but he will by no means allow of them; assuring me that those mounts erected over soldiers killed in battle, of which he has seen several, are not (even the largest of them) more than ten feet high. He says he never saw any such as ours in all Denmark; wherefore I question whether they be rightly called, or whether they be the works of the Danes."—p. 8.

The truth is, the monumental pillar stones, mounts, and forts so common in Ireland, are of Irish not of Danish origin; so that a resemblance between them and the round towers, if such there be, would be as decisive against Molyneux, as his etymological argument from the name of the round towers, *cloghad*, which, says he, must be of Teutonic origin, *clog* signifying a bell, in German, though it is well known that the word is from an Irish root, and that the Irish had bells in their churches before the Germans or Saxons heard of the name of Christ.

It may well excite surprise that an opinion so improbable could have ever found advocates. Lynch or Walsh was not influenced by any political motive; neither, perhaps, was Molyneux, who merely took it for granted that the Irish were barbarians, who owed whatever good they had to the northmen; but Ledwich writes like a man, who knew well that the most unfavourable view of the ancient Irish would be the most palatable to the anti-national party of his day. Perhaps the evident complacency with which he contrasts the savage Irish and the civilized Dane, may have popularized the opinion of his adversary Vallancey, who held that the towers were fire temples or observatories of some Phœnician or Persian colony, in some long distant age, when Ireland was the most civilized country on the face of the globe. This opinion has been adopted by such illustrious men, and is so popular with the reading public in Ireland, that we state its proofs at some length, in order that our readers may decide for themselves.

Of course, when we say that national vanity helped Vallancey's opinion, we do not impute such a motive to men like Dr. O'Connor, Dr. Lanigan, or Moore. Had they consulted their feelings, they would undoubtedly have ascribed monuments so creditable as the round towers, not to a pagan colony, that flourished no one knows when, but to the Christians, who gave Ireland a name in the annals of Europe. But though our great historians had no Pagan predilection, it is clear from several notices of Mr. Petrie's work in the Irish press, that the Pagan origin of the towers is not given up without a sigh. What can be the cause of this? If those unwilling converts had lived at the close of the last century, when Christianity and its monuments were under the ban of a bad literature, their prejudice would be intelligible; but in the present age, when the French chambers vote millions for the repair of Notre Dame, and when the minutest efforts of Christian art have become a sort of popular study in England and other countries, can any Irishman grieve that his Christian fathers built monuments, which both for solidity and singularity of structure, boldness and fitness of design, and above all for the great ages which they represent, if they be Christian, do not yield to the contemporary monuments of any country in Europe. The towers would then lose much of their mystery, but who would not resign the mys-

tery could he say that they were reared by the men who converted the Pagan nations of northwestern Europe, and made Ireland a sanctuary of learning and faith.

The grave antiquarian might smile at these remarks, if they were offered as arguments of the Christian origin of the towers, but we only wish to give Mr. Petrie fair play against prejudices founded in ignorance of the real value of a national monument, namely, its associations and its inspiring influence on national character and individual enterprise.

Though many of Vallancey's proofs have been given up as utterly bad, they are produced by Mr. Petrie, in order to make up a full history of the controversy. They consist principally of etymological conjectures, and of analogies between the towers and certain buildings said to be found in various parts of the East, whence, it is assumed, Ireland was peopled. The arguments from etymology are founded on the supposed names of the towers, said to be taken from Irish manuscripts; but unhappily for the General's reputation, his references are often very doubtful and often undoubtedly fictitious. While his followers, in the course of half a century have been able to find only one or two additional names for the towers, he thought he had found more than a dozen, all indicating their uses as fire temples. Thus he asserts, that all places of worship were called *cloghad* by the Druids, and instead of taking that word in the sense which it always had, and still has, he derives it from the Hebrew by a species of etymological analysis peculiarly his own; thus, *gadul* is great in Hebrew, cut off *ul* by the general's authority, and prefix *clog*, a stone, not a bell, and you have *cloggad*, which means not a big stone as one might reasonably think, but a round tower of stone. Again, granted that *cloghad* when applied to the towers in Christian times did mean a belfry, it by no means follows, he says, that such had been their original use, because though *clog* is a bell, it is so called from *clog* a skull, which is thus named from its orbicular form, and thus the literal meaning of *cloghad* in Pagan times, was skullshaped or orbicular tower! *Chugal*, moreover, means in Syriac to turn or make a circuit, and as the Druids danced round the towers to announce the festivals, the towers were called in Irish *cloghad*. These specimens give a sufficient notion of the means by which the General strove to evade the plain argument from the name of the

towers. It were well that he had stopped here, and had not found names that never existed, but he says without a shadow of proof that they were called *Tiaiffrion*, house of benediction, *Breacon*, *Tuir Beil*, towers of Baal, *aubtor*, sorcerer's towers, and appeals to O'Brien's and Shaw's dictionaries to prove that they were called *Sithbeith*, houses of peace or adoration, though the dictionaries have no such word in that sense. Equally groundless is his assertion that they were called *cai teach*, or house of solemnity, from the Hebrew *chag* a solemnity, and the Irish *teach*, no such word as *caiceach* being found in the Irish language. *Cluan*, a common prefix to the names of our churches, near which the round towers are found, he says means *cul-luan*, the return of the moon, and was applied to the towers; but it so happens that they are never called *Cluan*, and that the meaning of that word is not the return of the moon, but as appears from the natural features of the places so called and from Mr. Petrie's authorities, a piece of fertile land enclosed by moor or bog, or by moor and water. For a fuller exposure of these crudities, we refer to Mr. Petrie, and content ourselves with a few more examples of the use the General made of Irish authorities, some of which he knew were in the hands of the public. Cormac Mac Cullenan is cited as saying that the towers were called *gall* or *gail* by the ancient colonists of Ireland, but Mr. Petrie shows that both in his own copy of Cormac's glossary, and in all others, in our public or private libraries, the reading is

"*Gall*, i. e., a standing stone. *Gall* has four meanings, viz: in the first place a pillar-stone, *ut prædiximus*; the reason that such stones are called *galls* is because it was the *Galli* that first fixed them in Ireland. *Gall*, i. e. Frank. *Gall* then is a name for the nobles of France, so called from *gallia*, i. e., *a candore corporis*; for *gall* (recte γάλα) in Greek is *lac* in Latin, hence, *Galliæ inasta*. Thus, also *gall* is a name for a swan; *inde* Fer Mumhan dixit, *Cochallcos n-gall, gainh in bhrain*, i. e., the swan's foot is webbed, the raven's, fanged. *Gall* is also a name for a cock," &c.—Page 19.

Upon which Mr. Petrie remarks:

"This word, *gall*, is explained rock in all the Irish dictionaries, and its diminutive *gallan* (corruptly *dallan*) is still used all over Munster to denote those pillar-stones, which are so numerous in that province. The word, *coirthe*, by which it is explained in Cormac's glossary, is still well understood, and always applied to a



large standing stone, as to that on *Cnoc a choirte*, or the hill of the pillar-stone, near Jamestown, in the county Roscommon. The reader will now be able to see the true value of the authority which General Vallancey, by a garbled quotation, so confidently put forward as conclusive evidence of the antiquity of the Round Towers."

The same respectable authority of Cormac Mac Culenan, is made to prove that the round tower of Kildare was called the Aphrion of Brigit, a Pagan goddess, but the reading of the passage is,

"Brightit, the poetess, the daughter of Dagda; she was the goddess of poetry, that is, the goddess whom the poets worshipped, for very great and very noble was *her presiding care—Afrithghnam.*"

That *presiding care*, is the real sense of the word *frithghnam*, appears both from several Irish MSS. and from Cormac himself, as well as from its modern form in O'Brien and O'Reilly's dictionaries, but the General with his usual dexterity prefixed *a, her*, the possessive pronoun, to make this new word *Afrihnam* sound like the Chaldaic *Aphrium*, and have the whole passage thus, *very great was her Afrion tower or house of benediction*, instead of the true reading, *very great was her presiding care*. We need not notice the obvious blunder, by which a Pagan goddess is made the same as St. Bridget of Kildare.

But to close with his etymologies, let us see how he evades the argument taken from the name *Clogteach*, by which the towers are still known. That word is sometimes corruptly written *Cuilceach*, and as *chag* is a solemnity in some Oriental tongue, *Cuilceach* must be an indicator of festivals in Irish, according to the General.

"General Vallancey quotes the authority of Dr. O'Brien," says Mr. Petrie, "for the meaning of the word *Cuilceach*, or *Cul-kak*, thus:—'*Cuilceach*, or *Cul-kak*, corrupte *Claiceach*, a round tower, as *Culceac Cluana Umha*, the Tower or steeple of Cloyne. O'Brien—This word, O'Brien adds, seems to be corrupted of *Clog-theach*, that is, the Bell-house.'

"This is another characteristic example of Vallancey's mode of quoting authorities; he first makes O'Brien say, that *Cuilceach* becomes corruptly *Claiceach*, and then that the word seems to be corrupted of *Clog-theach*. But O'Brien does not say that *Cuilceach* is corruptly *Claiceach*, nor has he the word *Cul-kak*, or *Claiceach* in his book; neither does he say that *Cuilceach* seems to be a corruption of *Clog-theach*, but states positively that it is so. The fol-

lowing are the passages which Vallancey has so misquoted and garbled.

“Cuilceach, a steeple; Cuilceach Cluana Umha, Cloyne steeple. This word is a corruption of Clog-theach.

“Clog-theach, a steeple, a belfry; *corrupte*, Cuilgtheach.”—Page 19.

In attempting to fix the age of the towers and the history of their founders, the learned General was not always consistent. In the preface to the twelfth number of the *Collectanea*, he says they were built by the Fomorians, or African sea champions, who having landed at Tory Island, and conquered the country, were according to the Irish annals, the first to teach the Irish the art of building in lime and stone, and actually did erect the round tower, which stands to this day on the island. But the annals do not say that the Fomorians taught the art of building in lime and stone, nor even though they did, could much weight be given to an event which is said to have occurred a few centuries after the deluge, nor is the round tower of Tory Island attributed to them, but to St. Columb, by the universal tradition of the island, and of the opposite coasts. Besides, we shall see Mr. Petrie's proofs that no building in lime and stone existing in Ireland, is or ever was attributed by tradition, or annals, or bardic history, to a period or race before the days of St. Patrick.

Abandoning the Fomorian theory, and assuming that the worship of fire was part of the paganism of the Irish, and that some worshipped it on hills, and others in towers, the General asserts in a second Essay on the Round Towers, in his third volume, that no less a personage than the famous Zoroaster himself is well known in Irish history, under the name of Airgiod-lam, or silver-hand, and Mogh Nuadhat, or Magus of the new law, because of the new custom brought in by him of keeping the holy fire in towers. But there is not one word in Irish annals or bardic story on this innovation in fire worship. No bard or annalist hints that holy fire was kept in the towers or cells, or calls them fire temples. We know many of the most ancient rites of Irish fire worship, but not one of them implies a connexion with the towers. This fact must be borne in mind. Not one of the true or fabulous rites, as they may be, of Irish fire worship has any connexion with what were, if Vallancey be right, the great monuments and temples of that worship. Our bards and

annals tell us the very spot where the successive colonies landed, from the deluge to Milesius—they point out the battle-fields, where the fate of pagan Ireland was decided—they point out the graves of pagan kings, and the sites of pagan altars—they have scarcely left a single remarkable hill or river, that they do not strive to make historic ground, from Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, down to the days of St. Patrick; and yet, in that mass of mingled fact and fiction, there is not even a hint that the round towers were fire temples. Vallancey started this theory in 1772. Since that time Lanigan, and O'Connor, and D'Alton, and Moore, have gone over the same ground, without finding, as we shall see, even one single native authority for the fire temples. Now, backed by this silence of Irish authorities, the opponent of the learned General might justly say: Suppose the Persians did worship fire in round towers—suppose Lord Valentia did see such towers in India; and that, as you say, they are found on the banks of the Wolga, in the Caucasus, and in Bulgaria—does it follow that our towers were fire temples? Your authorities do not say that the towers in the Caucasus, or on the Wolga, were fire temples: all we know is, that they were round. Lord Valentia does not pretend to judge of the ancient uses of the Indian towers; the Indians themselves do not know what they were; and as his lordship marks no precise point of resemblance, we cannot hear him. The towers in Bulgaria were certainly Mahometan minarets; the only example, therefore, of a real round fire temple are the towers of the Guebres seen by Hanway; and they are more like the round Norman keeps on the quay of Waterford, or in Kilkenny Castle, or gigantic lime-kilns, than our slender towers. They are, as Hanway himself expressly states, full thirty feet in diameter. Assuming, then, that a true Guebre temple must be thirty feet in diameter, the advocate of the Christian origin of our towers can smile at Eastern analogies, until some Eastern traveller, more fortunate than the thousands who have stocked our market since the days of Hanway, brings home, from the true land of fire-worshippers, a different plan of their temples. For, remark, it is not enough to prove from books of travels that there are round towers like ours in some parts of the East; it is required further that these towers be in countries where fire-worship once

prevailed; and also, that they really were used as fire temples, otherwise the analogy fails.

However difficult it may be to know who built the towers, it is beyond all doubt that fire worshippers did not; as far, at least, as we can judge from Vallancey's arguments. You have before you the strongest of his etymological evidences, and no man can build on them; his eastern analogies, if at all admissible, are decisive against him; and his references to history on this matter are so treacherous, that it were folly to trust them. What reliance can be placed on a man who confounds in the fabulous Irish Zoroaster, two men who lived, if they did live, several centuries asunder: one of them Airgiod-lam, the leader of the ancient colony of the Tuatha de Danaans, the other Mogh Nuadhat, literally, the *strong labourer*, not the *magus of the new law*, whose name is in our annals several centuries later; and yet, according to the learned General, there were but two names of the Irish Zoroaster, the founder of the fire towers.

The high name, laborious research, and great literary services of Dr. Charles O'Connor, must have given great weight to the Eastern hypothesis. But it certainly tells heavily against that hypothesis, that a man, who spent his life among Irish manuscripts, and who had all the hereditary aids and traditions of his noble house, could find but two passages to sustain him. Believing, as well as Dr. Lanigan and Moore, that the four windows in the top of the towers always faced the cardinal points, and that the towers were observatories as well as fire temples, he thought he had found the clearest proof of that opinion in the words, *Turagan* and *fidneamadh*: the former meaning, according to him, "*fire tower*;" the latter, "*a celestial index*." But it is upon these two words that Mr. Petrie has given his happiest specimens of convincing criticism, founded not on vague etymological conjecture, but on the best principles of interpretation.

*Turaghan* occurs in the following passage of the 4. Mag. A.D. 898.

"Cosccrach fris araite *Turaghan* Angcoire Insi Cealtra—decc."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Connor:

"Cosccrach a quo dicitur Turris Anachoretica Inoi Cealtra—mortuus est.

Now as *Tur* is a *tower* in Irish, and *aghan*, or *adhan*, the lighting or blazing of fire, *turaghan* must have been a fire-tower in Pagan

times, and was afterwards used as a retreat for Christian anchorites—whence it got the name, anchorite.”

To this reasoning Mr. Petrie answers, that if *turaghan* mean “fire tower,” and if our towers were known as *anchorite* towers, it is strange that neither in any Irish vocabulary, nor among all the notices of pagan or ecclesiastical monuments of Ireland, does this word occur but in this text; consequently, the sense O’Conor gives to *turaghan*, being unsupported by the usage of the language, is at the very best nothing but etymological conjecture. Again, O’Reilly, the late eminent Irish lexicographer, when consulted by Mr. Petrie, found fault with O’Conor’s translation, both because the preposition *fris* was not correctly explained, and because the word *turaghan* was not the true reading. *Truaghan*, he contended, was the true reading, as found in his own and the college copy of the annals. Mr. O’Donovan, than whom no man of the present day stands higher as an Irish scholar, gives the same opinion: *fris*, he maintains, cannot be translated *a quo*, but *cui*; so that the meaning must be, not *from whom was called*, but *who was called*. His opinion is equally decided in favour of *Truaghan*; in which he is supported by Mac Curtin, Maurice Gorman, and other first-rate Irish authorities, cited by Mr. Petrie, so that the only true sense of the disputed passage is: Cossrach, who was called (*qui dicebatur*) *Truagan* (the emaciated) anchorite of *Inis Cealtra* died; and thus *Truagan* is an epithet of a man, not the name of a tower. If it be asked how Dr. O’Conor could fall into such an error, the answer is, that he translates from the manuscript of Stowe, in which the word is probably written, *Tuagan* (at least it is so written in the Irish Academy copy, which was taken from that at Stone); and as, according to the rules of Irish contractions, when a vowel is placed over a consonant, the letter *r* must come before or after that vowel, the first syllable of this word might be either *tur* or *tru*. But that, in the present case, it is *tru*, appears both because such is the more general form, and such the context requires it, unless we give *fris* a meaning it never has, or adopt the wild conjecture that Cossrach is called a fire tower.

Dr. O’Conor’s argument from the word *fidneamedh* is less excusable, since even Vallancey himself translated it, not celestial index, but holy groves. It is impossible to

give any idea of the industrious compilation of authorities from every species of Irish literature, legal, historical, sacred, topographical, and poetical, by which Mr. Petrie proves that Vallancey was right. The passage occurs in the annals of the 4. Mag.

"A.D. 995. Ardmacha do loscc do tene Saighnen ettir tighib, agus domhuliacc, agus cloicteacha, agus a *fidhneamedh* do huile dilgend."

Thus translated by O'Connor :

"A. D. 995. Ardmacha combusta a fulmine, domus et Ecclesiæ lapideæ, et campanilia, et ejus *turres celestes* omnes destructæ."

We need not state the train of argument by which, from a comparison of this passage with the record of the same event in the Ulster annals and Tigernach, it is sought to prove that *fidneamedh* must be our round towers. It is enough for us to say, that no Irish writer used the word in that sense; and that, as in the preceding case, the sole ground of his translation is, as we shall see, an etymological guess, opposed to the usage of the language. *Fiad*, he says, is an *index*, and *neamedh* is *the heavens*, and of course *fiadneamedh* is a celestial index or round tower. Suppose one were to say, that the *fiadneamedh* were Christian spires, and not pagan round towers, how could the Doctor refute him, since the passage does not decide whether the index was round, or angular, or square? But we have better grounds for rejecting his translation. *Neamedh*, it is true, can, in its simple form, mean of the heavens, or heavenly; but it also frequently means a *sanctuary*, and is so explained in Cormac's glossary, and in O'Clery's vocabulary, and so translated invariably by Colgan when it occurs as a substantive, and so rendered in other authorities cited by Petrie. Though we grant, then, that *fiad* is an *index*, *fiadneamedh* might mean a sanctuary-boundary or mark, such as we know did point out sanctuaries. But the word, in the present case, is not *fiad*, but *fidh* or *fiodh*, a totally different word, meaning, not *witness*, but *wood*; so that, even on etymological principles, *fidneamedh* means *trees of the sanctuary*, or *sacred grove*, such as we know the pious men of the good old times so much loved to have near their monasteries and churches. Thus the burning of the yew-tree, said to be planted by St. Patrick at Neuny, is commemorated by the

four masters at 1163; Giraldus mentions St. Bridget's tree as existing in his time; and even at the present day, tradition points out the relics of St. Kevin's yew-tree in Glendaloch. In this sense of sacred grove, *fidneamedh* is explained in three extracts from the Brehon laws, cited by Mr. Petrie, which prescribe the different penalties for cutting down or injuring trees, according as they were found in the *fidneamedh* or sanctuary, or in unconsecrated ground. The same word is applied in an old Irish translation of Virgil to the laurel overshadowing the altar, beneath which Priam and Polites were slain. It is also used in the same sense in an Irish account of the siege of Troy; and, if further authority be required, it is found in an ancient glossary on the word *nemed*, a poet—so called, says the glossarist, from *nemus*, because it was in *fidneamedhs* that poets composed their works. Against such a host of authorities, few can attach more importance to Dr. O'Connor's celestial indices, than to his fire towers. In justice to his memory, Mr. Petrie says, "I should be sorry to have it supposed that I insinuate an unfavourable opinion of his general accuracy; or attach a harsher character to his valuable labours than that which the historian Warner tells us, the Doctor's grandfather acknowledged to be applicable to his own, namely: 'that the amor patriæ might have inclined him to extend the matter (the antiquities of Ireland) somewhat beyond the rigour to which he should have confined himself.'" This is very fair; but why the amor patriæ should make an Irish priest wish that the towers were fire temples, rather than ecclesiastical castles, it is not easy to conceive.

Our national bard brought no support to Vallancey and O'Connor, but the glory of his name. He "refers the towers to times beyond the reach of historical record." His principal argument against the Christian hypothesis is one which, we are sure, it must have cost him some pangs to propose, namely: the supposed inability of the Christian Irish, at every known period of their history, to erect monuments "which evince an advanced state of civilization." We refer to another place a consideration of this humiliating argument.

Dr. Lanigan, the able author of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland—"to whose solid learning, honesty, and general acuteness," Mr. Petrie pays a well-merited and hearty tribute—"was convinced, as his worthy and learned

friend General Vallancey had endeavoured to establish, that from the great similarity between the towers in the interior of Hindostan and our Irish round towers, this mode of architecture was introduced into Ireland in times of paganism by a people from some far distant part of the East." We have already seen the value of these Eastern analogies; and we think they would not have convinced our historian, had he been acquainted with the architectural features of the towers. As he brought no original arguments to the discussion, we are relieved from the ungrateful duty of special criticism on one to whom Catholic Ireland owes an eternal debt of gratitude.

We know not what Mr. Petrie saw in Mr. Beauford to entitle him to notice. He was a contemporary of Vallancey, and adopted his opinion on the following singular ground. He derived the word *cloghed* from *Tlachtgo*; which he conjectured to be the name of round temples of Vesta, built by the Irish druids to keep the sacred fire. In Christian times, those druidic fires were kept lighting until the 12th century, when they were extinguished, and bells put up in their place; whence bells are to this day called *clog*, from the pagan name (*Tlachtgo*) of the structure in which they were hung! Notwithstanding these absurdities, he maintains with Mr. Petrie that all the present round towers were built by the Christian clergy, between the 7th and 12th century, on the model of the less perfect fire temples of the pagans.

Miss Beauford, in her valuable work on the Architecture of Ireland previous to the Norman Invasion, adduces, in support of the Eastern hypothesis, etymological proofs, which Mr. Petrie refers to another time; analogical proofs, all founded on the supposed identity of the ancient Irish and Persians—Iran and Erin; and domestic proofs, which, if true, would be decisive; but which are not found in the works to which her guides refer. She cites the psalters of Tara and Cashel, as asserting that the towers, especially four provincial ones, were built by the pagans to keep the holy fire; and, on the authority of a parochial survey, attributes the round tower of Rosenallis to Rosa Failge, son of Cathair More, A.D. 175. With regard to the latter point, the parochial survey merely mentions that Rosa Failgee *was said* to have built the tower of Rosenallis; and Comerford's History of Ireland, which is cited for the rumour, merely says that there *is* a round tower at Rose-



nallis. There is no better authority for the erection of the four provincial fire temples. There is not the slightest vestige of a round tower at any one of the four places. Comerford says they were palaces, not fire towers; and Keating, whom he abridged, when speaking of the palaces, gives no sanction to the supposition that they in any way resembled the round towers. Besides, the psalter of Tara, which is cited in the margin by Comerford, was never seen by him; nor is it in the British Museum, unfortunately, where the late Edward O'Reilly conjectured it might be preserved. The psalter of Cashel is also lost: but Cormac Mac Cullenan, by whom it is said to have been compiled, gives an account of the druid fires in his Glossary, which proves that they had, in his opinion, no connexion with the towers:

"*Bell-taine*, i. e., *bil-tene*, i. e., *tene-bil*, i. e., the goodly fire, i. e., two goodly fires, which the Druids were used to make, with great incantations on them, and they used to bring the cattle between them against the diseases of each year."—*P.* 37.

The psalter of Cashel was one of the authorities cited by Mr. D'Alton, another eminent advocate of the Eastern origin of the towers, whose arguments we shall consider at some length, since he has declared, in his "*Annals of Bayle*," that, after the perusal of Mr. Petrie's work, his opinion is still unchanged.

"I have dwelt," says Mr. Petrie, "at greater length on the erroneous statements in Miss Beaufort's valuable essay, than I, and perhaps the reader, could have wished; it will, however, render unnecessary any lengthened examination of the proofs adduced in support of this hypothesis on the more recent essay by Mr. D'Alton, the evidences relied on being the same in both. Besides Miss Beaufort's authority has added weight to these evidences, and even increased the difficulty of sifting them. Thus, when Mr. D'Alton states that the Psalter of Cashel *expressly declares* that they (the towers) were used for the preservation of the sacred fire, (*p.* 139,) he judiciously refers us to Miss Beaufort's Essay; and that lady refers us to the inferior authority of a Parochial survey; and that again, in regular progression downwards, cites an abridged history of no character, in which, after all, no such statement is to be found! And thus, if any reader should, in the face of such bold assertion, still feel disposed to be sceptical, he would, if unaccustomed to the mode in which, unfortunately, antiquarian questions are so often investigated, find himself entangled in a net out of

which he might have neither opportunity nor inclination to extricate himself."—Page 41.

Another argument of Mr. D'Alton's was taken from the Irish annals, which, he says, expressly record the existence of the round towers in pagan times. Towers, it is true, are recorded, but it is not said that they are round slender towers. Dr. O'Connor gives us their names at the place to which Mr. D'Alton refers: Tor Conaing, Tor Breogan, &c.; and their still existing remains prove that they were Cyclopean forts, of which several still exist in different parts of Ireland.

The argument from "the towers of other days" under the waves of Lough Neagh, was more ingenious. Cambrensis, the great father of anti-Irish lies, having asserted that the vengeance of heaven buried in Lough Neagh an unnatural tribe of Irishmen, appeals, in confirmation of the fact, to the antiquarian authority of the fishermen, who, upon a clear day, pointed out to strangers the tops of the narrow, round, *ecclesiastical* towers in the waves. That an inundation did occur, we know from the annals of Tigernach, in the year 62, when there were no Christians in Ireland to build round towers. Now, a fisherman is, at the very best, a poor authority on antiquities, especially as Lough Neagh fishermen of the present day, instead of the round towers, see the battlements of castles and spires of churches, and other high objects with which they are familiar; but a fisherman of the 12th century, deposing to an event which occurred 1,200 years before—deposing to the existence of *ecclesiastical*, of *church* towers in Ireland, when there was no church in Ireland, is so frail a witness, that he would not be heard for a moment except on Irish antiquities. To evade the force of the phrase, "*church* towers," used by Giraldus, Mr. D'Alton\* gives it the comprehensive turn "*religious* towers," contrary to the sense of the word "*ecclesiasticæ*" in every age of the Church, and the usage of Giraldus himself in this very matter, for he applies the same term, "*ecclesiasticæ*," to the tower of Kildare, which certainly is of Christian date. That the fishermen of the day did believe they saw round towers in the lake, and that such a tradition might have been afloat for several centu-

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\* Giraldus says "they were towers for ecclesiastical uses, necessarily meaning for a religion general at that retrospective date, as sun worship was, though he uses a term which in its more ordinary application is confined to Christianity, *ecclesiasticas turres*."—*D'Alton's Essays*, §c. pp. 139, 141.

ries before, we are not disposed to deny, though we know not why we should take it on the word of Giraldus, when citing it to attest an abominable calumny; but, admitting the tradition, it merits precisely the same consideration as the tradition of the modern fishermen, that church steeples and castles are in the lake. As for Giraldus himself, if he had known the date of the inundation, and believed that the immersed towers were pagan, he certainly would not have called them church towers. We know our obligations to Mr. D'Alton, and are anxious to give him the full benefit of the defence of his opinion in the *Annals of Boyle*, published after the perusal of Mr. Petrie's work. We cannot enter into all the disputes that have been raised, but as he was the only member of the Academy who wrote against Mr. Petrie's Essay, it must gratify our readers to have the rival essayists speak their opinions in person.

“Mr. Petrie's enlarged volume is a work of long-applied, deep, and valuable research amongst the repositories of native literature, and brings to light most interesting evidences of Irish architectural taste from a very early date. It has been compiled with honesty of purpose, and is, throughout, conducted with a spirit of temperate inquiry and dispassionate candour, while in its mechanic details, it is introduced most creditably to the attention which it should receive from the public. Yet, however holy his zeal, and however gratifying might be his conclusions to many, he has—as far as the opinion of one, who as honestly and steadfastly defends the position of a pagan theory, will be received in judgment—utterly failed to establish their originality as Christian structures; and all his learned quotations but indicate what never could have been rationally denied, that they (as well as the natives) were, after the mission of St. Patrick, converted to the true faith, were applied to the service of the church as sanctuaries, repositories, and more especially and reasonably, as judicious rather than suitable belfries, and that from the hour of such appropriation they were naturally called belfries by the Christian nations.”

As many of our earliest opinions on Irish antiquities were taken from Mr. D'Alton, we are sorry to state that his arguments following the preceding remarks appear to us perplexed, unsound, and contradictory. In one place we have St. Patrick denouncing anathemas (page 388) on all the memorials of heathenism, and especially on the round towers, which were the strongholds of heathenism; and yet, at page 400, St. Patrick is silent on the round

towers, because he accounted them an abomination of heathenism. But, if the towers stood in St. Patrick's time, if they were in full blaze as fire towers, is it not strange that no biographer of St. Patrick, no annalist, no bard, no legend, mentions them? Is it not strange that while we are told how he threw down Crom Cruach, and his brass companions, and destroyed the idols in Cashel, and had one thousand combats with the magi, there is not one word on what is regarded by Mr. D'Alton as the first duty and greatest triumph of our apostle, namely, the storming of the strongholds of fire worship? "If," says Mr. Petrie, "churches were built near pagan round towers, because round towers were places of pagan worship, why were not churches built near cromleachs?" "Because," replies Mr. D'Alton, "cromleachs and all other altars were supplanted before St. Patrick's time by a reformed faith in fire worship;" and yet St. Patrick goes to these deserted shrines and idols, but is not led by bard, legend, or biographer to the fire temple. Surely it is not thus hostile creeds meet. When the faith, which St. Patrick planted, was assailed in the 16th century, we read of the burning of Catholic relics in the streets of Dublin—of the plucking down of the statue of the Blessed Virgin in the sanctuary of Trim—of the foul deeds of the ruffian band from Athlone in the churches of Clonmacnoise—of the desecration of those monuments of Catholic art, which Mr. Petrie is endeavouring to preserve. It is thus in every change of religion; and when we consider, on the one hand, the minute historical or traditional details of the conquests of St. Patrick, and, on the other, the profound silence on the fire temples—the conclusion is irresistible, that, whether the round towers did, or did not, exist in his day, they certainly were not fire temples.

We refer to another page a consideration of other arguments of Mr. D'Alton, especially of that on the word *cloigteach*, or bell-house—the only name by which the towers are known in the legendary or authentic annals of Ireland. He abandons a proof, which he had put forward in his Essay, from the passage in the Ulster annals, which commemorate (A.D. 448.) the fall of fifty-seven round towers, in consequence of a dreadful earthquake. Mr. Petrie proves in his work, that this notice was transcribed literally by the compilers of the Irish annals, from the Chronicle of Ammianus Marcellinus, who places the scene

of the event in the Urbs Augusta, or Constantinople. Mr. D'Alton, however, remarks that Mr. Petrie himself did, in his original Essay, believe that this event occurred in Ireland. The great difference between the essayists was that one made the *turres*, round towers; while the other made them the round Irish cashels, or stone forts of pagan times. Mr. D'Alton has always, from his first more extended view of the subject in the Prize Essay (published in the Royal Irish Academy Transactions, vol. xvi. part 1.), denied that these towers were of Danish origin, or were ever used for anchorites or penitents, or as original places of sepulture; he has also disclaimed any aid to his theory from the Fiodh Nimhaid, or Celestial Towers of Dr. O'Connor; and abjures any participation in the etymological lunacy of Vallancey, or later pseudo-antiquaries. (Note, Annals of Boyle, vol. ii. p. 394.)

Though Mr. D'Alton disclaims these arguments, the space we have given to them is not lost, since they have been confidently urged by Mr. Windele in his Historical and Descriptive Notices of the City of Cork, 1840. In his preface, he thinks that argument and analogy are on the side of the Pagan theory, and that *Turagan* and *fiadneamedh* ought to set the question at rest. To the round towers of the Ghebres and the towers of Bungalpore, he has added another eastern analogy from the banks of the Tigris, namely, a round pillar of burnt bricks, twenty-two feet six inches high, and sixty-three feet in circumference!!! seen by Major Keppel near Bagdad. How such a building can be imagined to resemble our towers is just as hard to be conceived, as that the Nuraggis of Sardinia could be pressed into the same category. They are found in great number in that island, and are said to have taken their name from Norax, the leader of a Scythian colony, 1250 years before the Christian era, and to have been constructed on the plan of the fire temples of Zoroaster, who lived 700 years later!!! But Mr. Petrie disposes summarily of this Sardinian analogy. The Nuraggis, of which he gives several illustrations and copious verbal descriptions, are found to be square buildings, at most sixty feet high, forty feet in internal diameter, surmounted by five beehive-shaped towers on the centre and the four angles, and provided with a spiral stone stairs in the interior. But though those buildings do not bear the slightest resemblance to our towers, though they resemble rather the old Cyclopean

and decidedly Pagan remains of Ireland, it was inferred that because they are called *Domo de orcu*, and were in all probability sepulchral monuments, the towers must have been built for the same purpose. Aided by several of his learned associates, the members of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, Mr. Windele resolved to test the truth of this conjecture by excavations, and was encouraged by the rumour that bones and even a Pagan urn with cremated bones had been discovered in Ram Island, and Timahoe. This was a new feature in Irish antiquarianism. The spade and crowbar, an actual inspection of our monuments, took place of the learned linguistic fancies and ignorant assumptions of fire-side antiquaries. It was a move in the right direction, and for a time fortune seemed to smile on it.

That bones have been found under some of the towers is certain, and that they were in some instances human bones, deposited before the erection of the towers, is not improbable, but there is no proof that these bones are not the remains of Christians, interred in the church-yard before the towers were built. None of the marks of Irish Pagan sepulture have been discovered, neither the unglazed urn of earth or of stone, nor the weapons, nor the ornaments of silver or gold, nor the cyclopean caverns, found under those stone carns or green mounds, which are known both from history and actual inspection, to have been the sepulchral monuments of the Pagan Irish. These are facts on which there is no dispute, except in the case of Timahoe and Abernethy, and confirmed as they have been by the absence of sepulchral remains under some of the towers, they appear sufficiently decisive. But for the satisfaction of many of our readers, a brief account of the results of the excavations may not be unnecessary.

Mr. Windele admits, that under the Cashel Tower nothing was found to confirm his theory, but in a small hole, at the base of the wall on the outside, some pieces of charcoal; and who, he gravely asks, can say how long they may have been there? perhaps from the last fire extinguished by St. Patrick, when he stood on the rock of Cashel nearly 1400 years ago. But the towers were often burned, and the cathedral by the side of the Cashel tower was burned, and the boys in later days had often made great fires within the towers to smoke out the owls and other birds; and cannot these facts account for the char-

coal? The tower of Kinnef in the county of Cork, was excavated down to the solid rock, and neither bones nor charcoal, nor any marks of a grave or holy fire were found. Bones were found under the tower of Ardmore in the county Waterford, and upon these, supported by etymology, and by some ogham character found near the tower, Mr. Windele confidently rests his case. But he admits that the skeletons were imperfect, that the head and feet of one and the trunk of the other were wanting—facts somewhat difficult of explanation in his theory, but easy enough if we suppose the trenches to have been opened in a church-yard by Christian architects, who from reverence for the dead would have left the earth in the centre undisturbed; ogham characters are said to have been discovered on a stone in the neighbouring church. But supposing the inscription to be ogham, which does not appear, or that ogham was never used by Christians, which Mr. Petrie justly denies, how does a Pagan ogham on a stone in the church, prove that the remains under the tower were Pagan? The etymological argument is equally inconclusive. Ardo, from which Mr. Windele derives Ardmore, does not mean the *height of fire*, but if any thing the *height of yew*, nor is there any townland in that neighbourhood known as Ardo simply, but as *Ardo-cherty* and *Ardo-quinagh*.

The four courses of solid masonwork between two layers of cement, said to have been found at the base of the tower of Ardmore, may prove that the architect wished to strengthen his foundation, but are no evidence that he was building a tomb.

The accounts of the excavation of Cloyne tower are somewhat confused. In a semi-official statement, signed W. Chapman, sexton, Cloyne, 24th September, 1841, and drawn up before T. Windele and other gentlemen, it is stated, "that three skeletons were found stretched from west to east, one being under the two, having three couple of collar bones, and three front parts of the lower jaw bones." On the next day Mr. Windele writes to Mr. Petrie, that human bones and a skull and some decayed timber were found, and that the masonwork appeared hollowed to receive them. Four days later, another letter to Mr. Petrie, tells him that the bodies lay from N. W. to N. E. that there was no decayed timber, and that the masonwork was not hollowed, and to complete the con-

fusion, the Cork Southern Reporter, 9th April, 1842, announces four skeletons. Bones, it is probable, were discovered, but whose they were, or how placed, we have no means to decide; but we do know from the semi-official statement, that the bones of *different animals* were found by the excavators, before they came to the spot where the human skeletons are said to have been.

Bones are said to have been discovered in several other towers, in Roscrea, Maghea, and Drumbo, of some of which we have no authentic accounts, but as it is known that in several church-yards the people have a habit of throwing the human remains into the towers, and as all the excavators prove that the bones of different animals have accumulated there in the lapse of so many ages, all accounts must be received with caution. Mr. Getty, of Belfast, sent an account to Mr. Petrie, of the excavations in Drumbo. For the first two feet the materials resembled the soil of the churchyard, intermingled with human bones which had evidently been thrown in; then charcoal and vitrified stones, and beneath these mortar and rubbish which probably fell in from the roof; next, three feet of black mould with lots of charcoal, bones of all kinds, boars' tusks and cows' horns; and at last, a light yellowish soil like that of the neighbourhood, separated from which, by a coating of mortar one inch thick, lay a skeleton, wanting the right arm and hand, and both legs from the knees, a coincidence so similar to the case of Ardmore, that both must evidently be explained by the same cause.

It was stated in a Report of the south Munster antiquarians, that Mr. Black, the historian of Brechin, when describing the excavation, in 1821, of the tower of Abernethy, had mentioned the discovery of an urn. But he evidently attaches no importance to the story. What he believed the urn to be, can be best understood from an extract of a letter written by him to Mr. Hackett of Middleton, describing a most careful examination of the Round Tower of Brechin.

"We have found a great variety of bones, principally sheep bones, especially jaw-bones of sheep, some bones of oxen, and a few human bones, these last being vertebræ, pieces of skulls, toes, and bits of jaw-bones. These bones were found at all depths.  
\* \* \* \* \* We likewise got nails, buttons, bits of copper, two small lumps of bell-metal, and several bits of stained glass, &c., &c.



But what will most please your pagan friends is the fact that *since we began*, we found *each day*, various pieces of urns, or jars. Now how came all these things here? I am afraid you will set me down not for a pagan, but for a veritable heathen, when I say that my opinion is, the slates, glass, &c., &c., had been tossed in at what, in Scotland, is called the Reformation, when our Scotch apostle, John Knox, drove your Roman Catholic apostles from what he called their rookeries—that the bones had been carried to the top of the tower by the rooks and jackdaws, and had thence tumbled down—and that the fragments of *urns* or jars, are just the remains of culinary articles belonging to the different kirk officers.”—*Page 93.*

Several other towers have been excavated, but with no better success. Still some of the very facts which appear so conclusive against the hypothesis that the towers are sepulchral, are cited as evidence by Sir William Betham, of whose etymological skill our readers have had some specimens in a preceding number of the *Dublin Review*. In the second volume of his *Etruria Celtica*, we are assured that the reliques of Buddhist saints, even a tooth or collar bone, were held in such veneration, that pious kings built towers over them, and that in this respect our towers resembled them, because he had been told by Mr. Moore, that some peasants forty or fifty years ago, found an urn in the tower of Timahoe. Mr. Moore, however, expressly states that the circumstance caused no surprise, because in almost every sand hill in the neighbourhood, similar urns have been found filled with bones, at from four to eight feet down. But should not this explanation suffice? Mr. Petrie truly says, “that the Christian architecture of the tower of Timahoe is so evident, that the discovery of a Pagan urn under it, would no more prove it to be a Pagan tower, than the finding of Roman coin in a man’s purse, would prove him to be an old Roman or the Wandering Jew.”

The details we have given on the excavations, prevent us from entering into the arguments by which Mr. Petrie establishes the real mode and the very locality of Pagan sepulture in Ireland. In a manuscript of the twelfth century, formerly in the possession of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, there is a full account of the Royal Pagan cemeteries, many of which were well known, though generally deserted by the Christian Irish. It will be asked, no doubt, and with some plausibility, can we take the au-

thority of a manuscript of the twelfth century on facts that occurred eight hundred years before, especially as those manuscripts abound with incredible fables? There is no doubt some plausibility in the objection, and though not admitting its force in the present case, we must remark, that frequently through the course of his work, Mr. Petrie supposes his readers to be as well acquainted as himself with the historical value of Irish manuscripts. Many persons look with great distrust on those confident appeals to Irish traditions and Irish manuscripts, especially as Mr. Petrie allows that Irish tradition attributes to the Danes mounds and forts and raths which were never built by them. A few pages, stating the surprising correspondence of the traditions of the peasantry to-day with manuscripts seven hundred years old, would have been an invaluable addition to his work. The evidence before the ordnance commission must satisfy any reasonable mind, that where tradition and manuscript authority agree, (as they do not in the case of the Danes), they form historical data of the highest respectability. But in the present case, who can doubt the historical accounts of the Royal Pagan cemeteries, when we find them to-day on the banks of the Boyne, at Brugh, Knock, Dowtha, Grange, such as they have been described in works eight hundred years ago, or even some centuries earlier when they were rifled by the Danes? or how can we slight the account of the royal cemetery of Rathcroghan, when Mr. Petrie finds it such as it is described in our oldest manuscripts?

“In accordance with this description, (from the manuscript,) we find that the monuments within the cemetery at Rathcroghan, are small circular mounds, which, when examined, are found to cover rude sepulchral chambers formed of stone, without cement of any kind, and containing unburned bones. The monument of Dathi, which is a small circular mound, with a pillar-stone of red sandstone, is situated outside the inclosure at a short distance to the east, and may be at once identified from a notice of it by the celebrated antiquary Duald Mac Firbis, in 1666.”

We could give authorities equally clear for the royal cemeteries of Taltin, where Ollam Fodhla with the Ulster chiefs are interred, and those of Ailbi and Culi for our Leinster and Munster, but we refer the curious on these points to Mr. Petrie. It is enough for our purpose that the towers are never mentioned as royal sepulchral monu-

ments. Sir William Betham may say that he has a memorandum in a manuscript, in which they are called *leactaid*, or monuments of the dead; but as neither the date of the memorandum, nor of the manuscript itself is given, and as the whole weight of history is against him, we must decline the authority of such a note, especially on points which vague and false references to unknown or obscure manuscripts have brought into contempt with the learned world.

From this detailed, and we fear tiresome enumeration of the various opinions and their arguments, it must be clear to the unprejudiced mind, that if no other evidence can be brought for the fire tower, or Buddhist theory, except those we have given, (and they are the strongest,) the towers are as yet beyond the reach, not only of authentic record, but even of plausible conjecture. So firmly was Mr. Moore convinced of the total absence of authority for his opinion, that in order to clear the way for theory, he pronounces dogmatically that they must be beyond the reach of record. But is it probable, is it consistent with the character of our bards and historians, that they would have made no allusion, true or false, to the towers, while they describe so minutely (with what truth it matters not) the other Pagan monuments? To account for such a strange silence, the natural course would be to search the Christian annals for some building which might correspond with the towers; but here comes the formidable objection which no doubt has had greater influence on the controversy than Vallancey's etymology or the towers of Bungalpore. We give it in the words of Mr. Moore: "To be able to invest even with plausibility so inconsistent a notion as that in times when the churches themselves were *rudely framed of wood*, there could be found either the ambition or the skill to supply them with adjuncts of such elaborate workmanship (as the towers), is in itself no ordinary feat of ingenuity. But the truth is, that neither then, nor I would add, at any other assignable period, within the whole range of Irish history, is such a state of things authentically known to have existed as can solve the difficulty of these towers, or account satisfactorily at once for the object of the buildings, and the advanced civilization of the architects who erected them. They must, therefore, be referred to times beyond the reach of historical record."—(vol. i. p. 35.)

If it were worth while to single out particulars in this unfavourable view of Christian Ireland, we might ask how it appears that the churches were *rudely* formed of wood, since even St. Bernard calls St. Malachy's wooden oratory an "*opus Scoticum pulchrum satis?*" or why the argument was not retracted in Mr. Moore's second volume, where Cormac's stone chapel (nowhere to be surpassed) is attributed to the commencement of the tenth century, and where Mr. Moore, with true and ever consistent patriotism lashing those pseudo antiquaries who ascribe the churches of Glendaloch to the Danes, holds that at least from the year 788, the Irish had stone churches? The truth is, our national bard followed a general opinion, held not only by Harris, Petty, Pinkerton, and Ledwich, but even by Dr. O'Connor, and in part by Dr. Lanigan, and established, it was thought, by the authority of St. Bernard and the Venerable Bede. For a full refutation of that opinion Ireland is indebted to Mr. Petrie.

He does not deny that building in wood was a "Scottish fashion," and that wood was, especially in some parts of the island, and among certain tribes, the material of many of the churches, and particularly of the oratories. But having established from authentic sources the distinction between these two classes of buildings, and shown from actually existing remains, and the concurrent voice of history and tradition, that some of the Pagan tribes were acquainted with stone architecture, which the fire temple theorists cannot contest, he deduces the obvious conclusion, that from the earliest periods, stone churches were built in Ireland, as might be reasonably expected both from the constant influx of foreigners from lands where the arts were still cultivated, and from Ireland's acknowledged supremacy in most of the elements of Christian civilization. This conclusion he supports by an elaborate comparative examination of the remains of the structures themselves, and by copious references to historical evidence drawn with laborious research from the waste field of our manuscript annals. To give even a faint idea of the immense mass of materials brought to bear on this inquiry would require a separate paper. We can give no more than a brief, but we trust satisfactory analysis.

It is worthy of remark that in some of the oldest lives of St. Patrick, the Druids are introduced as predicting the

advent of a foreigner who would substitute quadrangular for the round pagan buildings. That the latter were round both internally and externally appears from their remains, and that while in some parts of the island the perfect Roman type appears to have been at once introduced, we can trace in other parts, the gradual transition from the pagan form, is evident from specimens given in this volume. Thus the house, as it is called, of St. Finan Cam, patron of Derrynane, is square in the interior, and round in the exterior. It is constructed of enormous blocks of stone according to the Cyclopean fashion of the Pagan Irish. The church of St. Fechin on Ardoilen, one of the Isles of Arran, is in the same style. It stands in the midst of its establishment, which like the city of the desert, is perfect after the lapse of 1200 years. It bears so striking a resemblance to Bede's description of the primitive establishment of St. Cuthbert on Lindisfarne, that when we bear in mind that St. Cuthbert, if not an Irishman, was at least educated in Ireland, there can be no doubt of the identity of type of the two religious establishments. We give at length Mr. Petrie's description of St. Fechin's, such as it was when he saw it in 1820.

“Of such anachoretical establishments, one of the most interesting and best preserved in Ireland, or perhaps in Europe, is that of St. Fechin, on Ardoilen or High Island, an uninhabited and almost inaccessible island off the coast of Connemara, on the north-west of the coast of Galway. From its height, and the overhanging character of its cliff, it is only accessible in the calmest weather, and even then, the landing, which can be only made by springing on a shelving portion of the cliff from the boat, is not wholly free from danger: but the adventurer will be well rewarded for such risk; for, in addition to the singular antiquities which the island contains, it affords views of the Connemara and Mayo scenery, of insurpassable beauty. The church here is among the rudest of the ancient edifices which the fervour of the Christian religion raised on its introduction into Ireland. Its internal measurement, in length and breadth, is but twelve feet by ten, and in height ten feet. The doorway is two feet wide, and four feet six inches high, and its horizontal lintel is inscribed with a cross like that on the lintel of the doorway of St. Fechin's great church at Fore, and other doorways of the same period. The east window, which is the only one in the building, is semicircular-headed, and is but one foot high and six inches wide. The altar still remains, and is covered with offerings, such as nails, buttons, and shells, but chiefly fishing-hooks, the most characteristic tributes of the calling of the votaries. On

the east side of the chapel is an ancient stone sepulchre, like a pagan kistvaen, composed of large mica slates, with a cover of limestone. The stones at the ends are rudely sculptured with ornamental crosses and a human figure, and the covering slab was also carved, and probably was inscribed with the name of the saint for whom the tomb was designed, but its surface is now much effaced; and as this sepulchre appears to have been made at the same time as the chapel, it seems probable that it is the tomb of the original founder of this religious establishment. The chapel was surrounded by a wall allowing a passage of four feet between them, and from this a covered passage, about fifteen feet long, by three feet wide, leads to a cell, which was probably the abbot's habitation. This cell, which is nearly circular and dome-roofed, is internally seven feet by six, and eight high. It is built, like those in Arran, without cement, and with much rude art. On the east side there is a larger cell, externally round, but internally a square of nine feet, and seven feet six inches in height. Could this have been a refectory? The doorways in these cells are two feet four inches in width, and but three feet six inches in height. On the other side of the chapel are a number of smaller cells, which were only large enough to contain each a single person. They are but six feet long, three feet wide, and four feet high, and most of them are now covered with rubbish. These formed a Laura, like the habitations of the Egyptian ascetics. There is also a covered gallery or passage, twenty-four feet long, four feet wide, and four feet six inches high, and its entrance doorway is but two feet three inches square. The use of this it is difficult to conjecture. Perhaps it was a storehouse for provisions.

"The monastery was surrounded by an uncemented stone wall, nearly circular, inclosing an area of one hundred and eight feet in diameter. The entrance into the inclosure is at the south-east side, and from it leads a stone passage, twenty-one feet in length, and three in width. At each side of this entrance, and outside the great circular wall, were circular buildings, probably intended for the use of pilgrims, but though what remains of them is of stone, they do not appear to have been roofed with that material. Within the inclosure are several rude stone crosses, probably sepulchral, and flags sculptured with rude crosses, but without letters. There is also a granite globe, about twenty-one inches in diameter.

"In the surrounding ground, there are several rude altars, or penitential stations, on which are small stone crosses, and on the south side of the inclosure there is a small lake, apparently artificial, from which an artificial outlet is formed, which turned a small mill; and along the west side of this lake there is an artificial stone path or causeway, two hundred and twenty yards in length, which leads to another stone cell or house, of an oval form, at the south side of the valley in which the monastery is situated. The house is eighteen feet long, and nine wide, and there is a small walled

inclosure joined to it, which was probably a garden. There is also adjoining to it, a stone altar surmounted by a cross, and a small lake, which, like that already noticed, seems to have been formed by art."—Page 419.

Now since we have other establishments equally perfect, such as that of St. Molaise, an Irish saint in the bay of Sligo, and St. Brendan's, on Inish Glory, off the coast of Erris, both erected in the sixth century, consisting of a stone church and its surrounding oval stone-roofed cells, can the ignorance of stone architecture be urged against the erection of the round towers by Christians in the wealthier parts of the island? or can it be inferred, that because Bede says to build churches of wood was an Irish fashion, (just as the jaunting cars to-day), he thereby denies that we had them of stone? It is one thing to say of the Irish—they use whiskey, and another—they use no wine. Moreover, unless all our annals and bards and still living traditions have conspired in a monstrous lie on a matter of public fact, there were, as Mr. Petrie proves in his essay on the military architecture of the ancient Irish, tribes in Ireland before the Scotie invasion, who built stone edifices without cement. It is of the Scoti that Venerable Bede speaks. They were the dominant race, and their fashions were naturally called the fashions of the country.

In one of the sacred poems, of which Catholic Ireland has an unbroken series without appearing to value them—in one of those Irish poems still hidden like so many others in rare manuscripts and public libraries, we have an interesting account of the family or household of St. Patrick, by Flann of the Monastery, who flourished in the tenth century. The three masons have place on that list:

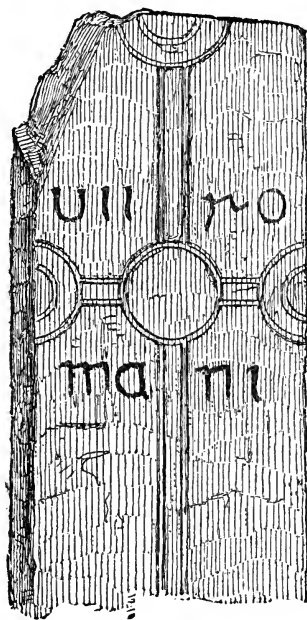
“His 3 masons, good was their intelligence,  
Caeman, Cruithnech, Luchraid strong;  
They made *damliags*\* first  
In Erin; eminent their history.”

The annotations of Tirechan on the book of Armagh, one of our oldest authorities, assert that a church was built by St. Cianan, (A.D. 490) at Duleek, so called from the Irish word *Domliag*, a stone church, and the office of St. Cianan in the Cambridge library, explains the origin of the name

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\* Pronounced duleek; literally, a stone church.

of the town in the same way. Is it not fair to infer that this stone church did not stand alone, especially since we know that those who are ranked by the Irish as the first class of their primitive saints, were chiefly foreigners from Italy, France, Britain, and even Egypt? The graves of many of these holy men can be ascertained from the litany of *Ængus Ceile de*, written in the year 799. In that venerable ecclesiastical document\* the names of many holy Romans are found, and how grateful must we not feel to Mr. Petrie for having discovered the subjoined monumental inscription near the church of St. Breacon in the great island of Arran.



The characters are of the most ancient kind known in Ireland. The cross is an exact counterpart of the cross on the tomb of St. Breacan himself, who lived early in the sixth century. His tomb was opened some time ago, and

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\* For an account of *Ængus*, see Appendix.



within it was found on a stone now in Mr. Petrie's possession, the following simple petition:

"OROIT AR BRECAN NAILITHER." A prayer for Breacan the Pilgrim.

But we have still better evidence that stone was used in the churches. The authentic annals of Ulster, of Tigernach, and of the four masters, frequently record the *domliag* of the Irish establishments, and that word as explained in all our glossaries and translated by our Irish scholars, can mean nothing but a stone church. It is always rendered in Latin by the word *ecclesia* or *Basilica*, and is used in the Irish language as a synonyme of *teampul*, or *ecles*, while *duirtheach*, the Irish name of another class of churches, is rendered in Latin by *oratorium*. Hence, so far from inferring that no churches were of stone but those named in the Irish annals *domliag*, we must rather conclude that when a church is called in Latin *Ecclesia* or *Basilica*, or in Irish *teampul* or *ecles*, it must have been of stone. Mr. Petrie proves these usages of our writers by copious references to the annals of Ulster, of the four masters, and of Tigernach, at the years 839, 890, 907, 915, 920, 1010, but principally at 1020, where Tigernach and the annals of Ulster expressly mention the great stone church of Armagh, to which the preceding notices also refer. But why do we not find some earlier express record of a stone church at Armagh? Because it was in 839 that the Danes first burned the church: our annals seldom mention the churches except to record their erection or destruction. It being certain then, that at least in the middle of the ninth century the Danes found churches of stone at Armagh, and it being equally certain that St. Patrick built a church there, of which the dimensions, as we learn from his oldest lives, were the same as those of that church which is known to have been of stone, is it not to the highest degree probable that the original church of our apostle was of stone? This, we allow is only a negative proof, but of the highest order, for would our annals have omitted all mention of the substitution of stone for the wood of the apostolic church, when they minutely record even the binding or covering of the apostolic canons? (*p.* 330.)

These principles answer the text from St. Bernard. When speaking of Irish churches, he often uses the word "*Ecclesia*;" when speaking of the stone church built

by St. Malachy, which caused the outcry against the innovation, he uses the words *oratorium lapideum*. A stone oratory *may* have been a novelty in Down, (though a stone church was not;) we say *may*, for it is not clear from the exclamations of the people, that their indignation was against the materials, so much as the size and splendour of the building.\*

We fear we have not done justice to Mr. Petrie's learned arguments on these points. We could not give his proofs in detail. One extract only we give, and that in English, as it proves that "*Round Tower*" is a modern word substituted by theorists for the old name *steeple*, by which to our certain knowledge the towers are known in many parts of the old Pale. The extract is an old translation (in the British Museum) of the Ulster annals, 1020, where they record the burning of Armagh.

A.D. 1020. All Ardmoch burnt wholly, viz. the Damliag with its howsing (houses) or cover of lead y<sup>e</sup> *steeple* with y<sup>e</sup> bells, &c., &c.

The next and to our mind the most conclusive proof of stone-church architecture of the primitive Irish church, is taken from those ruins, which the combined voice of history and tradition, and the identity of architectural peculiarities, both in size, construction, and ornament, refer to the same, and that a most distant period, the very infancy of our church. This argument must lose much of its force, when deprived of the aid of the copious illustrations in Mr. Petrie's work. Enough, however, can be inferred even from verbal description. Many of our Irish readers can easily recognize from the following general view of the oldest Irish churches, several of those venerable remains in many parts of the island:

"The ancient Irish churches are almost invariably of small size; their greatest length rarely exceeding eighty feet, and being usually not more than sixty. One example only is known of a church of greater length, namely the great church or cathedral of Armagh, which according to the Tripartite life of St. Patrick, as already quoted, (*p.* 154,) was originally one hundred and forty feet. That sixty feet, was, however, the usual length, even of the larger

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\* "Visum est Malachiæ debere construi in Benchor, oratorium lapideum instar illorum quæ in aliis regionibus extracta conspex erat. Et cum cœpisset jacere fundamenta indigenæ quidam mirati sunt quod in terrâ illâ necdum ejusmodi ædificia invenirentur... et factum susurro in populis, nunc secreto detrahire, nunc blasphemare palam, notare levitatem, novitatem horrere, sumptas exaggere."—Vita Malachiæ, cap. ix. Florilegium Ins. Sanc.

churches, appears not only from their existing remains, but also from the accounts preserved in the ancient lives of St. Patrick, in which that length is given as the measurement of the *Domnach Mor*, or great church of Patrick, near Tailteann, now Teltoun, in Meath. \* \* \* \* \* † These churches, in their general form, preserve very nearly that of the Roman Basilica, and they are even called by that name in the oldest writers; but they never present the arched semicircular absis at the east end, which is so usual a feature in the Roman churches, and the smaller churches are only simple oblong quadrangles. In addition to this quadrangle, the larger churches present a second oblong of smaller dimensions, extending to the east, and constituting the chancel or sanctuary in which the altar was placed, and which is connected with the nave by a triumphal arch of semicircular form. These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end; and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows splaying inwards, which do not appear to have been ever glazed. The chancel is always better lighted than the nave, and usually has two and sometimes three windows, of which one is always placed in the centre of the east wall, and another in the south wall; the windows in the nave are also usually placed in the south wall, and except in the larger churches, rarely exceed two in number. The windows are frequently triangular headed, but more usually arched semicircularly, while the doorway on the contrary is almost universally covered by a horizontal lintel, consisting of a single stone. In all cases the sides of the door and windows incline, like the doorways in the oldest remains of Cyclopean buildings, to which they bear a singularly striking resemblance. The doorways seldom present any architectural decorations, beyond a mere flat architrave or band, but are most usually plain, and the windows still more rarely exhibit ornaments of any kind. The walls of these churches are always perpendicular, and generally formed of very large polygonal stones carefully adjusted to each other, both on the inner and outer faces, while their interior is filled up with rubble and grouting. In the smaller churches the roofs were frequently formed of stone, but in the larger ones were always of wood, covered with shingle, straw, reeds, and perhaps sometimes with lead. To the above general description I may add, that no churches appear to have been anciently erected in Ireland, either of the circular, the octagonal, or the cross form, as in Italy and Greece, though it would appear that churches of the last form were erected in England at a very early period; and the only exceptions to the simple form already described, is the occasional presence of a small compartment on one side of the chancel to serve the purpose of a sacristy."

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† Book of Armagh, fol. 10. a. b. and Tripartite life of St. Patrick, Pars. ii. c. v. Trias. Thaum. p. 129, 130.

The train of proof by which the great antiquity of these churches is established, is simply this: Mr. Petrie gives us seven or eight churches, in which all the primitive characteristics are found, and which both history and tradition refer to the same period, the 6th and 7th centuries. For instance, after having described the stone roofed oratory of Gallerus, County Kerry, built without cement, he gives us the church of Templepatrick, on the *Isle of the Pious Stranger*, on Lough Corrib. Templepatrick is, as the

name tells, dedicated to St. Patrick; but on the same island there is another church dedicated to the pious stranger, a very ancient building, but of more modern structure than Templepatrick itself. Who was this pious stranger? At a short distance from Templepatrick stands an upright pillar of dark limestone, of which we give a view.

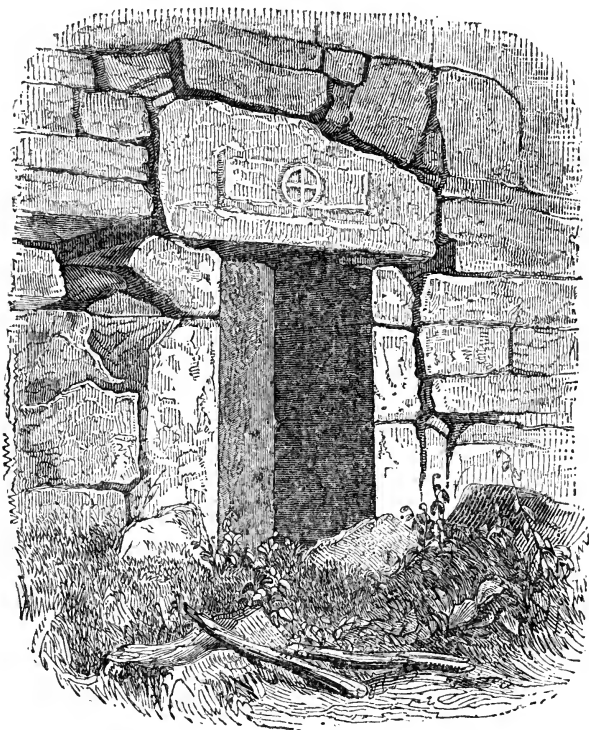
The inscription reads, "The stone of Lugnaedon, the son of Limenuch." The characters are of the earliest Christian antiquity in Ireland. Now many of our readers may require to be told that *an* is an affectionate or reverent diminutive affixed to the names of Irish saints, so that we have to read our annals for a St. Lugnaed, or Lugnat, to whom the stone is dedicated, and among all our records only one person is found of that name. We are told in the tripartite life of St. Patrick, p. 2, c. 50, that when he was in this very neighbourhood, fifteen of his Gallic disciples asked him to assign to them some place of rest. The names of only three of the fifteen are given.



Could Lugnat be one of them? This we know, that in Flann's household of St. Patrick, already quoted, and in St. Evin's life of the same saint, and in other most ancient records, St. Lugnat is mentioned as St. Patrick's pilot, and, according to most of our authorities, his nephew. That there were some relatives of St. Patrick in Ireland, all our historians, even Dr. Lanigan, allow, and that Liemania was a sister of St. Patrick, appears from Mr. Petrie's authorities. Supposing then, that the name of one of St. Patrick's household is on that stone, in the oldest Christian characters, and that the tradition of a secluded island attributes the erection of Templepatrick to our apostle; and looking moreover at the cyclopean character of the masonry, and the primitive dimensions of its chancel, 9 feet square, and its nave, 17 by 13; combining all these facts, can we infer that the churches were really built by those whose names they bear? Perhaps the churches were rebuilt at a later period. (?) The doubt is certainly rational.

But if we find the same correspondence of monumental, traditional, and historical evidence in other cases, must not the doubt disappear? The church of Ratrass, near Tralee, which from its name Mr. Petrie attributes to one of the earliest apostles of Kerry, is of the same kind. The door, which is ornamented with a flat projecting architrave, like those on the oldest Greek and Etruscan buildings, is composed of huge blocks of stone, extending through the entire breadth of the wall, 3 feet thick. Again, in the valley of Glendaloch, we have two churches of the same style, and here too the same correspondence of evidence. The church known as our Lady's church, is, tradition says, the oldest. The door is 6 feet high,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  at top, 3 below, and consists of seven stones going through the wall, which is 3 feet thick. The stones are of chiselled granite; the lintel is carved with a double moulding on the architrave, and on the soffit is a cross saltierwise, according to the most ancient type. The second church, now known as Reefert, is nearly the same, except that instead of the architrave there is merely some chiselling on the left side. So far architectural affinities would refer these two churches to the same, and that a distant period, a conclusion confirmed by historical evidence; for in a life of St. Kevin, (Bol. 7th June,) certainly written before the 12th century, we are told, that having dwelt for four

years in the upper part of the valley, between the mountain and the lake, where there were "dense woods and clear streams," "*densæ silvæ et clari rivuli*," he was at length induced by his disciples to leave his retreat, and dwell with them near a new church, which they built for him, between the mountain and the south side of the upper lake, the very spot on which Reefert church stands to this day. Is there not here the same plain coincidence of all the ingredients of moral evidence?



To the same class of buildings Mr. Petrie refers the church of Fore, of which we select an illustration, not for its superior merit, but to compare it with the doors of the towers. St. Fechin, to whom the church is dedicated, died in 664. The door is made of six stones, all extending through the wall, three feet thick, including the cyclopean lintel, which is six feet long, and two high. The cross in

a circle on a projecting tablet of the lintel, is expressly mentioned in an ancient Irish life of the saint. Mr. Petrie assures us, that there are "hundreds" of similar doors in Ireland which have never been noticed, though he has the authority of travellers for asserting, that no more perfect specimens of what is called cyclopean architecture can be found, even in Greece. He gives two other churches, Kilmacduagh, and one on the isle of Arran, both dedicated to St. Colman Mac Duach, A.D. 610, of which we can only say that they resemble each other and those already described, and that both by history and tradition they are attributed to St. Colman.

When we remember that these churches are in different parts of Ireland, that their architecture is the same, that history and tradition refer them to the first centuries of our church, and that with the exception of the use of cement, and of their quadrangular form, they resemble the construction of known Pagan monuments, must we not conclude that they do belong to the ages to which Mr. Petrie refers them? Can it be urged that the towers are not Christian, because we had no churches of stone?

It has been seen that the chancel arches and some of the windows of those old flat linteled churches are round. From that fact, and from the great probability of the instantaneous introduction of the Roman type by Roman missionaries, as well as from several ancient ruins, Mr. Petrie infers, that many of our primitive churches had the arched door-way. It is very probable, and we think his next volume may prove it. But for the present, we must hesitate to agree with him; because the number of alleged examples is not sufficient, because the workmanship of the door is at least in one of these examples, evidently, he tells us, superior to that of the church itself; the style too is not sufficiently uniform, nor do history and tradition conspire as in the instances of the quadrangular doored churches.

The windows of the primitive churches are always of one light, and generally small, but as Mr. Petrie observes, sufficiently large for a service that required candles. The angular and flat are usually in the south wall of the chancel. The arched, usually in the east. All are splayed internally, but never except in one instance externally, and all have the inclining jambs found in the primitive doors, and in the arches between the chancel and the nave.

We cannot leave our ancient churches without introducing Mr. Petrie, to tell us the reverent spirit with which he studied them. Of course we cannot adopt some of his views. We know no distinction in the *purity* of different ages of our church. In faith and in moral doctrine she is always the spouse of Christ, without spot or wrinkle. If too, he appears to prefer the naked simplicity of our little churches to the majestic proportions and inspiring ceremonial of the Gothic cathedral, though we cannot agree with him, we can remember that his life has been spent among our old churches, and that it is at least natural he should love them. He loves them because they are Irish; and the zeal with which he has gleaned the scattered relics of the ornamental architecture of later ages, proves that he would love them still more, had they been more ornamented.

“I have now described the various features which characterize the hitherto little noticed and unappreciated primitive churches of Ireland. That they have little in them to interest the mind or attract regard as works of art, it would be childish to deny; yet in their symmetrical simplicity, their dimly lighted nave, entered by its central west doorway, and terminating on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view of that brighter sanctuary in which were celebrated the divine mysteries which afforded him consolation in this life and hope in the next—in the total absence of every thing which could distract the attention—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose too often wanting in modern churches of the highest pretensions; as the artless strains, sung to the Creator, which we may believe, were daily hymned in these unadorned temples, were calculated, from their very simplicity and artlessness, to awaken feelings of deep devotion, which the gorgeous artificial music of the modern cathedral but too rarely excites even in minds most predisposed to feel its influences and appreciate its refinement. In short, these ancient temples are just such humble, unadorned structures, as we might expect them to have been; but even if they were found to exhibit less of that fitness and congruity, and more of that humbleness so characteristic of a religion of the poor, truly that mind is but little to be envied, which could look with apathy on the remains of national structures so venerable for their antiquity and so interesting as being raised in honour of our Creator, in the simplest, if not the *purest* ages of christianity. That the unadorned simplicity and contracted dimensions of the earliest Irish churches, were not, at least, altogether the result of poverty and ignorance of the arts in their founders, appears to me extremely probable. Poor these honoured individuals unquestionably were, but that poverty gene-



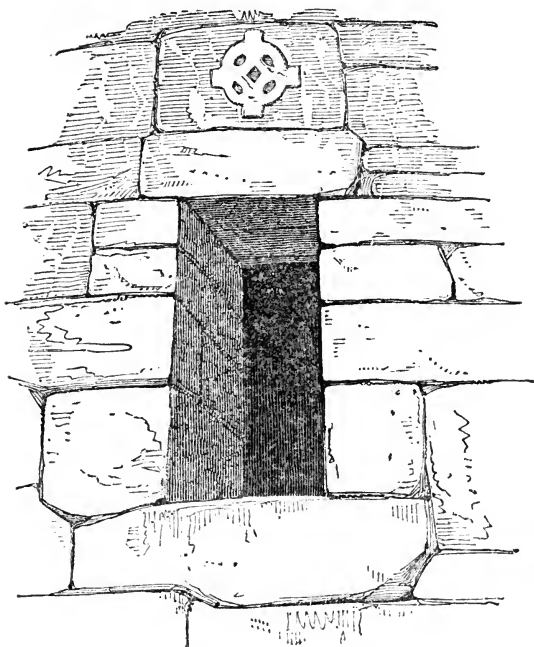
rally, if not in all instances, appears to have been voluntary, as became men walking in the footsteps of our Redeemer; but that they were ignorant of the arts or insensible to their influence, could scarcely have been possible in men very many of whom, Romans, Gauls, and Britons, were educated where those arts though debased are still cultivated, and we have not only abundant historical evidence to show, that many of the ecclesiastics, in those early times, obtained celebrity as artificers and makers of the sacred implements necessary for the church, and as illuminators of books, but we have also still remaining the most indisputable evidences of their skill in those arts in ancient croziers, bells, shrines, &c., &c., and in manuscripts not inferior in splendour to any in Europe."—*P.* 189.

Those who have examined Mr. Petrie's illustrations, and seen the exquisite specimens of sculptured crosses, the elaborate covers of our ancient books, one of which the spirited publishers have appropriately put on his book, and the other evidences of Irish piety and taste on the capitals of many of our churches, can have no doubt of the truth of his vindication of the honour of our country, or of the shallow assertion, that authentic annals do not tell us of any period of Irish civilization, which could solve the mystery of the round towers, and account for the advanced skill of the architects who erected them. If we could follow Mr. Petrie in his proofs of the ornamental architecture of the Irish, previous to the Danish invasion, the mystery would be clear as day-light; but relying on the evidences already given of the stone architecture of the Christian Irish, we come to his direct proof of the Christian origin and uses of the Round Towers.

Assuming that he has shown in the preceding part that the Irish before St. Patrick's time, knew neither the arch nor the use of lime cement; that no building assigned by history or tradition to Pagan times has the form or architectural features of the towers; that, before General Vallancey no writer ever gave them any other but a Christian, or at least mediæval origin; and finally, that the proofs of a Pagan origin, taken from history, or analogy, or etymology, are unsound; assuming these points, he confirms his belief in the Christian origin by positive authorities, which prove that the towers were appendages to Christian establishments, were used as belfries, and as ecclesiastical fortresses, and probably as beacons to light the pilgrims to the shrines of the saints. He even gives a record of the erection of some of the towers.

But here it is to be regretted that we must take upon trust for the present, some very important facts, of which the full evidence is reserved for another volume. The first is, that the towers *never* are found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical establishments, which is denied by Dr. Lanigan and others, though without grounds, we believe; the next is, that the architectural features of the towers are found in the original churches with which they are connected, where such remain; and finally, that Christian emblems are on *several* of them, and others exhibit a style of architecture universally acknowledged to belong to Christian times, while all have some architectural points not seen in any known Pagan remains in Ireland. These are most important points, so important, that any person asking them as postulates in a demonstration of the Christian theory, would expose himself to ridicule, if he did not at the same time give some general guarantees of their truth. Such guarantees the volume before us abundantly supplies. We have the doors and windows of ten or twelve towers, with all their architectural peculiarities, obvious to even an unprofessional eye, and made still more clear by a copious explanation in the text. The work itself must be seen to feel the force of this analogy between the church and tower doors, so different from the fanciful analogies between our towers and Hanway's; but with the help of two illustrations from the towers of Antrim and Timahoe, and with a verbal description of the others, the traces of the same architectural hand on towers and their corresponding churches, will be sufficiently legible.

All the architectural features of the church doors already noticed, are found on the towers; the inclining jambs in all, the massive lintels of the quadrangular doors of Drumbo and Swords, where churches were built by St. Patrick and St. Columba; the arch cut out of a single stone in the towers of Glendaloch and Kilmacduagh—the masonry of the latter exactly resembling that of its church, and both attributed by popular tradition to the Goban Saer, who did live at the time of the foundation of the church (A. D. 610); the regular arch in the towers of Oughterard and Tory Island—the former formed of three, the latter of several small stones, and the ornamented door of Antrim tower—of which we give an illustration—and which resembles the door of the church of Fore, given at page 40.



“This doorway,” says Mr. Petrie, “which is placed at an elevation of about twelve feet from the ground, is constructed of large blocks of coarse-grained basalt, found in the neighbourhood, many of the stones extending the entire thickness of the wall, which is three feet three inches. It is but four feet four inches in height, one foot ten inches in width at top, and two feet at the bottom. It is remarkable in having a pierced cross within a circle, sculptured in *relievo*, on the stone immediately over the lintel, somewhat similar to that on the lintel of the doorway of St. Fechin’s church at Fore, and such sculptures appear to me strong evidence that both churches and towers were regarded as sanctuaries. It is remarkable that though the foundation of the church of Antrim is ascribed—perhaps erroneously—to St. Mochaio, a contemporary of St. Patrick’s, who died according to the Irish annalists, in the year 496, the popular tradition of the country ascribes the erection of the tower to the celebrated builder called Goban Saer, who flourished in the seventh century.”

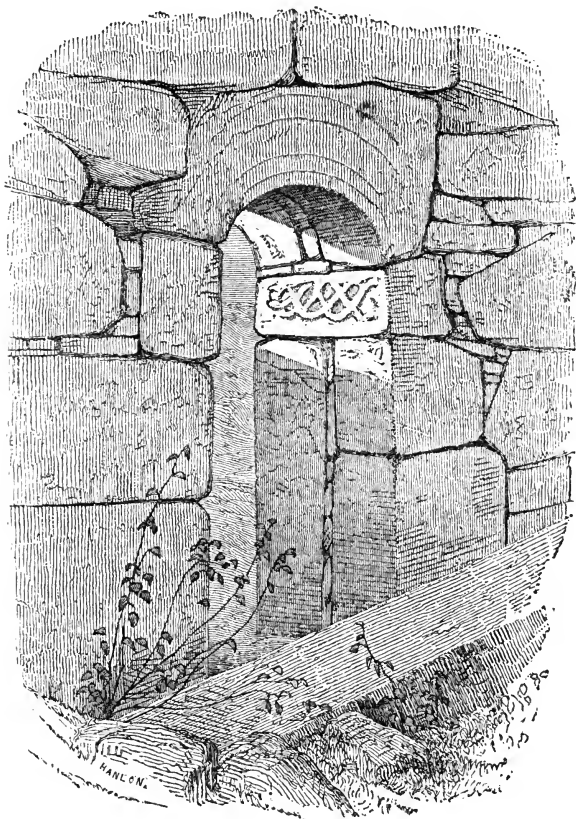
Not only in the general features of the five mentioned towers, but in the details of others, this identity of style in church and tower doors is, with some exceptions, manifest.

The quadrangular doors of the towers have not the architrave of some of the churches, but it is found on the arched door of the tower of Roscrea; and sometimes united with two or three torus mouldings, as on the tower of Monasterboice and Donaghmore—on the latter of which there is an image of our Saviour crucified, in relievo, on the key-stone and the one above it. The same image is found on the door of the Scottish tower at Breacon, which Mr. Petrie asserts he can prove, in his next volume, was erected by Irish ecclesiastics in the year 1020. The four last mentioned towers, and the great tower of Clonmacnoise, (of which he gives two beautiful illustrations,) are referred by him to a later period than the five former towers. If, as we remarked with regard to the churches, historical evidence and identity of architectural ornament, conspire in referring any number of our ecclesiastical buildings to the same period, we consider the evidence conclusive; but architectural ornament alone, such at least as these latter towers exhibit, do not satisfy us that they are posterior, for instance, to the church of Ratras or Glendaloch, which have precisely the same ornaments—the doors alone differing in form. But this science of Irish ecclesiastical ornament is yet in its infancy; and it were idle to offer conjectures on its rise and developement, until Mr. Petrie gives us his next volume. An error in assigning the date of any of the towers by no means invalidates his general conclusion that the style of architecture in churches and towers is identical.

Thus, in the windows of the towers you have all the architectural varieties of the church windows, except the splay. The arch, the angular-headed, and the flat, are found in the tower of Kells. They are very small, except that over the door, and those on the top, which are larger than even the doors themselves. In some, windows angular externally, as in Cashel, and in others arched externally, as in Dysert, the interior is quadrangular; and in almost all the windows immediately over the door, and in a few others, as in Roscrea, the angular exterior and arched interior are combined. But in none, except the small tower of Clonmacnoise, are they recessed.

In confirmation of the preceding architectural analogies, and as a sort of transition from the unornamented style to the highly ornamented doors of Kildare and Timahoe, we give the following illustration from the door of the

church of St. Dairbhile. Its arch is the same as those of the towers of Glendaloch and Kilmacduagh, and its masonry will convey to those who may not see Mr. Petrie's book, a pretty fair notion of the masonry of the towers of Oughterand and Tory Island.



“That this church is that erected by St. Dairbhile, whose name it bears, and whose tomb is situated within its cemetery, I cannot entertain the slightest doubt; and therefore, if I am not in error, it must be regarded as a church of the sixth century, when St. Dairbhile unquestionably flourished. This fact appears from her pedigrees, as preserved in the book of the Genealogies of the Irish Saints, from which we learn that she was fourth in descent from the monarch Dathi, who was killed, according to the *Chronicon Scoto-*

rum, in the year 427, so that allowing the usual number of thirty years to a generation, she must have lived about the middle of the sixth century. \* \* \* \* \* St. Dairbhile was of the second class of the Irish saints, and her festivals are set down in the Irish calendars, at the 3rd of August, and 26th of October.

“If, then, in a church erected in the middle of the sixth century, situated too in a remote corner of the island, where we should least expect to find traces of ancient civilization or knowledge of the arts, we find an example, however rude, of the use of architectural ornament requiring the sculptor’s aid, is it not a legitimate inference that it could hardly have been a solitary example, and that ornaments of a higher character must have existed in churches in more civilized parts of the country, and be perpetuated at least to some extent, from age to age?”

We have already given a general view of Mr. Petrie’s proofs of Irish architectural skill, previous to the invasion of the Danes. They may not be as satisfactory to others as they are to ourselves; but on the similarity of the ornamental style in church and tower doors, whatever its date may be, there cannot remain even a shadow of doubt. Every stroke of the chisel proves the identity. Not only in the general plan, but even in some of the most minute details, the ornamented doors of Timahoe and Kildare are counterparts of the architectural ornament of some of the old Irish churches. This is a kind of argument, as we have already remarked, which could be felt in its full force only by those who look at Mr. Petrie’s very copious and beautiful illustrations of both classes of buildings. But even one view of the tower door of Timahoe, accompanied with a verbal description of some of its principal ornaments, and compared with a section from the old Irish church of Rahen, in the King’s County must settle the question.

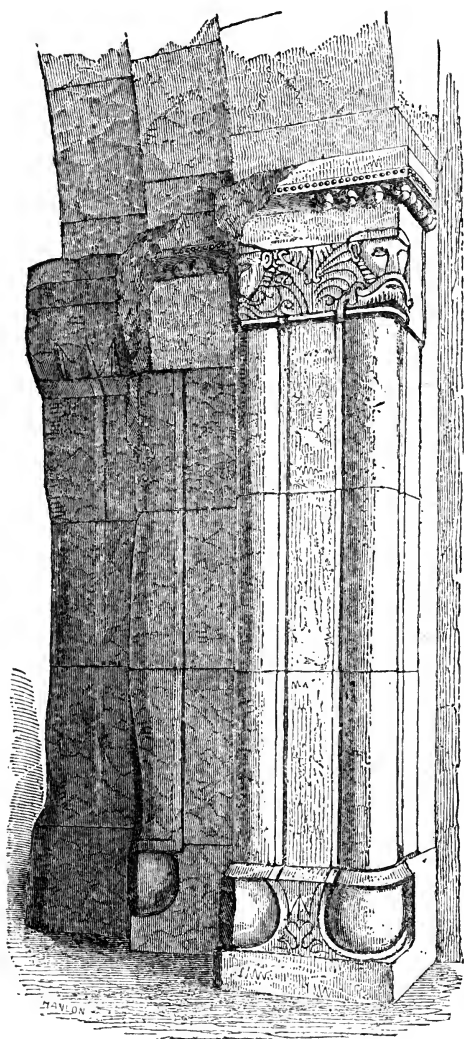
This doorway, like that of Kildare, is formed of hard siliceous sandstone. It consists of two divisions, separated by a deep reveal, and presenting each a double compound recessed arch, resting on plain shafts, with flat capitals. The capitals of the shafts of the external arch are decorated with human heads. The bases are decorated with human heads also on the alternate eastern, and with a figure resembling an hour-glass on their alternate western angles. The jambs of the recessed arch of this first division are rounded with semicolumns at the angles. They have no ornament at their base; but the imposts or capitals present at each angle on the west side a human head, with thick moustache, lank whiskers, and flowing beard.



The hair of both heads is divided in the middle of the forehead, and passing over the ears forms by interlacing a cross of highly-complicated and graceful tracery. The capitals on the east are similarly ornamented, except that the cross is less complicated.

The outer archway of the second division has a semi-column at each angle, with a human head as capital. The head on the west has the hair in massive curls over the forehead, while the space at the back of the head and under the cheek is filled by interlaced flowery ornament. The head on the east has the plain moustache, and the hair arranged in straight plats from ear to ear under the chin.

For a fuller detail of the ornaments of this doorway—especially the crosses, formed by a check in alternate depression and relief—we must refer to the work itself. The ornaments we have endeavoured to describe are enough for our purpose. They can be better understood from a section of Rahen church, on which a little attention will show all of them are found.



“Of this building, which is still used as a parish church, the chancel only appears to be ancient, and even this has suffered the loss of its original east window. The chancel arch, however, still remains, as also a circular window, richly ornamented, which lighted a chamber placed between the chancel and the roof. The chancel is stone-roofed, as we may well believe the entire church to



have been originally. It is in the ornaments of the chancel archway, however, that the similarity of design and execution to those in the tower of Timahoe is chiefly found. This archway, as will be seen from the annexed drawing, consists of three rectangular piers at each side, rounded at their angles into semicolumns, which support three semicircular arches, entirely unornamented except by a plain architrave on the external one. The capitals on which the greatest richness of ornament is found, are those on the third or innermost of these piers on each side; and like those on Timahoe, these ornaments though similar in design are dissimilar in detail, and their bases differ in like manner. The resemblance of these ornaments to those at Timahoe, will, I think, be at once obvious."

Mr. Petrie proves, from the Irish annals, that this church must have been founded before the close of the 8th century: a fact which is confirmed both by the inclination of the jambs, the similarity of its ornament to that on the tower of Kildare, and by several architectural features not found in any buildings in the Norman style in England or Ireland.

If those who formed their opinions from Eastern analogies weigh the preceding facts, there can be no doubt of the result. Analogies so plain, in all that stamps affiliation on styles of different buildings—on the doors, on the windows, in the masonic construction, in ornamental details—prove that towers and churches were built by the same hands; unless we conjecture, with Mr. D'Alton, a gigantic system of *pious frauds*, which gave a Christian face to pagan fire towers.

The argument from the name of the towers is in itself clear, but grows stronger from the attempts to elude it. Had the towers been fire temples, their name would be preserved in legendary or authentic Irish records. While we know the names of pagan gods, and of many of their religious rites—while Mr. Moore can tell us the names of pagan festivals, and of the places where they were held—while we have the names even of druids who opposed St. Patrick, is it possible that the pagan name of the towers could have been totally lost? As well might we suppose the pagan name of the sun and moon—those Irish gods—to be banished from the language on the conversion of the country, as the name of an object, at once the most prominent, and the most intimately blended with the ancient habits of the people. Still, there is not, in the whole range of Irish literature—there never was in any

known document—nor is there now where the Irish language is spoken, any name for the towers but *cloigteac*, or its synonymes, meaning a belfry. To assert that the converted Irish would have proscribed the name of the fire temple, while they preserved the names of their gods in the days of the week, is improbable in itself, and opposed to analogy: several terms of pagan meaning having been preserved in the Christian vocabulary of every country, and often even consecrated to a Christian use.

It is certain that the Irish had, from the earliest periods, detached belfries near their cathedral and abbey churches; and it is equally certain that no belfry, round or square, except the round towers, has ever been discovered before the 12th century, but in one, and that a modern instance. Mr. Petrie shows, from incidental allusions and express texts of our native writers, that the towers are the belfries of the annals. They were high, near the church, but not part of it; of stone, adapted for defence, and have a known proportion to the dimensions of their church. Thus, in an ancient life of Christ, certainly older than the 11th century, the author describes the star seen by the magi:

“It (the star) came afterwards a journey of the twelve months in twelve days, and it was *higher* than a *cloitech* before us.”

It was of stone, as appears from the four masters:

1121. The *cloitech* of Tullamaine, in Ossory, split by lightning, and a *stone* which flew out of the *cloitech* there killed a youth who was reading in the church.”

It was not part of the church, but stood near it, as appears both from its being always separately named as one of the group of ecclesiastical buildings, and also from authorities cited by Mr. Petrie.—Thus, a poet ranks the erection of a *cloitech* on the church as an impossibility:

“Until rocks grow upon brown oaks,  
Until boisterous waves be on green pools,  
Until *cloitechs* be over churches,  
This vision shall not prove delusive.”

This custom of keeping the church and the belfry detached, prevailed in ancient times; but we have still existing some evidences of the transition to the modern fashion—round steeples being in some instances attached to the

church, "as if," says Sir Walter Scott, "some architect of genius had hit upon the plan of combining them."

For the sake of our clerical readers, and for its connexion with this use of the towers, we give the orders of the ancient Irish ostiarii. The passages are taken from a tract in the Brehon laws, on the duties and rewards of the seven ecclesiastical degrees. It is one of those purely ecclesiastical Catholic documents, lying, like so many others, unknown or despised in our manuscript collections.

"Aistreoir, i. e., uas aitreoir, i. e., noble his work, when it is the bell of a cloiteach—or aistreoir, i. e., isil aith reoir, (i. e., humble or low his work,) when it is a hand-bell."

Or, as the same office is explained in another place :

"Aistreoir, i. e., changeable his work, i. e., to ring the bell or use the keys, (in opening the church.)"

But the most decisive authority is that which shows that the cloiteach bore a known ratio to the dimension of its church. It is a fragment of the Brehon laws; and though, unfortunately, very obscure on some points, it leaves no doubt that the cloiteach was of the same material as the daimliag, or stone church. After defining the price of the duirteach (oratory) and daimliag, the following rule is laid down :

"The *cloiteach*; its base to be measured; that (again) to be measured with the base of the *daimliag* for (determining) its proportions; and the excess of the length and breadth of the daimliag over it, (i. e.,) over the measurement of the cloiteach, that is the rule for the height of the cloiteach; and if there should be an excess, i. e., in the height of the cloiteach compared with the daimliag, which is of equal price with it, a proportionate excess of price is to be paid for the cloiteach."

From this it appears that the cloiteach must have been a building of one dimension, for there is nothing said of its length and breadth, as in the case of the daimliag and duirteach. It must have been, usually at least, in a certain proportion to the daimliag; for, though the text provides for the additional expense of an exceptional case, it supposes the excess of the two dimensions of the daimliag over the base of the cloiteach to be the ordinary standard of height. If, then, we take the measurement of the base of the cloiteach to be its external circumference; and the measurement of the daimliag, the external measurement

of its four sides, we have a rule which agrees with the known relative dimensions of some of our towers and churches.

“For example, the cathedral church of Glendalough, as it appears to have been originally constructed, was fifty-five feet in length, and thirty-seven in breadth, giving a perimeter of 184 feet. If from this we subtract the circumference of the tower at the base, which is fifty-two feet, we shall have a remainder of 132 feet as the prescribed height for the latter. And such we may well believe was the original height of this structure; for to its present height of 110 feet should be added from fifteen to eighteen feet for its conical roof, now wanting, and perhaps a few feet at its base, which are concealed by the accumulation of earth around it. In cases of churches having a chancel as well as a nave, the rule thus understood seems equally applicable; for example, the church of Inis-caltra gives a perimeter of 162 feet, from which, deducting forty-six feet, the circumference of the tower, we have 116 feet as the prescribed height of the latter, which cannot be far from the actual original height of the tower; for to its present height of eighty feet, must be added ten or twelve feet for the upper story, which is now wanting, fifteen feet for its conical roof, and a few feet for a portion concealed at its base.”

But since our churches were so small, why were the belfries raised so high, especially for those tiny bells we see in the Irish Academy? Now, on this point we must take into account the spirit of faith—the faith that raised the spire of Strasburg and St. Peter’s dome; we must remember that, according to Mr. Petrie, the cross rose over the tower, and is it so surprising that, when Ireland was an island of saints, the prince or bishop would raise his belfry higher than might seem fit in our days—so high that its bells might be heard at the greatest possible distance, and fall like a voice from heaven on the cells, groves, and churches, clustered below? The windows in the top of the tower are larger than even the door itself; so that the sound would not be stifled, as Dr. Milner supposes. But it was not for bells alone they were built; they were built in troubled times, when the Danes swept the seas, and when native chiefs sometimes committed sacrilege; they were built by the side of the church or monastery, and sometimes of the nunnery, when sacred books and vessels were more loved, and harder to be replaced than now; they contain many of them six or seven stories, and would easily accommodate more than 100 persons; and surely

no person can deny that they were adapted to their object: for if, in the full blaze of science in the 19th century, a premium was proposed by the board of public works, for the best retreat for communities of peaceful men and women—in ages when artillery was unknown—a retreat which could be held even by a resolute nun, can anything be conceived more perfect than the tower? bolt the door, and all is safe against fire and sword, and all the known arts of war. If we except those subterraneous vaults, which tradition says are near all our old abbeys, no retreat could be more secure, for, as Colonel Montmorency remarks :

“The Irish pillar tower, as a defensive hold, taking into account the period that produced it, may fairly pass for one of the completest inventions that can well be imagined. Impregnable every way, and proof against fire, it could never be taken by assault. Although the abbey and its dependencies blazed around, the tower disregarded the fury of the flames, its extreme height, its isolated position, and diminutive doorway, elevated so many feet above the ground, placed it beyond the reach of the besiegers.”

Their defensive character is also shown from the construction of the door of the tower of Roscrea, as explained by Mr. Petrie.

We have, however, sad proof that they were not always safe against war or accident. Thus, in the Four Masters, (A.D. 948.): “The *cloicteach* of stone was burned by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Cavinchair-Reader of Slane, and the crozier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells.” And (A.D. 1097.) “The *cloicteach* of the monastery—i.e. of Monasterboice—with many books and treasures, was burnt.”

It is no objection against these and similar proofs of the defensive uses of the towers, to say with Dr. O’Conor, that the towers could not be burnt, because they were of stone, or with Mr. D’Alton, that those which are said to have been burned are standing to-day: because nothing is more common in history, in common language, and in the daily records, than to say that a building was burnt to the ground, though its stone walls remain, provided its timber-work and furniture had perished in the flames. We should add, that Mr. Petrie shows the term *cloicteach* to have been sometimes applied to designate any sort of defensive building; which is sufficient evidence that such must have been one of the primary objects of the towers.

He adopts as probable the following conjecture of Dr. Lingard, which is corroborated by a notice of the beacon-tower of St. Columbanus, at Luxeuil :

“ If I may be allowed a conjecture on a subject which has exercised the ingenuity of many writers, (the round towers,) I conceive such towers to have been originally built at a short distance from the church, that the walls might not be endangered by their weight, and that they were not considered merely as an ornament, but used as beacons to direct the traveller towards the church or monastery. Lights were kept burning in them during the night, at least such was the fact with respect to the new tower of Winchester, which consisted of five stories, in each of which were four windows, looking towards the four cardinal points, that are illuminated every night.”—*Ang. Sax. Church*, 2nd edition, p. 479.

The conjecture that the towers were built for an order of Irish disciples of St. Simon Stylite, or as penitential stations, needs no refutation. The former, though maintained by the learned Harris, is barely saved from being contemptible by the venerable name of Dr. Milner ; for what conceivable resemblance is there between our towers and solid pillars, such as those of the East, which were usually only six, and never more than thirty or forty cubits high. The theory of the penitential stations is equally improbable. It has no support from Irish annals, no analogy from Christian discipline in other countries, and not even the poor recommendation of plausible etymology. Its only proof advanced by Dr. Smith is, that *turris* in Irish means penance ; and therefore, as the Irish adopted all their ecclesiastical terms from the Latin, penance must have been performed in the towers. But *turris* is not an Irish word. There is a word, *turas*, which means a journey or tour, and sometimes figuratively a pilgrimage ; but the word generally adopted, as Mr. Petrie proves, for a pilgrimage, is either *aithrige*, literally penance, or *ailithre*, compounded of *ail*, an upright stone, and *triallam*, to go round, from the motion of the pilgrims on their knees around the pillar, stones, or crosses of the saints. The egregious blunder by which Harris metamorphosed the little stone cells of the anchorites into the towers, because the cells were called *cloc angcoire*, the stone of the anchorite, is learnedly refuted by Mr. O'Donovan.

It is probable that the towers were sanctuaries. Thus,

among other authorities, we have the following in the book of Leinster :

“ He who commits a theft,  
It will be grievous to thee,  
If he obtains his protection  
In the house of a king or of a bell.”

We trust that, even from our meagre abstract of Mr. Petrie's labours, many of our readers are prepared to admit with him, that if he can fix the date of a *cloiteach*, he has the date of a round tower. He gives several good reasons for believing that some of the towers, if not coeval with our Church, are at least of the 6th or 7th century. It is certain that the ostiarius, whom we have already seen employed in the tower, was introduced by St. Patrick, and it is equally certain that bells much larger than the hand-bell were in Ireland in his time. But there can be no doubt that most of the towers were founded at a much later period. The ravages of the Danes, described by our annalists “as second only to the tyranny of hell,” must have urged the multiplication of the only fortress that could escape their sudden and destructive incursions. At all events, the architecture of most of our remaining towers proves that they are not older than the 9th or 10th century. The first authentic record of the erection of a tower is at the year 964 ; but the absence of earlier notices is no proof that the towers did not exist ; because, being part of the ecclesiastical establishment, no express mention of them would be made. The record is from the *Chronicon Scotorum* :

“ A. D. 964. Cormac O'Killen, of the Hy-Fiachia Aine, coarb of SS. Kieran, Cummin, and Cronan, who built the great church and *cloiteach* of Tuam Graine ; a man, wise, aged, and a bishop, slept in Christ.”

The great tower of Clonmacnoise is of the same date. It is attributed to Fergal O'Ruairk, according to the following record from the Registry of that establishment, translated for Sir James Ware, by Duaid Mac Fortis :

“ And the same O'Ruairk of his devotion towards y<sup>e</sup> church undertook to repair those churches, and keep them in reparation during his life upon his own chardges, and to make a Causey, or Togher from y<sup>e</sup> place called Cruan na Feadh to Jubhar Conaire, and from Jubhar to the Loch ; and the said Fergal did perform it,

together with all other promises y<sup>t</sup> he made to Cluain, and the repaying of that number of Chapels or Cells, and the making of that Causey, or Togher, and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish *Claicthough*, in Cluain, as a memorial of his own part of that Cemetary: and the said Fergal hath made all those cells before specified in mortmain for him and his heirs to Cluain; and thus was the sepulture of the O'Ruairks bought."

In Mac Liag's Life of the great Brian Borionmhe, we have the same evidences of his zeal for the Church, as his victories have given us of the prowess of his arms:

"By him were founded cells and churches, and were made *daimliacs*, and *cloictheachs*, and *duirtheachs* in it." [Ireland].

And again:

"It is Brian that gave out seven monasteries, both furniture, and cattle, and land; and *thirty-two cloictheachs*; and it is by him the marriage ceremony was confirmed; and it is during his time surnames were first given, and territories [were allotted] to the surnames, and the boundaries of every lordship and cantred was fixed; and it is in his time the degrees of chief, and poet, and ecclesiastic were appointed. It is Brian also that never refused science from the night of his birth to the night of his death."

Similar proofs of the zeal of O'Carrol, King of Oriel, are found in the subjoined entry in the antiphonary of the cathedral of Armagh:

"*Kalend. Januar. v. feria, lun. x. Anno Domini m. c. lxx.* A prayer for Donnchadh O'Carrol, supreme king of *Airgiall*, by whom were made the book of *Cnoc na n-Apstal* at Louth, and the chief books of the order of the year, and the chief books of the mass. It was this great king who founded the entire monastery both [as to] stone and wood, and gave territory and land to it, for the prosperity of his soul, in honour of [SS.] Paul and Peter. By him the church throughout the land of *Oirghiall* was reformed, and a regular bishoprick was made, and the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop. In his time tithes were received, and the marriage [ceremony] was assented to, and churches were founded, and temples and *cloictheachs* were made, and monasteries of monks, and canons, and nuns were re-edified, and *nemheds* were made. These are especially the works which he performed, for the prosperity [of his soul] and reign, in the land of *Airghiall*, namely, the monastery of monks on the bank of the Boyne [both as to] stone and wooden furniture, and books, and territory and land, in which [monastery] there are one hundred monks and three hundred con-



ventuals, and the monastery of canons of *Termann Feichin*, and the monastery of nuns, and the great church of *Termann Feichin*, and the church of *Lepadh Feichin*, and the church of \* \* \* \*."

We now take leave of Mr. Petrie, hoping to renew our acquaintance, if he does not fall to a more skilful hand. It would require a knowledge of the history of ornamental architecture and of sacred archæology, greater than we possess, to be able in so short a time to do any like justice to his splendid work. This we assure our readers, that if we were called upon to lose for ever his discussion on the round towers, or his other contributions to our national history, however grateful we feel to him for having restored to us the inspiring Christian associations of our towers, we should certainly give them up rather than the other monuments of our Church which he has saved. The conviction of having raised the character of his country, and vindicated the memory of her saints, must be a higher reward to Mr. Petrie than any praise of ours, or any liberality of man could bestow. In France a work like his would be a patent of nobility, a seat in the Chamber of Peers; and in Ireland, if we had a government that wished to rally around it the national associations, and strike its roots deep into the national heart, encouragement to men like Mr. Petrie would be sound policy, as it certainly is common justice. For our own parts, fervently hoping that he may be enabled to complete his glorious task, we venture the popish wish, that he may have the blessings of all the saints in the Festilogium of *Ængus*.

Too much praise cannot be given to the spirited publishers for the style of a work, which raises the national press, though it can scarcely bring them any remuneration.

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The following account of *Ængus* is taken from Colgan:

*Ængus*, or as he is called in Latin, *Ængusius* or *Æneas*, flourished in Ireland about the close of the eighth century. He was a man of noble birth and exalted piety, and both by his ecclesiastical writings and holy life, immortalized his name and reflected the brightest lustre on his country. He was son of *Ængavan*, the son of *Oblein*, the son of *Fidhraus*, of the royal stock of the *Dalaradians*

of Ulster, and traced his descent through an unbroken line of illustrious names to Coelbach, king of Ireland.

Inspired from his earliest infancy with an ardent desire of Christian perfection, he embraced the religious life in the monastery of Cluain-edhneoch in Offaly, a province in Leinster, where, under the care of the holy Abbot Malathgenius, he made so rapid a progress in learning and in the science of the saints, that in a short time no name in Ireland ranked higher, both for profound and sacred erudition, and for all the virtues of the religious state. From his tenderest years he had led a most mortified life, and never ceased to chastise his body and keep it under subjection by rigid austerities. Not far from the monastery of Cluain-edhneoch, he had a retreat, called from his name Desert Ængus, or Ængus's Desert, where he devoted himself entirely to sing the praises of God, and waged constant war against the flesh and the devil. Besides many other pious practices, he repeated the whole psalter, and made three hundred genuflexions every day. He divided the psalter into three portions, and recited the first in the oratory, the second under a noble tree that shaded his cell, and the third with a cord round his neck tied to a stake, and immersed up to the middle in cold water.

But the fame of his extraordinary sanctity having spread far and wide, and drawn great crowds towards his cell, he resolved to bury himself in some retreat where he could live secure from the demon of vain glory. He withdrew secretly, and was on his way to Tallaght, (near Dublin) where the great St. Molruan governed a fervent community of monks, but having turned in from the road to pray in the church of Cuil-benchuir in Offaly, he saw bright legions of angels around a tomb, and heard with rapture their sweet songs of heaven which they were singing over the dead. He inquired of the priest of the church who it was that slept in that tomb, and heard that it was a warrior, who had given up the strife of earthly arms for the armour of Christ, and had but a few days before closed a long life of penance by a most happy death. This was a great grace for Ængus, he asked many questions about the departed soldier, what were his habits? his penitential exercises? his favourite devotions? but except the usual austerities, he could learn nothing particular except that every night before he fell asleep, he used to invoke the

assistance of all the saints whose names he could think of, an exercise which he practised in the morning also. From this moment Ængus began to reflect how agreeable it should be to heaven, how edifying to his brethren, and how good for his own soul, to compose a metrical hymn in honour of all the saints, which he might repeat till his death, and bequeath as a rich legacy to his country.

But he did not think himself fit for such a heavenly work. Concealing his name and the name of his monastery, he appeared at the gates of Tallaght, and humbly begged leave to be enrolled among the lay-brothers. He was admitted, and he who had formerly been the delight of crowds of admiring scholars, now spent his days in the barn, or the farm-yard, or at the mill, or toiled in the fields under the moist skies of his country, selecting for his own share the most repulsive and fatiguing tasks of the labourer's life. Thus he remained many years, unknown to the world and to his brethren, except as the most austere of their community.

But the time at last came, when this great light was to be raised high in the church. One day as he was at work in the barn, one of the scholars who had not prepared his task and was afraid to appear before his master, entered and endeavoured to conceal himself for that day at least. Ængus having learned the source of the poor boy's uneasiness, cheered him with kind words and having put him to sleep for a short time, awakened him, and asked him to repeat his lesson. The boy, to his amazement, found that he was perfectly prepared, and repeated every word of it without hesitation. Ængus then told him to go to his master, but on no account whatever to reveal what had occurred.

The master was most agreeably surprised at the wonderful change in his truant pupil, and insisted on knowing who had instructed him. For awhile the boy kept his secret, but at last told the whole affair just as it happened. St. Molruan, for it was the abbot himself who was teaching the boy, illumined by a light from heaven, says the legend, at once knew that the mortified lay-brother was the renowned Ængus of Cluain-edhneoch. He rushed to the barn and throwing himself into the arms of the astonished Ængus, "Oh, chosen one of God!" he exclaimed, "why have you imposed on us? was it not meet that we should have been your servants? why have you deceived

us?" Ængus could not say a word in his defence, he was overpowered by the kindness of the good abbot, and throwing himself on his knees begged pardon for his fault. From that hour they were friends till death, aiding each other with good example and pious counsel through this dangerous world.

It was then that Ængus was fit to tell the glories of the saints. His heart had been purified by his long and secret trials. He knew how vain was the glory of man, and upon what frail grounds it often rests. He remembered the warrior's tomb, the bright angels and their heavenly song, and taking up his pious inspiration, bequeathed to Ireland his Festilogium of the saints.

Gentle reader, perhaps you are an *esprit fort*, and shake your wise head at the legends of the saints. But if you cannot say with Montalembert that you believe all the wonderful things that have ever been told of the great friends of God, if you are insensible to the heavenly poetry of those simple narratives, if you cannot feel how well they have sustained in the hearts of your believing fathers the great truths of faith; hear the orator, the Catholic statesman, the glory of France and the friend of Ireland, the same Montalembert, "*La moindre petite legende Catholique a gagné plus de cœurs a ces immortelles verités que toutes les dissertations des philosophes.*"

More than a thousand years have passed since Ængus prayed and wrote in the holy house at Tallaght; his works are still extant, written in the Irish tongue, but like their author, when a lay-brother, they are scarcely known even by name. They are mouldering in manuscript, in Catholic Ireland, when Protestant England has restored the memory of her Saxon saints. We beg the Irish Catholic, whoever he may be, who reads this, to think whether it is creditable to his country or his faith, that our old Irish Catholic literature should be thus consigned to contempt. Let us hear Colgan telling us from his cell in Louvain, all that Ængus did for the glory of Ireland.

"This most holy man wrote many works, by which as well as by his merits and virtues, he did honour to his country, and transmitted his own glory to posterity. The best known and the greatest favourite with his countrymen is his Martyrology, or as he calls it, his Festilogium, written in the ancient metre of his native tongue, and enumerating for each day some only of the principal saints, or as he

calls them the princes of the saints. The cause of the brevity of the *Festilogium* was, because he intended it for his own daily use, and he did continue to recite it every day according to the example of the pious soldier, of whom we have spoken above. For if he had commemorated all the saints, it would have been impossible for him to recite it, because we have already seen, that besides many other religious exercises he used to say the entire psalter every day. *Ængus* himself, or some ancient scholiast appended notes to the *Festilogium*, consisting principally of some of the characteristic virtues, or of fuller particulars of the lives of the commemorated saints."

But lest the holy man might appear insensible to the glory of those saints whose names he had omitted, or appear to throw any doubt on their holiness, he composed, with the assistance of his friend *St. Molruan*, another *Martyrology* in prose, far the most comprehensive, and commemorating more saints of every age and country than any other that I have ever seen. For he gives at each day, first, a long list of all the saints of other countries, and then subjoins separately the names of his own Irish saints; so that, perhaps, that first part which commemorates a great number of saints omitted in the Roman and other *Martyrologies*, is that very *Martyrology* of *Jerome* or of *Eusebius*, so often cited by ancient writers, but now unhappily unknown. At all events as *Ængus* in his metrical *Martyrology* cites that of *Eusebius* and *Jerome*, it is probable that he must have used it in compiling his own. In two mutilated copies of this prose *Martyrology* which have come to my hands, and which have no more than the name of many saints, the title is "The *Martyrology* of *Ængus* and *Molruan*." But I always shall cite it as the *Martyrology* of *Tallaght*.

*Ængus* survived his holy friend *Molruan*, and enshrined him in his metrical *Martyrology* as "The Bright Sun of Ireland."

But besides these *Martyrologies*, *Ængus* served his country and the Church of God with many other works still extant, well worthy, and I hope soon, to be published. He wrote five books on the saints of Ireland, a countless host, the glorious assertors of her title—the Island of Saints. The first book tells us in three chapters, the saints of different orders or classes; first, 345 bishops, second, 299 priests and abbots, third, 78 deacons.

The second book is on the Homonymi, or saints of the same name, and consists of two parts, the first contains fifty chapters on the holy men of the same name, the second, twelve chapters on the holy women of the same name; and this book, though it has but sixty-two different names of saints, commemorates not less than 855 persons of some one or other of the names.

The third book is called the "Book of Sons," who are divided into three classes—first, those holy men who were of the same father, second, *only* sons, each of whom is cited not by his own, but by his father's name, and third, holy women descended from the same father. The number of saints in this book is uncertain, but the names of at least ninety-four fathers, who had one or more saints among his children, are cited.

The fourth book gives the maternal genealogy of 210 Irish saints, whence we may infer that the paternal genealogy must have been compiled either by the same or by some more ancient writer.

The fifth book is on the Litanies composed for daily prayer, and invoking in a long list, saints who had been associated by any special bond, as because they either studied under the same master, or followed the same apostle to preach the faith to the heathen, or were buried in the same monastery, or associated in the same church, or were conjoined by some other link of saintly friendship.

In these Litanies several thousand saints are invoked; and it is from them that Mr. Petrie selects the following as published by Ward and Colgan, to prove that Ireland was the island of saints, not merely because she sent forth troops to every country in Europe, but because the soil we tread covers the remains of many thousand foreigners, who came to find learning, or the greatest learning of all—the science of the saints. The Litanies, like the other pious writings of Ængus, are lying safe in manuscript in the libraries of a lay-society and of a Protestant college: are they in our Irish Catholic libraries? But for the Litany:

"Sanctos Romanos qui jacent in Achadh Galma in Ybh-Echia, invoco in auxilium meum per Jesum Christum, &c.

"SS. Romanos de Lettir Erca, invoco in auxilium meum, &c.

"SS. Romanos, qui cum Cursecha filia Brochani jacent in Achadh Dalrach invoco, &c.

“SS. Romanos de Cluain-chuinne—SS. Peregrinos de Cluain, mhoir invoco, &c.

“SS. Romanos, qui cum S. Aido, jacent in Cluain Dartadha, invoco.

“SS. duodecim Conchonnacios, qui cum utroque Sinchello jacent in Kill-achuidh, invoco.

“SS. Conchinnacois, qui cum S. Manchano jacent in Lethmor, invoco, &c., &c.

“SS. Septem Monachos Ægyptios qui jacent in desert Ulidh, invoco.

“SS. Peregrinos, qui cum S. Mochua filio Luscan, jacent in Domnach Resen invoco.

“SS. Peregrinos de Belach forchedail—SS. Peregrinos de Cuil-Ochtair, invoco.

“SS. Septem peregrinos de Imleach mor, invoco, &c., &c.

“SS. duodecim peregrinos, socios, S. Sinchelli invoco, &c.

“SS. peregrinos Romanos, qui in centum quinquaginta cymbis, sive scaphis advecti, comitati sunt. SS. Eliam, Natalim, Nema-num, et Cornutanum, invoco, &c., &c.

“SS. centum quinquaginta peregrinos Romanos et Italos qui comitati sunt, S. Abbanum in Hiberniam invoco, &c.

“SS. Gallos de Salladuic—SS. Gallos de Mag-salach—SS. Saxones de Rigair—SS. Saxones de Cluain-mhuicedha—SS. Peregrinos de Inis-Tuinc—SS. duodecim Peregrinos de Leth glais moir, invoco, &c.

“SS. centum quinquaginta peregrinos in Gair mic Magla, invoco, &c.

“SS. quinquaginta Monachos de Britannia, socios filii Mainani in Glenloire, invoco.

“SS. quinque peregrinos de Suidhe Coeíl, invoco.

“SS. 150 discipulos. S. Manchani. magistri.

“SS. 510 qui ex partibus transmarinis venerunt, cum S. Boethio Episcopo, decemque virgines eos comitantes, invoco, &c., &c.”

No doubt Ængus had good reasons for his apparently arbitrary classification of the saints; no doubt he knew what he was doing, when during the composition of his work he used to walk on Tallaght hill, from which on a clear summer's noon he could see the Mourne mountains towering over St. Patrick's tomb to the north, or watch the evening sun sinking over his own Disert Ængus or the shrines of St. Bridget to the west, or go in spirit over the blue mountain near him to the city of Kevin on the south: he knew what would be popular and would make the names of their saints familiar among his countrymen. We cannot presume to say what may have been his motives. Some will say that his classifications bear the

stamp of the subtle genius of his countrymen who founded European scholastic philosophy; others may say that it was an idle amusement, or a bardic innovation on true hagiology; but independent of the delight which an Irish saint must have felt in making the beloved names of Irish saints come in under as many forms or characters as possible, independent of that pleasure of repetition, was not the tract on the Homonymi both necessary to prevent confusion in history, and useful to inspire devotion among those who love those names, many of which always were, and still are, the most common in Ireland? were not the Litanies from which we have given an extract, a canonization of holy friendship and of national hospitality? and surely the genealogy of the saints carefully preserved must have been an eternal and domestic motive to virtue for the different families, who could count one bright name of theirs in the sacred list. At all events, *Ængus* wrote a popular work, a great favourite with his countrymen, until those latter dangerous times, when old associations of holy places, and old legends faithfully handed down from sire to son are rapidly disappearing. Heaven grant that as the wild and beautiful tracery of the column is obliterated, the column itself—the national creed, may not suffer in the change.

If *Ængus* should be published, he would form but one in an uninterrupted series of sacred Irish poets, from Fiech's hymn down almost to our own time. For we have before us this moment a list taken from O'Reilly's Irish writers, and on that list we have the names of several Catholic bishops in modern times; for instance, Dr. O'Connell of Kerry, Dr. Dease, the great canonist of the Confederates, Dr. Plunkett the martyr, and so well did Dr. Carpenter of Dublin love those Irish poems, that he transcribed some of them with his own hand.

Some clerical reader may wish to hear Colgan's dedication of his *Acta Sanctorum* to Primate O'Reilly. It was written two hundred years ago, in a foreign land, when Catholicity was struggling for existence in Ireland, and when Irish priests had less money and less leisure than they have now. Colgan tells Primate O'Reilly:

"Tu enim tuis piis et frequentibus stimulis ejus (the *Acta*) collectores animabas—aliosque suffragatores tui exemplo ad promovendum excitabas—te denique liberali munificentia necessarias impensas suppeditante opus lucem aspicit publicam—opus ergo hoc



quod his argumentis tibi juste consecrandum agnoscimus, tanquam primitias frugum nostræ sanctæ insulæ, ut summus sacerdos accipe, ut eleventur coram Domino, ac proxime post azyma id est post solemnitates Domini principales—Divum Tutelarium Natalia festa, solemni ritu celebrentur et coram irato numine sint acceptabile et propitiatorium pro populo sacrificium.” “Hæc (ut anxiiis votis pius quisque desiderat) ubi vestra aliorumque compatrum Antistitum pia opera fiet, firma fiducia in Domino confidendum est, quod aurea illa sæcula tot sacròrum vatum nostræ gentis vaticiniis prædicta, brevi sint reditura, quibus sacra nostra insula, sanctorum fecunda genitrix, suam pristinam sanctitatem recuperatura.”

Perhaps something may be done—1000 years is too long a time to leave *Ængus* in manuscript.

ART. II.—1. *The Natural History of Man, comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D. London: 1843.

2.—*Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D. London: 1844.

IN a former number of this Review, we endeavoured to impress upon our readers the conviction which we ourselves so strongly entertain, that the more scientific truth is known, the more perceptible becomes its harmony with that which is revealed. If this be the case with respect to the truths of geological science, to which our remarks were then directed, and of which so little is yet known, how much more strongly is this conviction brought home to us, by those researches which have of late years been made into the natural history of our race; and by which it is almost demonstratively proved, that the nations of the earth, however widely they differ in manners, language, and complexion, are yet, as the sacred historian of their origin has asserted, of one blood and of one family. It is not very long ago since men were found of very considerable eminence in the scientific world, who looked on it as an established and incontrovertible conclusion, that the white man and the Negro differed so widely from one another, that they could not have been descended from a common stock. The great differences which exist be-

tween these two branches of the human family, and which are more or less perceptible in many others, have seemed so striking to even reflecting and philosophic minds, that science had almost adopted the supposition, as she has not yet abandoned the phraseology to which that supposition led. Hence, we have been accustomed to hear not only of the white and black races, but each of these has been in its turn resolved into several others; until we have, according to the classification of Blumenbach, the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Ethiopian, the Malayan, and the American. To these Cuvier has added the Samoied or Esquimaux, and the inference sought to be deduced, or the impression, perhaps unintentionally, left upon the mind is, that these various divisions of mankind are so separated from one another, that they cannot be referred to a common origin. We are all aware of the use that has been made of this subject, by those who have had recourse to every armoury for weapons to be employed against religion, and how strenuously this seemingly powerful argument against the unity of the human race, has been urged against the truth of the Mosaic history. Though we never, as may be supposed, had any doubt about the descent of all men from one primeval parentage, we are yet rejoiced to find that the more accurate and more extended investigation of recent times, has enabled us to give a more satisfactory answer to the objection; and that we have high names and powerful authority upon our side, to sustain the cause of revealed truth, and confound the rampant insolence of the gainsayer and the infidel. A high name and powerful authority, Mr. Prichard unquestionably is. It is now near forty years since he appeared before the public; the labours and acquirements of a long life have been devoted to the subject, and the result of his varied and diligent inquiry we have in the volumes before us. It is his deliberate and confident conclusion that all the nations of the earth, and all the races of men, are of one species and of one family. As the inquiry is one that must possess a powerful interest for all, inasmuch as we ourselves are the subject thereof, and that our faith and hopes, nay, even the very dignity of our human nature, are involved in the discussion, we shall endeavour to place before our readers, as briefly as we can, the main considerations that have led him to this conclusion. Before we proceed to the immediate question at issue, it will not be

useless to take a glance at the general distribution of organic life throughout the earth.

1. According to the phraseology of scientific writers, all organized beings are distributed according to their genera and species. The word "genus," in its old acceptation, was employed to mean all that descended from a common stock. As creation, however, expanded before the scrutiny of science, it was found necessary to extend the meaning of this word, until it at length included all those individuals that bore some resemblance to one another, though they could not by possibility be descended from a common stock; and the word species was introduced to express what the other was originally intended to imply. Those tribes of plants or animals which are certainly known, or may be inferred on satisfactory grounds, to have descended from the same stocks, or from parentages precisely similar, are now included in the term species. In every tribe of plants and animals there will occur occasionally peculiarities of habit or organic structure. These peculiarities sometimes expire with the individual, and sometimes are transmitted to the offspring. When they are constantly and permanently transmitted, they are called permanent varieties, and the class in which they are found, differs from a species, only because these peculiarities are not coeval with the tribe, and constitute only a deviation from its original character. There seems now but little doubt that many of those that are considered distinct species of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, are in reality but permanent varieties of some already existing tribe. The great and obvious mark of distinction between separate species is, that they refuse to intermix with one another. There is evidently some powerful and all-pervading law of nature, which directs the tribes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms to reproduce and perpetuate their race without blending with each other. Every creature is to produce in its own kind, and not in any other. There may be instances of individuals having descended from parents of different species; but these are incapable of propagation. Whenever they have possessed the faculty of reproduction, which has been but in a few rare instances, it was only by reverting to the original parent character. The perpetuation of a mixed or hybrid race is unknown, and has been always found impossible. This fact is of the utmost importance to our present

argument, and should be diligently borne in mind, for we shall have occasion hereafter to revert to it. It is undeniable that all the varieties of the human race are blended together and reproduced, and that no impediment whatsoever exists to their perpetuation. So far from the intermediate races disappearing, as they should do if they were hybrid, or the offspring of two distinct species, they are even more powerfully possessed of the faculty of reproduction than any of the parent stocks from which they came.

The external form and colour, the organic structure, and also the habits and instincts of the species, are materially affected by external influences to which they are subjected. This is very remarkable in those animals which man has made his own by domestication. If the breeds of domesticated animals could be compared with the wild stock from which they originally came, we could without difficulty ascertain the extent of the changes which domestication has produced; and, if ascertained, their magnitude would probably fill us with astonishment. But this we cannot in all instances accomplish. The primitive stocks from which many of our domesticated animals are sprung, are unknown or uncertain; but we have sufficient data to warrant the belief that these changes are very considerable. The domestic animals were first introduced by Europeans into America. Their offspring running wild in the woods, and being restored to their original habits and food, will show us, by a kind of retrograde movement, what a difference there is between their wild and their tame condition. Hogs, for instance, were introduced into St. Domingo in 1493. They were of the ordinary Spanish breed. Their appearance now nearly resembles that of the wild boar. Their ears have become erect, their heads are large, and their foreheads vaulted at the upper part, and the variety of colour visible in Europe has altogether disappeared. The wild hog of America is generally black; the only deviation is in some warm parts of the continent, where it is red, like the young peccari. The difference which exists between the skull of the domestic swine and the wild boar, is, according to Blumenbach, quite equal to that which exists between those of the Negro and the European.

“Swine,” says the same naturalist, “have degenerated in some countries into races which, in singularity, far exceed any thing

which has been found strange in bodily variety among the human race. Swine with solid hoofs were known to the ancients, and large herds of them are found in Hungary and Sweden. In like manner the European swine, first carried by the Spaniards in 1509, to the island of Cubagua, at that time celebrated for its pearl fishery, degenerated into a monstrous race, with toes which were half a span in length. There are breeds of solid-hoofed swine in England. There have been also found some whose hoof is divided into five clefts."

The changes which have taken place in the races of oxen and horses introduced into the new world, are also very remarkable. The wild oxen are found invariably of one colour. Some of the South American cows are covered with a fine fur, and others are completely naked. The following fact relative to them, will prove how very much domestication has changed the original nature of this useful animal.

"In Europe the milking of cows is continued through the whole period, from the time when they begin to bear calves, till they cease to breed. This secretion of milk has become a constant function in the animal economy of the tribe. It has been rendered such by the practice continued through a long series of generations, of continuing to draw milk long after the period when it would be wanted for the calf: the teats of the cow are larger than in proportion, and the secretion is perpetual. In Columbia the practice of milking cows was laid aside, owing to the great extent of farms and other circumstances. 'In a few generations,' says Mr. Roulin, 'the natural structure of parts, and withal the natural state of the function has been restored. The secretion of milk in the cows of this country is only an occasional phenomenon, and contemporary with the actual presence of the calf. If the calf dies, the milk ceases to flow, and it is only by keeping him with his dam by day, that an opportunity of obtaining milk from cows by night can be found.' This testimony is important by the proof it affords, that the permanent production of milk in the European breeds of cows is a modified function of the animal economy, produced by an artificial habit continued through several generations."

The varieties which have sprung up in the various breeds of sheep, are especially worthy of observation.

"In the valley which separates the eastern range of the Cordillera from the middle chain, the flocks are not numerous; but the sheep of this region display a phenomenon which is worthy of observation. Wool grows on young lambs nearly as in temperate climates; if shorn it sprouts again, and the fleece is formed as usual.

If neglected, it forms itself into a large tufted mass, which breaks off in shaggy portions; when it comes off, there is found beneath, not fresh wool, nor a naked and diseased skin, but a short fine hair, shining and smooth, like that of the goat in his best state, and this remains permanent, the wool never reappearing.

“In Europe the breeds of sheep vary much in their stature, in the texture of their wool, the number and shape of their horns, which are in some large, in some small, in others wanting to the female, or altogether absent from the breed. The most important varieties in Europe are, the Spanish breeds, some with fine, others with crisp wool, in which the rams have long spiral horns; the English breeds, which differ greatly in size and the quality of the wool; and in the southern parts of Russia the long-tailed breed. The herds of sheep in India and Africa are remarkable for the length of their legs, a very convex forehead, and pendant ears; these also have long tails, their covering is not wool but a smooth hair. In the northern parts of Europe and Asia the sheep have short tails. The breeds spread through Persia, Tartary, and China, have their tails transformed into a double spherical mass of fat. The sheep of Syria and Barbary, on the other hand, have long tails, but likewise loaded with a mass of fat.”

The peculiarities, however striking and remarkable in the different breeds, seem to be in a great measure, or perhaps altogether, the result of the physical circumstances of food and climate in which they are found. We have seen that sheep lose their wool in the Cordillera, never to recover it again; and even the fat tails of the Tartarian breed disappear in a few generations when they are transferred to the pastures of the Ural. But a phenomenon still more singular remains to be noticed; it is the hereditary transmission of some particular natural quality, or peculiarity of organic construction, which may perchance develope itself in an individual instance, and which thus gives rise to a new breed, or at least a new variety. As an illustration of this natural law, we may give the origination of a new breed of sheep in the State of Massachusetts.

“In the year 1791, one ewe on the farm of Seth Wright gave birth to a male lamb, which, without any known cause, had a longer body and shorter legs than the rest of the breed. The joints are said to have been longer and the forelegs crooked. The shape of this animal rendering it unable to leap over fences, it was determined to propagate its peculiarities, and the experiment proved successful. A new race was produced, which from the form of the body has been termed the otter-breed.\* It seems to be uniformly

the fact, that when both parents are of the otter-breed, the lambs that are produced inherit the peculiar form."—Page 49.

This variation is found among all kinds of domesticated animals; the horse, the ox, the fowl. In none are they more conspicuous than in the dog, the friend and companion and follower of man in every state of social progress, in every vicissitude of fortune, and in every quarter of the globe. Who could suppose that the poodle, the Newfoundland, the pointer, the greyhound, and the bulldog, are members of the same family? Yet all naturalists are agreed upon the fact, and that the changes of form and structure to which the race has been subjected, are nothing more than the effects of those accidental influences to which they have been exposed, and which are known to produce similar, if not so great changes, in the vegetable kingdom also. Our space will not permit our going into further detail on this matter, but there is one other circumstance connected with the subject which we cannot pass over. For the hereditary transmission of peculiarities of organic structure, we may be somewhat prepared, but what shall we think of the hereditary transmission of habits artificially acquired—of qualities which have been the result of a long and diligent and laborious training? This is somewhat as if a man's knowledge of Latin or Greek was to be transmitted to his children along with the colour of his hair and the complexion of his features. Yet thus it is in some degree with many of the inferior animals. We shall give a few instances.

"The horses bred in the grazing farms of the table land of the Cordillera are carefully taught a peculiar pace, which is a sort of running amble. This is not their natural mode of progression, but they are inured to it very early, and the greatest pains are taken to prevent them from moving in any other gait. In this way the acquired habit becomes a second nature. It happens occasionally that such horses becoming lame are unfit for use. It is then customary to let them loose, if they happen to be well grown stallions, into the pasture grounds. *It is constantly observed that these horses become the sires of a race to which the ambling pace is natural, and requires no teaching.* The fact is so well known, that such colts have received a particular name. The second fact is the development of a new instinct, which seems to become hereditary in the breed of dogs found among the borderers on the river Madelaine, which are employed in hunting the peccari. I shall cite the author's own words: 'L'adresse du chien consiste a moderer son ardeur, a ne

s'attacher à aucun animal en particulier mais à tenir toute la troupe en échec. Or parmi ces chiens on en voit maintenant, qui la première fois qu'on les amène au bois, savent déjà comment attaquer; un chien d'une autre espèce se lance tout d'abord, est environné, et qu'elle que soit sa force, il est dévoré dans un instant.' It appears that barking is an acquired hereditary instinct. It has become natural to domesticated dogs and young whelps to learn to bark, even when separated from their parents at birth. It has been conjectured that barking originated in an attempt to imitate the human voice. However that may be, wild dogs do not bark. There are numerous troops of wild dogs in South America. There are also on the Antilles in the isles on the coast of Chili, similar breeds. These breeds, on recovering their liberty, lost the power of barking. Like other uncultivated breeds of dogs, they only howl. It is known that the two dogs brought to England by Mackenzie from the western part of America could never bark, and continued to utter their habitual howl; but a whelp bred from them in Europe learned to bark. It is known that the dogs in the island of Juan Fernandez, the progeny of those which were left there purposely by the Spaniards before Lord Anson's time, with the design of exterminating the goats, were never known to bark. A curious observation of Mr. Roulin is, that the cats of South America have, in like manner, lost those "*miaulemens incommodes*," which are so often heard during the hours of night in many parts of Europe."—  
Page 35.

Nor is this natural phenomenon limited to the new world. The following remarks, taken from a paper read by Mr. F. A. Knight before the Royal Society, furnish us with additional and interesting evidence on this important subject.

"The offspring of domesticated animals inherit in a very remarkable manner the acquired habits of their parents. In all animals," he adds, "this is observable, but in the dog it exists to a wonderful extent. The offspring seems to inherit not only the passions and propensities, but even the resentment of the family from which it springs. I ascertained, by repeated experiments, that a terrier whose parents had been in the habit of fighting with polecats, will instantly show every mark of anger when he first perceives the scent of that animal, though the animal itself be wholly concealed from its sight. A young spaniel brought up with terriers showed no marks whatever of emotion at the scent of a polecat, but it pursued a woodcock the first time it saw one with clamour and exultation; and a young pointer, which I am certain had never seen a partridge, stood trembling with anxiety, its eyes fixed, and its muscles rigid, when conducted into the middle of a covey of those birds. Yet each of these dogs is a new variety of the same



species, and to that species none of the said habits are given by nature. They can, therefore, be traced to no other source than the acquired habits of the parents, which are inherited by the offspring, and become hereditary instinctive propensities."

This hereditary transmission of acquired habits, is the cause of that change which is called domestication. In domesticated animals, it is not the individual, but the breed or race which is changed.

"For their tameness is not to be attributed to the early teaching they receive in the state of subjection in which the young are reared. Their congenital dispositions must be altered. The cub of a wild boar taken from its dam at the hour of birth, would be in disposition very unlike a sucking pig."

It is unnecessary to continue these observations further. It will be seen, from what we have just now stated, that within the limits of ascertained and definite species of the animal kingdom, there are very considerable changes of structure, of habits, and of instincts, which the individuals of that species are known to undergo, and that these changes are owing to the external and accidental influences to which they are subjected; and the inference we draw from this fact or law of the animal kingdom, which we think has been convincingly established, is, that though one class of animals may differ very considerably from another in their physical characteristics, that difference is not to be assumed as a proof of their being different species, if it can be at the same time demonstrated that the physical conditions of their existence are different, and that they have been also subjected to very different external influences. But it is time that we proceed onward from these preliminary matters, and apply the principles we have been explaining to the subject immediately before us, the differences that exist between the various families of men.

2. The human race is known to be spread over the earth, in every variety of soil and climate, from the perpetual snow of the polar circle, to the burning sun and parching sand of the African desert. The Laplander or the Esquimaux, who is enveloped to the throat in the skins of the beasts he has followed in the chase, who quaffs his draught of melted and rancid oil as a delightful beverage, and whose cheerless and long protracted night broods over his wretched hut like a perpetual darkness which is never to be dispelled, should be a very different kind of

being from the naked half-starved native of the Soudan, who tracks the lion or the elephant across his arid plain, in the fierce glow of a sun which would be death to any one who had not been inured to it from childhood; and both should present a very different aspect, and a very different mental and organic development from the refined European, on whose fair and delicate frame the resources of art have been employed, and the cultivation of years and the hereditary advantages of blood and station, have shed their varied beauties. It has been already mentioned that the most striking diversities which are observed in the lower animals, have been the result of domestication, and that those which man has tamed and brought within the sphere of his own agency, differ far more from each other than if acted on by climate alone they would ever be likely to do. It will, we are sure, be at once admitted that civilization is a far more powerful agent, and likely to produce far more striking and physical changes among those who are favoured with it, than domestication would be likely to do among the race of inferior animals. This we should be prepared to expect, were we merely to view the subject "a priori," and to conjecture the probable amount of alteration from analogy with other instances of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. We should therefore, even admitting that all mankind is of one stock, be ready to admit, nay even be prepared to expect, that the naked Negro of the Joliba, or the Senegal, should be more different from the marquis or the duke, whose veins are filled with the blood of an ancient race, and whose eye kindles with the hereditary nobility of more than a thousand years, than any individual of the animal kingdom from another of the same species. If the difference between the members of the human family be far within the limits of range which in other beings seems permitted by the laws of animal organization, it can only be that the perfection of their nature and the high standard by which man's physical and mental constitution has been adjusted does not admit of such variation as the others, or that the high functions he has to fulfil in the economy of the created universe will not allow of any nearer approximation to its lower departments than we find him to have attained. To see how much the varieties of the human race have kept within the range of variation permitted to even the one species in other departments of the animal kingdom, we shall briefly

point out the most remarkable and best known differences that exist between them.

The various families\* of men are found distributed over every region of the earth, and in every variety of climate. But they are strongly distinguished from one another by appearance, no less than by their language; for one language scarcely differs from another more than does the fair European from the jet-black native of Guinea. The colour of the skin would appear, at first sight, to depend entirely on temperature and latitude; for, generally speaking, it is found darkest at the equator, and diminishes gradually as we approach the pole. This, however, though popularly, is not philosophically true; and must admit of many exceptions, and take into account many other elements of physical influence, before it can be received as a principle sufficiently established for our purposes. The Indian of the Oronoco, though living in precisely the same latitude, and accustomed to a somewhat similar mode of life, differs very materially in aspect and complexion from the Negro of the Niger. The examination of the respective tribes of people, and of the points in which they resemble or differ from one another, is an exceedingly interesting subject; but it would be far beyond our limits, and we shall confine ourselves to the principal difficulty on which the whole question rests: Is there any difference between the white man and the Negro, beyond those accidental varieties which we may suppose to arise in the same stock, and to be transmitted from one generation to another? The entire question of one or more races depends upon the solution of this difficulty, and it demands, therefore, some consideration. It is clear that if the Negro possessed an additional limb, or was gifted with an additional eye, or possessed any other similar variety of organic construction, it would be at once decided, or, in fact, the question would never have arisen. But enjoying, as he does, the same structure, possessing every faculty, neither more nor less, which the white man does, what is there to justify us in disclaiming the connexion, and repudiating the claim to common kindred? The skin of one

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\* We use this word in preference to the one more generally employed, "*race*," because the latter seems to imply somewhat, if it does not altogether assert, that mankind has not come from one primitive stock. The word "*breed*" expresses exactly our meaning as far as the inferior animals are concerned, but we should consider it an insult to the dignity of human nature to apply this word to ourselves.

is white, that of the Negro is jet-black—one has wool upon his head, the other has long and flowing hair—the cerebral development of the black man is a little more remote from the exact standard of intellectual perfection and of physical beauty, than that of the European, and this is all. Let us consider these three reasons separately and dispassionately. First, as to the colour of the skin.—The anatomists of ancient times were acquainted with only two parts of the integument which envelopes the body—the cutis or inner, the epidermis or outer, skin. Between these, however, modern anatomical science discovered another substance, to which Malpighi gave the name of “rete mucosum,” from its reticulated structure. This was first discovered in the skin of the Negro, and being of a black colour, it was maintained to be the cause of their peculiar complexion, and to be entirely wanting in the whites. This opinion is in substance adopted by M. Flourens, a celebrated French anatomist of the present time. He differs from the others only in maintaining the existence of four layers in the human skin, and that the peculiarity of the Negro arises from a black pigment adhering to one of these membranes. He regards, however, this substance, which is not found in whites, as constituting a really specific distinction, and marking them out as two separate races. It is unnecessary for us to observe that this opinion has been very prevalent, and has been held by many eminent men of our own country. But though we were to admit the correctness of these anatomical observations, it may be very fairly questioned whether this would follow; and facts may be adduced—and some will in this paper be adduced—which would seem to negative altogether such a conclusion. But it is not necessary to enter into the discussion of such a subject, inasmuch as later and more accurate investigation has proved that the observations of Flourens were inaccurate. The method employed by him to ascertain the component parts of the “cutis,” was the rude and imperfect one of maceration. When subjected to the searching scrutiny of microscopical examination, it is found to be of a totally different structure. Experiments on this subject have been carried on by several distinguished German physicians, among whom Henle, Purkinje, and Schwann, are the most distinguished. They have satisfactorily proved that the outer integument of the human body does not consist at all of continuous

membranes, but is of a cellular structure, being composed of several layers of cells, and that its different parts are not distinguished from each other by such definite lines of separation as they were supposed to be. Henle examined minutely the cells which contain the black pigment that tinges the Negro skin, and found that they are precisely of the same kind, and differ only in number from those which compose the skin of the European, and also in being filled with the dark colouring matter, which gives it its peculiar and distinctive hue. These experiments were continued by Dr. Gustav Simon, of Berlin, on the spots and partial discolourations which sometimes make their appearance on the skins of Europeans, and found that these are also of precisely a similar nature, and arise from the same cause which discolours the skin of the Negro. They differ from them in degree, and not, as M. Flourens supposed, in kind. Some of these discolourations are congenital, others accidental; some transitory, others permanent. Many females are known to have a dark tinge extended over a considerable space round the breast during the period of pregnancy, which disappears afterwards in a great measure. Camper gives a description of a female of high rank, who had naturally a white skin and beautiful complexion, but whenever she became pregnant, began immediately to grow brown: "*Vers la fin de sa grossesse,*" he says, "*elle devenait une veritable negresse.*" After delivery, the dark colour gradually disappeared. Dr. Strach, in a work on Intermittent Fevers, which is cited by Soemmering, mentions the case of a man, who, after a fever, became as black as a Negro. If we have instances of a change in this direction, we have also examples of an opposite tendency. Klinkosch mentioned the case of a Negro who lost his blackness, and became yellow; and Caldani declares that a Negro, who was a shoemaker in Venice, was black when brought during infancy to that city, but became gradually lighter, and had the hue of a person labouring under slight jaundice.

These changes, although in individual instances, are sufficient to prove that the colouring matter of the Negro skin is a mere accidental variety, rendered permanent and hereditary in this variety of the human family, by causes which we cannot perfectly discover, but by no means to constitute a peculiar and distinctive organic structure.

Before we proceed to speak of the changes which are known and can be proved to have taken place in whole tribes, let us examine one of the other characteristics for which the Negro is remarkable—the woolly hair. There is very considerable difference between the structure of wool and that of hair. The latter is a smooth sheath enclosing a series of longitudinal fibres, each of which is composed of small cellular particles, and tinged with a colouring matter which gives it its peculiar hue. Wool is a fibre also, which, when examined through a microscope, displays filaments twisted and matted in all directions, and has its surface serrated or indented in a very remarkable manner. It is this last peculiarity that renders it adapted for the process of felting, of which the hair is not susceptible. Were we to admit, therefore, even that the substance which grows on the head of the Negro was real wool, and that of the European hair, still it would not constitute an organic difference and prove them a distinct race, for we have seen in the sheep of the Cordillera, that even the same individual may exchange one for the other; and if such a change may take place in an individual in a few years, how much more may such changes be brought about by the slow but enduring action of centuries, and continued for many successive generations. But the whole of this difficulty will, we think, be set at rest by the following considerations, taken from the work before us.

“A careful observation with the aid of the microscope, will convince every body who makes it, if I am not much mistaken, that the hair of the African is not wool, but merely a curled and twisted hair. I have seen and examined the filaments of hair belonging to different races of men, and have compared them with the filaments of wool from the Southdown sheep, with the assistance of Mr. Estlin, who is skilful and long practised in the use of the microscope. With the aid of glasses magnifying about 400 times, hairs of a Negro, of a Mulatto, of Europeans, and of some Abyssinians, sent me by M. d’Abbadie, the celebrated traveller, were, together with the wool of a Southdown sheep, viewed both as transparent and opaque bodies. The filament of wool had a very rough and irregular surface, though no secretions, distinctly so termed, were perceptible. The hair of the Negro, which was extremely unlike wool, and all the other varieties mentioned, had the appearance of a cylinder with smooth surface; they all appeared more or less filled with a dark colouring matter, which, however, did not entirely destroy their transparency. The colouring matter was apparently much more abundant in the hair of the Negro than in the

others. The Abyssinian hair was also very dark, but so far diaphanous that a ribbon-like band appeared running down through the middle of a cylindriciform tube, and the Mulatto hair resembled the Abyssinian in this respect. The filament of European hair seemed almost entirely transparent; it had the appearance of an empty tube, coated internally with something of a dingy or dusky colour, which only prevented it from being entirely pellucid. From these observations I am convinced that the Negro has hair, properly so called, and not wool. One difference between the hair of a Negro and that of an European, consists in the more curled or frizzled condition of the former. This, however, is only a difference in the degree of crispation, some European hair being likewise very crisp. Another difference is the greater quantity of colouring matter in the hair of the Negro. It is very probable that this quality is connected with the former, and is its cause, though we cannot determine in what manner one depends upon another; but as these properties vary simultaneously, and are in proportion one to another, we may infer that they do not depend upon independent causes."—*Natural History*, page 103.

But the hair and skin have been looked on by many writers on this subject, as far less worthy of notice than the form of the skull; and the differences that are found between the various tribes of men in this part, have been taken as the standard of distinction between them. The skull being less liable to external influence, it has been considered more permanent and invariable. The various forms of the skull may be divided into three great and leading classes, which have been called respectively the prognathous, the pyramidal, and the oval or elliptical. The prognathous form is that which is distinguished by an undue protrusion of the jaws, and is most strongly developed in the Negroes of Western Africa: it prevails in a greater or less degree among all the tribes of Negroes, but is not found to accompany in every instance a black skin and frizzled or crisp hair. It is found also in the Eastern Ocean, and among the Australian races. The pyramidal skull is most prevalent among the nomadic tribes of Northern Asia; and, as if it were the result of a wandering and unsettled life, it is also found among the tribes of South Africa, whose mode and habits of life strongly resemble those of the Mongolian and Turkish nations. The elliptical is that which most prevails among the people of Europe and Asia, and which our own self-esteem persuades us is the type of human beauty. It has been said that the head of the Negro approaches in form that of the Chim-

pantzee, and is a mean between the cerebral development of the European and the Simia. That, in fact, there is as great a difference between it and the oval European skull, as there is between it and the ourang-outang. There are three principal methods of measurement, or varieties of aspect, by which the skull may be examined; in both a very great difference is to be found between the Negro and the brute, while comparatively little can be discovered between him and the white. The first is by what are called the facial lines, or by an angle made by two straight lines, one of which is drawn through the "Meatus auditorius" to the base of the nose. The other touching the prominent centre of the forehead, and falling thence on the most forward part of the upper jaw, the head being viewed in profile. In Europeans this angle has been said to be on an average  $80^{\circ}$ ; in Negroes  $70^{\circ}$ ; while the facial angle of the ourang has been said to be  $60^{\circ}$ , and sometimes as high as  $64^{\circ}$ . But Mr. Owen, the distinguished naturalist, has satisfactorily shown that this estimate is inaccurate and fallacious as far as the ourang is concerned, because the observations on which it was founded, were made on animals of immature age, and before the anatomical proportions were fully developed. He states that in the adult troglodyte the facial angle is only  $35^{\circ}$ , and in the full-grown ourang or satyr, only  $30^{\circ}$ . The difference between this and the facial angle of the Negro is so great, that the greatest diversity between the human tribes is quite inconsiderable in comparison. The second method is that by which Blumenbach estimates the difference, and consists in contemplating the skull in a vertical direction, or in taking a bird's eye view of it from above. But even in this mode of measurement there is but a trifling difference between white men and the Negro state, between the latter and the Simia there is a great and striking difference.

But the greatest of all the differences that are found to exist between the human skull and that of brutes, even those which approach nearest to the human configuration, is to be found in that view which has been pointed out by Mr. Owen, and which had been hitherto neglected by naturalists; it is that of the basis or under surface, the lower jaw being removed. The great and striking difference that exists between them when viewed in this way, can be adequately represented by a diagram only. But we may say that in all races of men, and even in



human idiots, the Zygomatic arch is included in the anterior half of the basis of the skull; while in the head of the adult Chimpanzee it is situated in the middle region of the skull, and occupies just one-third of its entire diameter. Another most remarkable difference which anatomists have generally overlooked, is in the position of the great occipital foramen, or aperture by which the nerves and vessels of the brain communicate with the heart and other portions of the body. In the human skull it is very near the middle, or rather, to speak correctly, immediately behind the middle transverse diameter; while in the Chimpanzee, it is in the middle of the posterior third part of this diameter. In men, both white and black, this aperture is almost in the middle; while in the Chimpanzee, there is just five times as much of the skull before it as there is behind; thus demonstratively proving that while the one was intended by the Creator to move on all fours, and to have its look ever fixed downward upon the earth like its other menial occupants, to the other it was given to look abroad upon the world where he was to exercise dominion, and to have his gaze directed upward to those brighter and more blissful realms, which were to be his appointed and future destiny.

3. We have hitherto considered the differences between the varieties of the human race only in their anatomical characters. It is time that we view them in another light, and see what relations they bear to each other in their geographical and historical distribution. If it could be proved that a people possessing any of these physical characteristics of which we have been now speaking, were, by change of climate, of habits, of life, or any other external agency, deprived of them, and discovered to have assumed the other, the controversy would be at an end. But unfortunately, the history of the human race is so imperfect, the migrations of its earlier members so uncertain, and the description of their physical characters so meagre, that we have no facts sufficiently conclusive to appeal to for its immediate and final decision. The history of the African races, the most important and interesting of all others, is that which is also the most enveloped in obscurity. A cloud darker even than their own ebon hue has settled upon their past history, and on much of their present condition, which no scientific research can ever utterly dispel. But if we cannot appeal directly to evidence of this de-

scription, we may arrive at it by a slow and probable approximation. If we cannot see our way with clearness before us, we may at least grope along the path that leads to the object of our inquiry. And in many instances where written or monumental records are wanting, we may derive much valuable aid from the examination of languages and customs. Nations and peoples now the most dissimilar in aspect, will be found by this means to have descended from a common origin, and to have been, at some anterior epoch, one and the same people. A remarkable instance of this is presented by the tribes of Southern Africa.

"I my 'Researches into the Physical History of Mankind,' I have shown that there are strong grounds for concluding that all the nations known to inhabit that part of the African Continent which lies south of the equator, with the exception of the Hottentot race, speak idioms, which, if they are not dialects of one mother tongue, may be considered as belonging to one family of languages. They may be rather termed dialects of three cognate languages. The dialects of the empire of Kongo, including those of Loango in the north, Kongo in the south, and Banda and Cassanga in the interior, belong to one of these stems. The idioms of the Amakosah and other southern Kafirs constitute a second, to which the Bechuana may be referred, though this seems in some respects intermediate between the two. The Mosambique Makuan language, and the other idioms spoken by tribes in the east, including the Suhaili of the coast, belong to a third language less known than the others, but connected by exclusive analogies in the vocabulary. The languages of the Kafirs and those of the nations of Kongo are nearly connected, as I have shown, in grammatical structure. The result to be deduced from these considerations is, that all the nations of this region were probably allied in descent, and belong to one original stock."—*Page 322.*

Yet the natives of Kongo have all the Negro peculiarities, and differ in colour, in feature, in the form of the skull, from the Kafir, who has almost nothing of the Negro physiognomy except the crisp or woolly texture of the hair. But it is in the northern regions of the African Continent that we should expect to find some vestiges of the transition from the Negro to the European form of development, and here, accordingly, we find several instances in which the peculiar features of the one are being changed into the other, as is said to be the case in the Berberines of the valley of the Nile. It is not more than fifteen centuries

ago, since this people were transplanted from the desert. They do not intermarry with the Arabs, yet during the period of their residence in this locality, and under the influence of their partially civilized and much altered mode of life, they have assumed a regularity of feature, which is not devoid of what, according to the European standard, would be considered beauty. The same transition state of the Negro is distinctly seen in the nations that inhabit the high lands of Abyssinia. The Galla tribes, which are encroaching on this declining kingdom from the south, may be looked on as a link in the chain of connection between the two great divisions of mankind; but both these and the straight-nosed Abyssinian were nearer in form and feature to the European, though they partook of much of the physiognomy of the Negro, and a tribe was still wanting to make the transition clearer and more decisive; this has now fortunately been found. The *Athenæum* of the 12th of April of this year, contains a letter from that illustrious traveller, Antony D'Abbadie, of whom as an Irishman and a Catholic, a scientific traveller and a zealous missionary, we should be justly proud, dated Gondar in the September of last year. The following are his words in reference to this subject. They are deserving of our serious attention, for few ever had such opportunities of information.

“The all but unknown Gonfal tribes are the most perfect medium between the straight-nosed Ethiopian and the grovelling Negro. Although the learned Prichard had striven to prove the unity of origin between Negroes and Caucasians, I did not feel myself satisfied with his reasons, and the desire of throwing more light on this obscure and interesting topic, was one of the principal incentives which urged me into the heart of the African Continent. I have now come, on personal observation, to the same conclusion as Prichard; and if I am ever doomed to return to Europe, nothing will give me more pleasure than adding my slender stock of philosophical and physical observations to prove that community of origin which revelation teaches, but which science has often doubted.”

The modifying influence of climate on the physical system may be also traced in the consequences which have resulted from the dispersion of the Jews.

“The Jews have assimilated in physical characters to the nations among whom they have resided, though still to be recognized by

some minute peculiarities of physiognomy. In the northern countries of Europe they are fair or Xanthoas. Blue eyes and flaxen hair are seen in English Jews, and in some parts of Germany the red beards of the Jews are very conspicuous. Those of Portugal are very dark. Jews, as is well known, have been spread from early times through many countries in the eastern parts of Asia—in China, Tartary, and the northern parts of India. There are many of them in the towns of Cochin and the interior of Malabar. They hold communication with each other in their eastern colonies, which appear to be of one stock or migration, but at what period they reached these countries is unknown. Their residence in Cochin appears to have been from ancient times, and they are now black, and so completely like the native inhabitants in their complexion, that Dr. Claudius Buchanan says he could not always distinguish them from the Hindoos. He has surmised that the blackness of these Jews is owing to their intermarriages with Hindoos, but of this there is no evidence. It is probable that the preservation of the Jews in these countries as a distinct people, is owing as elsewhere, to their avoiding all intermixture with the native inhabitants. The Jesuits in China expressly inform us that the Jews settled at Honan, where they have been established for many ages, keep themselves distinct and intermarry within their own community."

Oldenthorp, a missionary in the kingdom of Loango, on the western coast of Africa, says, that many Jews are settled in that country, who retain still their religious rites, and keep themselves distinct from other nations. Though separated in this manner from the African population, they are quite black, and resemble the other Negroes in every respect as to physical characters. It must be admitted that these variations in the Jewish people from the blue eyes and flaxen hair of Germany, to the dark complexion of Cochin and Loango, have a most important bearing upon the present question.

Another instance of this influence of climate is afforded us in the changes which have taken place in the Hindoos.

"Many Indian families have emigrated at different times from the plains to high tracts in the Himalaya, where some of them have been settled for centuries. The sources of the sacred rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna, are well known to be places of great attraction. In the neighbourhood of Jumnotri and Gangotri, situated at their fountains, the Hindoos, as we are assured by Mr. Fraser, are very fair, have often blue eyes, and hair and beards curled, and of an auburn or red colour. It must be observed that the climate is in these tracts extremely cold, so that woollen clothes

and blankets are required during the night. The natives of the valley of Kashmere are Hindoos. They speak a dialect of the Hindi, or native language of Central India. The climate is cool and bears fruits similar to those of Europe. The Kashmerians are as fair as Southern Europeans. But the Siah-Posh, or the race of Kafirs who inhabit the high region of Kohistan, and the country on the Hindu-Kush, called from them Kafiristan, afford the most striking and curious instance of a branch of the Hindoo race settled for many centuries in a cold country, and existing under circumstances extremely different from those which surround the natives of Hindoostan. They are of undoubted Hindoo origin. According to the information obtained by the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone and Sir Alexander Burnes, the Siah-Posh are a people of exquisite beauty with arched eyebrows and fair complexions. A native of their country seen by Burnes at Cabul was a remarkably handsome young man, tall, with regular Grecian features, blue eyes, and fair complexion. A few other individuals of the same race who have been seen by Europeans had similar physical characters."—*Page 169.*

The following extract from Heber's journal will afford another illustration of this subject :

"It is remarkable to observe how surely all these classes of men, in a few generations, even without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than the Negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or if they can, with Europeans. Yet the Portuguese have, during a 300 years' residence in India, become as black as Caffres. Surely this goes far to disprove the assertion which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European. It is true that in the Negro are other peculiarities which the Indian has not, and to which the Portuguese colonist shows no symptom of approximation, and which undoubtedly do not appear to follow so naturally from the climate, as that swarthy complexion which is the sole distinction between the Hindoo and the European. But if heat produces one change, other peculiarities of climate may produce other additional changes, and when such peculiarities have 3000 or 4000 years to operate in, it is not easy to fix any limits to their power. I am inclined after all to suspect that our European vanity leads us astray, in supposing that our own is the primitive complexion, which I should suppose was rather that of the Indian, half way between the two extremes, and perhaps the most agreeable to the eye and instinct of the majority of the human race. A colder climate and the constant use of clothes may have bleached the skin, as effectually as a burning sun and nakedness may have tanned it; and I am encouraged in this hypothesis by

observing that of animals, the natural colours are dusky and uniform, generally, while whiteness and a variety of tint almost invariably follow domestication, shelter from the elements, and a mixed and unnatural diet. Thus while hardship, additional exposure, a greater degree of heat, and other circumstances with which we are unacquainted, may have deteriorated the Hindoo into the Negro, opposite causes may have changed him into the progressively lighter tints of the Chinese, the Persian, the Turk, the Russian, and the Englishman."—*Vol. i. chap. 3.*

Changes of a similar nature, but of a far different degree, because the results of a far less powerful influence, may be found among our European population. Thus, in the time of Cæsar and Tacitus, the natives of Germany were remarkable for their yellow hair. It was the distinctive peculiarity of their race, yet it is a well known fact, that at the present day not one in twenty possesses this peculiar distinction; nor can this be ascribed to intermixture with other nations, because if any infusion of strange blood has taken place, it has been from countries more northerly than their own, and therefore more likely to preserve than to destroy this physical characteristic. Nor should we forget, what in reference to this subject is one of the most important considerations, that much of the physical diversity found in the human race, may have had its origin in abnormal varieties occasionally springing up, and rendered permanent by hereditary transmission. Such deviations were, as physiologists are well aware, in an especial manner likely to be produced, if at any remote time the human race was limited to a single family, and more likely to be rendered permanent, if the term of individual life and productiveness were by any cause, natural or otherwise, to be prolonged beyond the usual period of existence. It is now a well ascertained fact, that deviations from the ordinary type of humanity have been more than once produced, and that these abnormal phenomena have been endowed like other beings with the power of reproducing and perpetuating their kind. Witness the instance of the "Porcupine Family," exhibited some years since in London.

"A boy, aged 14 years, named Machin, born in Suffolk, was exhibited to the Royal Society in 1731. His body was covered by a remarkable kind of integument which is thus described: 'His skin, if it might be so called, seemed rather like a dusky-coloured thick case, exactly fitting every part of the body, made of a rugged bark

or hide, with bristles in some places ; which case covering the whole body except the face, the palms of the hands, and soles of the feet, caused an appearance as if these alone were naked and the rest clothed. It did not bleed when cut or scarified, being callous and insensible. It was said he shed it once every year, about autumn ; at which time it usually grows to the thickness of three-quarters of an inch, and then is thrust off by a new skin which is coming up underneath. It was not easy to think of any sort of skin or natural integument that resembled it exactly. Some compared it to the bark of a tree, others thought it looked like seal-skin, others like the skin of a rhinoceros, and some took it to be like a great wart, or number of warts, uniting and overspreading the whole body. The bristly parts, which are chiefly about the belly and flanks, looked and rustled like the bristles or quills of a hedgehog, shorn off within an inch of the skin. The second account of this person was communicated to the Royal Society by Mr. Baker. He was at that time forty years of age, and had been exhibited in London by the name of the 'Porcupine Man.' He is described as a good-looking well-shaped man, of a florid countenance, who, when his body and hands are covered, seems nothing different from other people. But except his head and face, the palms of his hands and soles of his feet, his skin is all over covered in the same manner as in the year 1731. When I saw this man in the month of September, the warts were shedding off in several places, and young ones of a paler brown observed succeeding in their room, which he told me happens annually in some of the autumn or winter months, and then he is commonly let blood, to prevent some little sickness which he is subject to whilst they are falling off. He has had the small-pox, and has been twice salivated in hopes of getting rid of this disagreeable covering, during which disorders the warting came off, and his skin appeared white and smooth like that of other people, but on his recovering, soon became what it was before. His health at other times has been very good during his whole life. But the most extraordinary circumstance of this man's story is, that he has had six children, all with the same rugged covering as himself, the first appearance whereof in them, as well as in him, came on about nine weeks after birth. Only one of them is living, a very pretty boy about eight years of age, whom I saw and examined with his father, and who is exactly in the same condition. It appears, therefore, past all doubt, that a race of men may be propagated by this man, having such rugged coats and coverings as himself ; and if this should ever happen, and the accidental original be forgotten, it is not improbable they might be deemed a different species of mankind."—Page 93.

We have no doubt whatsoever but it would have been a great fact in the argument against revelation, if, instead of taking place in London in the 18th century, it had

occurred a thousand years ago, in some island of the Pacific, and that some of his surviving descendants were discovered by Cooke or Anson, to the amazement of the "Savans," and the great detriment of the faith of many a wavering Christian. When the infidel has endeavoured to make so much of the comparatively trivial differences that exist between the black and white tribes of men, how triumphantly would he appeal to men incased in bark, and covered with the scales of a porcupine. But God has provided that his word should not be exposed to such trial, he has turned aside the sword in his own wisdom, and the wicked has been caught in his own craftiness.

A strong argument in favour of the unity of the human race, may, we think, be derived from the existence of that peculiar variety of the human family, known by the name of Albinos. There seems very little doubt in the present state of our knowledge of this subject, that the Albino is a variety of the human race arising from some peculiarity of physical conformation, and not, as many have supposed, the effect of a leprous or scrofulous disease. Nor is this strange deviation from the usual type confined to man. It is found in many of the lower animals, as in the well known instances of the ferret, rabbit, and the peacock, and not only continues during the life of the individual, but will be perpetuated in the offspring, if the male and female be both possessed of this peculiarity. In this manner, indeed, these white varieties are propagated and preserved; and if the propagation of the human species was as much under external control as that of the lower animals, there is not the least doubt but that an Albino variety might be produced and propagated in the human family, differing more in all physical characteristics from any existing people, than do the Caucasian and Ethiopian from one another, even in most peculiar and striking development.

4. Hitherto it will be seen that the course of our inquiry has been of rather a negative sort, rather removing the difficulties in the way of all men having been descended from a common stock, than proving positively that they did. It is not enough for us to demonstrate that they may, the completion of our argument requires us also to demonstrate that they must have done so; and we regret that the space remaining at our disposal will permit us to do this but in a brief and cursory, and consequently imperfect manner. The external and bodily characters of men are always



changing ; we have seen this exemplified in the Jews and Hindoos, as perhaps it has taken place on a larger scale in the various branches of the Indo-European family, of which the Hindoos are one, and the Celts another. There is scarcely a nation in which the colour, the hair, or the form of the skull belonging to it, and for which it is remarked, is not found to have undergone some considerable alteration. As an instance of the changes which external influences may produce in the very bony structure of the skull, we may take the Turks of Europe and Asia Minor. The nomadic tribes of this people spread through Central Asia, have the pyramidal form of the skull, similar to the Mongols and the Chinese ; while those who have established themselves for some centuries in the Ottoman and Persian empires, have become completely transformed into the likeness of Europeans, and the pyramidal skull has entirely disappeared. This should be perhaps ascribed to the introduction of Circassian slaves into the Harem, if it were limited to the rich and powerful of the nation ; but when it is found among all classes of the Turkish population, even the poorer who have always intermarried with one another, it can only be looked on as a physical change consequent on their civilization and altered mode of life, as well as on the change of climate. But there are elements of the human system more enduring and indelible than skin and bone, which, in every variety of temperature, of habit, of food, of civilization, survive unaltered—which no barbarism can destroy, no education disturb ; these are the laws that regulate the animal economy, and those that regulate their intellectual and moral characters.

With regard to the laws of the animal economy, in beings of the same species, they are never known to vary in any considerable degree. In beings of different species, however these may resemble each other in external features, they are never known to coincide. Few animals resemble each other more than the wolf does the dog, yet the period of gestation in the one is an hundred days, in the other sixty. There is no difference in this respect between any of the tribes of the human race. The average duration of life is the same : wherever a diversity occurs, we can without difficulty assign a sufficient cause. The specific temperature of the body is the same, or nearly so ; there is no remarkable difference in the frequency of the pulse, or any of the other vital functions, between any of the

families of men. Neither in the physical development and decay of the female sex, is there any difference of importance between one country and another. An able writer in the 28th No. of the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, has satisfactorily demonstrated that the notions which were entertained by many persons on the premature marriageableness and premature decay of the female sex in Eastern countries, are utterly without foundation; and that in respect to all the physical changes to which their constitutions are subject, and the laws by which they are regulated, men and women, whether white or black, are placed by their Creator on an equal footing. It may, perhaps, be said, that this argument is weakened by the liability of some nations to disease, from which others are free. But it will be found that this difference is more apparent than real, and that the immunity of one people is an acquired property, consequent on the residence of several generations. It is well known that the free Negroes brought from America, and whose ancestors had been resident in that country for some generations, are as liable to the fever of Sierra Leone as the Europeans recently arrived in that country: thus evincing that it depends on being acclimated in the region, and not on any peculiar quality of their physical system.

But the most convincing proof, and that on which above all others we may rest the argument, is the law of nature, which regulates the intercourse of one species of animals with another. If it be true that individuals of the same species propagate without any impediment, and are able to reproduce their own kind, however they may differ in other respects; and, on the contrary, that individuals of different species, however they resemble each other in appearance or habits, refuse to associate, or that, if they should do so, the offspring is barren, or is absorbed into one or other of the parent stocks from which it descended—then is it true that the various tribes of men are precisely of the same species and family, because there exists no natural hinderance whatever to the production and perpetuation of mixed tribes of men. So far is this from being the case, so far from the many varieties of men manifesting any of the phenomena which are consequent on hybridity, that where the white people and the Negroes live together, a population of a mixed character has sprung up, superior in most physical qualities to the Negro, and far more prolific

than any of the parent stocks from which it came. This law of hybridity, which pervades both the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is one of the most powerful arguments which science furnishes to prove the unity of the human family.

The same law of uniformity which pervades the physiology of each species of the animal creation, is found also to mark their psychical qualities. By the word psychical we mean in the brute creation their habits and instincts—in the human race, their mental endowments. Every species of animals has its own peculiar instincts. The ant, the bee, the bird, the beaver—has each its own way of providing a store of food, and constructing a habitation for itself; and by the identity of these instincts we can trace its origin and discover its connexion, where even other means are not available. But, in the lower animals, this instinct has been stereotyped in the race. There is no change, no improvement. A bee-hive is the same to-day, as it was in the days of *Æsop*; and the beaver has not added an order or an architrave to his architecture since first he established himself upon the *Arkansas*. But it is not so with men. It is the posterity of the savages that dwelt upon the *Vistula*, that have built *St. Petersburg*; and the naked savages who opposed the landing of *Cæsar* on the *Isle of Thanet*, would scarcely recognize their hunting-grounds in the *Regent's Park*, or their descendants in the men who erected *Westminster* or *St. Paul's*: yet, with all this diversity of intellectual manifestation, there is still a common psychical nature pervading the whole human race. This point is well and eloquently urged by *Mr. Prichard*. We shall give his words, and with them conclude our quotations.

“It would appear that in all that belongs to the sustenance of life, and the supply of bodily wants, the habits of man are liable to indefinite variations. In the external aspect of human actions and human society, the most complete changes that can be imagined have actually taken place, and in these things there is nothing stable or permanent. In order to discover fixed principles of human action, which by reason of their constancy may be regarded as typical of the whole family of mankind, or of some particular department of it, and thus furnish a topic of comparison with the uniform and specific instincts of the brute creation, we must look somewhat more deeply into the subject, and contemplate the uneven principles of human nature, the sentiments, feelings, sympathies,

internal consciousness, as well as the external habits of life and action which thence result. There are, indeed, certain habits, which, from their prevalence, may be regarded as universal characters. The use of conventional speech has been regarded as one of the most remarkable characteristics of humanity; its universal existence among men is not less remarkable than its total absence among the inferior tribes. The use of fire, of artificial clothing, of arms, the art of domesticating animals, are, some of them at least, characters not less general. But all these arts, as well as that of conventional language, are only certain outward manifestations of that internal agency, which is the really distinctive attribute of human nature. It is this principle, and its most essential and characteristic phenomena, if we can discover them, that we must take as the subject of comparison with the psychical nature of the lower animals.....The energies of all the lower animals, the whole sum of their activities, excited into action by the stimulus of desire or aversion, according to different laws impressed on each species, are directed towards the present safety and immediate well-being of the individual or the tribe. But, if we survey the whole sphere of human actions in the vast field of observation which the entire history of mankind presents, we shall find the same remark can here be applied but in a limited degree. On the contrary, there is nothing more remarkable in the habitudes of mankind, and in their manner of existence in various parts of the world, than a reference, which is everywhere more or less perceptible, to a state of existence to which they feel themselves to be destined after the termination of their visible career, and to the influence which both barbarous and civilized men believe to be exercised over their condition, present and future, by unseen agents, differing in attribute according to the sentiments of different nations, but everywhere acknowledged to exist, and regarded with sentiments of awe and apprehension. The rites everywhere performed for the dead—the various ceremonies of sepulture, of embalming, of cremation, funereal processions and pomps following the deceased in every age and nation during countless ages—tombs raised over their remains—innumerable tumuli scattered over all the regions of the world, the only memorial of races long extinct—the morais or houses for the dead, and the gigantic monuments of the Polynesians—the magnificent monuments of Egypt and Anahuac—the prayers and litanies set up in behalf of the living and the dead in the churches of christendom, in the mosques and pagodas of the east, as heretofore in the temples of the pagan world—the power of sacerdotal and consecrated orders, revered as the interpreters of destiny, and mediators between God and man; pontiffs, sacred wars, toilsome pilgrimages, performed every year, during long successive centuries, through every region of the earth, by thousands of black and white men, seeking atonement for guilt at the tombs of prophets and of saints—the slaughter of animals, for the typical or

piacular averting of contracted guilt : all these, and other similar phenomena in the history of the barbarous and civilized nations of the earth, would lead us to believe that all mankind sympathise in deeply impressed feelings and sentiments, which are as mysterious in their nature as their origin.....We contemplate among all the diversified tribes, who are endowed with reason and speech, the same internal feelings, appetences, aversions—the same inward convictions, the same subjection to invisible powers, and more or less fully developed, of accountableness or responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even by death escape. We find everywhere the same susceptibility, though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement, of admitting the cultivation of those universal endowments—of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous views which Christianity unfolds—of becoming moulded to the institutions of religion and civilized life—in a word, the same inward and mental nature is to be recognized in all the races of men. When we compare this fact with the observations which have been heretofore fully established as to the specific instincts and separate psychical endowments of all the distinct races of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw confidently the conclusion, that all human races are of one species and of one family.”—*Page 490 to 546.*

To the argument of our author little requires to be added. The black man and the white are subject to the same identical feelings, impulses, passions—kindled by the same hopes, and alarmed by the same fears. If we make allowance for the changes produced by knowledge and civilization, man is everywhere the same from the equator to the pole ; and whatever may be the variety of hue, or mode of life, or spoken language, every fair and candid inquirer must, we are convinced, be led by these considerations to the inevitable conclusion, that the variations of men do not exceed the limits prescribed by nature to one species, and must be members of one family. But, we apprehend, that there is one step further, to which our author's argument fails to lead us. There is one inquiry more to which the natural history of man would encourage us to reply in the affirmative, though the truth of that reply, in our opinion, it fails demonstratively to prove ; and that is, Are the various members of the human family sprung from one pair of ancestors ? Has there been but one man and one woman appointed from the beginning to inhabit the earth, and to increase and multiply, and to possess its fruits, and have dominion over its other

denizens in all times, and in their after generations? or may there not have been more than one pair of men and women—similar in all their physical attributes, and equal in all their mental endowments—originally created, and from whom the various tribes of men are descended? The former of these suppositions may seem to be implied in the use of the word families; but it should be borne in mind that, even in the human household, there are members, who, though resembling each other in all mental and bodily endowments, are still not of the same parentage, and not bone of the same bone and flesh of the same flesh, as the fathers and mothers of the family. That all the races of men are of one family, in this enlarged acceptance of the word, the natural history of the species will certainly warrant us in believing; but that they all have been born of one primeval pair, we think it unable to demonstrate, though it renders it highly probable. It may point to it, and the analogy of all created nature may lead us to suppose this to have been the case; but there is, in our opinion, a link wanting in the chain of evidence, which no scientific reasoning can supply, and for which we must have recourse to the inspired record alone, which tells us how, from one man and from one woman, came all tribes and peoples, and how from these all nations were divided upon the earth.

A few words more remain to be added, with respect to the Mosaic history of man's original propagation. If Moses had been ignorant of the varieties of the human race—if he had lived in a country where all men were of one colour—we care not whether white or black—it might be said that he wrote in utter ignorance of there being any human creatures of a different hue from his own: and the discovery in after times of such a phenomenon might perhaps be urged with propriety against him. But we cannot conceive how he who wrote in a country where their existence was perfectly known, who knew the difference between black and white, between the Caucasian physiognomy and the Negro, as well as Cuvier or Blumenbach, could have derived the origin of the human race from one common stock, if he supposed this difference to constitute any insurmountable difficulty—nay, more, if the real source of this difference had not been a public well-ascertained fact, about which no well-informed person could have been bold enough to raise a question. It is only the ignorance

of later times, and the scepticism of bold and questioning men of more incredulous days, that could have dared to impugn the fact, and impeach the veracity of his venerable history. With men as incredulous as themselves, whose arguments were influenced and coloured by the hue of their antichristian prejudices, and whose interest it would be that the terrors held out by revelation to the wicked should prove but the terrors of a dream, their doubts were received as valid arguments, and their fallacies were admitted without detection.

The course of inquiry which we have hitherto pursued has not attempted to pronounce upon the birth-place of the human race, or point out the precise family of the human race that is most immediately in possession of those physical characteristics which probably belonged to our first progenitors. They may have been white, or they may have been black, as far as the main purpose of our argument is concerned; but it is most reasonable to suppose that the mean between the two—such as it is seen in the Arabian or Persian people—was that which originally belonged to the first parents of the human family. This will render the changes of complexion more easy of comprehension. We can have little difficulty in understanding how the dusky Arab was darkened into the Negro, or bleached into the European; and it is this land which the Mosaic record seems to point out as man's original habitation. The region which comprises within its limits the present countries of Arabia, Persia, and Syria, is that which is most convenient for the diffusion of mankind to the extremities of the earth, being exactly in the middle of the old world, and not altogether inaccessible to the new. It is that which the investigation of philology points to as the centre of those various and wide-spread families of languages, into which all others may be reduced. There, too, it is that the rays of knowledge and civilization converge, as they ascend through the ancient records and monuments of past history; and there, too, do the traditions of Jew and Christian, of Pagan and Mahometan, place the first seat and birth-place of the children of men. Were there no written record of God's providential care for his creatures, or of those mysterious, yet providential dispersions to the east and west, the north and south, we should have little hesitation in believing this favoured and venera-

ble land to be that which the first human footstep pressed, and which was first given to man as his inheritance.

It would be an useless and unprofitable labour, even if we had time and space, to examine the various hypotheses that have been devised to deduce the origin of the Negro race from the children of Cain—who, it was conjectured, may have been employed as menial servants in the ark, and been thus preserved from the destruction that fell upon their family and kindred. This hypothesis is nothing but a mere unfounded conjecture, opposed, it seems to us, to the express words of the inspired narrative; and, therefore, not meriting any further consideration. Similar to this, however, and certainly more plausible, is the opinion which derives their origin from Chanaan, the child of Noah. The effects of a parent's curse may be seen, it is said, in the dark hue and degraded condition of the African, who, throughout all time, has been a servant of servants to his brethren. This conjecture is plausible and tenable; and by referring the physical and moral condition of the Negro to the visitation of a supernatural power, will render the solution of our great problem more easy to the believer. But we have seen that it is not necessary to have recourse to such a solution. We have seen that the operation of ordinary natural causes is quite enough to explain the difficulties that present themselves to our notice. We have no doubt whatever, that the solution of these difficulties will become each day more and more easy; and that the progress of human knowledge, and the diligent observation of existing phenomena, will confirm more and more the statements of the Mosaic history. The authority of God's word, and the faith of the Christian believer, has much more to fear from the rash and hasty assumptions of ignorance and imperfect information, than from the cautious conclusions of the scientific man, or the large and comprehensive survey of the philosopher.

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ART. III.—1. *Vox Stellarum ; or, a Loyal Almanac for the Year 1845.* By FRANCIS MOORE, PHYSICIAN. London: 1844.

2.—*Combination of the Zodiacal and Cometical Systems, (printed for the London Society, Exeter Hall.)* London: 1843.

3.—*The Triumphal Chariot of Friction.* London: 1829.

4.—*The Sublime Science of Heliography ; or, the Sun no other than a Body of Ice ; overturning all the received Systems of the Universe.* London: 1798.

*Cum multis aliis.*

SOME twelve or fourteen years ago, it was our lot to be frequently annoyed by solicitations that we would examine wonderful discoveries. Our applicants, who had refuted Newton and Copernicus, squared the circle, found the longitude by superhuman means, and dived into the very essence of heat and electricity, argued with us that it was unphilosophical to reject without examination—that things most useful to the world would perish from neglect, if the learned refused to examine everything that was new and strange, or the work of an unknown hand, &c., &c. All this was so very true and sensible, and the utterer of it did so throw all his candour and modesty—every bit of it, as we afterwards found—into this preamble, that we could not but yield and listen, though with a yearning look, towards the page at which we were arrested by his entrance.

For several years, however, there was a decided cessation. We began to hope that there might be something in Newton after all—that the circle had issued a proclamation declaring it would not be squared—and that finding the longitude had been voted decidedly latitudinarian. \* At the same time we observed a sensible decrease in the number of books on such subjects. But hopes are delusive: within the last two or three years we have been again visited by the public instructors, and we have again received their writings. At the same time, we noticed that, during the *vacation*, there were few or no comets; while latterly, we have had many, and more than one visible to the naked eye. This is the secret, no doubt: the attenuated matter of the comets finds its way into our atmosphere, and gets into heads which have not been fortified by sober discipline. And since these speculations are none of them new, we further suspect that the comet itself is

nothing more than a congeries of crude opinions, unfounded assertions, and zeal without knowledge, thrown off from the different planets by some wholesome moral fermentation not yet discovered. This origin fully accounts for the eccentricity of the orbits of these bodies, and overthrows the theory of their carrying supplies of heat to the sun. It is incredible that vegetation should be only a remote product of conceited ignorance; besides, a stroke of the sun is, for the most part, curable, whereas there are only two or three instances on record of a person having recovered from the stroke of a comet.

It is desirable that, from time to time, the public should be guarded against the real evil consequences of ignorant speculation; but there is no organized mode of doing it. We often wish for an association on the plan of the Mendicity Society, every subscriber to which might give a ticket to any one who wants to bore him with a discovery, which ticket should entitle the applicant to have his case examined; an ultimate remedy against impostors is wanting, however, as the police magistrates can deal only with astrologers, and not with others of the same cast. Perhaps our readers may think we insinuate too much; let them judge for themselves from the following. Three years ago it pleased the discoverer of a perpetual motion to issue the prospectus of a company, to which he put the names of individuals who had never heard of it or him. A perpetual motion, be it understood, is neither more nor less than a Fortunatus's purse, out of which money can always be taken, without putting any in. In this case the speculator believed that a drum or cylinder, with one side immersed in mercury and the other in a vacuum, would turn of itself for ever; and it was promised that a steam-engine, sold as old metal, would produce enough to buy a stronger engine, which would work as long as it held together at no expense at all. It is true that, in this instance, one of the parties whose names had been used, knew enough of mechanics to see through the affair and get it exposed in a public journal, so that the company never was formed. But do those who are waiting to turn good money into bad, always escape as well as in this instance? Let the windows of the print-shops answer, and the splendid flying machines which they lately contained, for the construction of which money was actually advanced.

It is not, however, so much in a commercial point of

view that we object to ignorant speculation; for the love of rapid gain knows how to make bubbles out of the soundest modes of investment: and we would rather that Mammon amused himself with a perpetual motion, or an air balloon, than with vexatious inroads upon the security of private property, or tampering with the honesty of public boards. The evils we most wish to repress, are those which are connected with the progress of sound knowledge, and with the disposition of the people at large to receive and appreciate it. Let us examine the effect of a quantity of ignorant pretension, when it breaks out in the form of great discoveries. The case is so parallel with that of mendicinity and imposture combined, that we might almost make a prospectus of the society we have alluded to serve our purpose, altering substantives only, and not verbs. The moral difference is certainly great, because a person may delude himself into the idea of his being a discoverer, whereas it is difficult to imagine a beggar really believing he wants the leg or arm which he has to put out of sight every morning. But the effect of the false pretence upon the country is much the same in both cases.

In the first place, the public at large, and, in many cases, the majority of those who are most concerned in the application of the pretended discovery, are ignorant of the mode of answering the unfounded assertion, even when they see its fallacy. Hence, their trust in the weapons of inquiry and the shield of demonstration is shaken. An artist discovers, in our own day, that the perspective of all ages and countries is radically wrong; he makes a piece of Grecian architecture look like a compost of obelisks, and says, "See, here is the first picture which was ever drawn in true perspective!" He publishes and lectures upon his system, and, though assuredly he has not convinced the world, yet we know that he did not meet with the ready and simple answer which he ought to have met with on all hands. But this, it will be said, is the consequence of ignorance of geometry among artists. True; but the disorder is one the secondary symptoms of which diminish our power over the radical cause. Those who are already disposed to think geometry needless, will have a wrongheaded suspicion that it may be pernicious, when they see talent thus misled by what bears its appearance. Comparisons, such as we may institute in an article like the present, may widen what rash generalization has narrowed: the individual in

question had previously *squared the circle*. With "the reminiscence of a school-taught course of Hutton's Mathematics," he persuaded himself that he had succeeded in a problem of which he only knew that all had failed who had attempted it.

In the next place, it is now almost impossible for an unknown person to get a hearing from men of science on any thing which he has done. There will always be men of little acquired knowledge, who can make that little go a great way; these will be sure to have useful ideas which they should be encouraged to bring forward, or as to which the way of proceeding further should be pointed out to them. All that is necessary in the way of advice, notice, suggestion, or other help, would most readily be granted by men of science or scientific bodies, if they had time. They would have plenty of time to dispose properly of all that is really good. But what man, or what body of men, with important private or public avocations, can separate the grain from the chaff? For every case which would finally be taken up, at least twenty must be examined; we doubt if it would be wrong to say fifty. So the practical result is, that those who have their own business to mind are obliged to refuse admission to all unknown schemers, the good and bad together. We are told that the late Board of Longitude might have wasted twice as many hours as it could command for all its duties together, in the mere reading of plans, not only for finding the longitude, but for many other things which the fertile brains of the planners had supposed to be connected with that great desideratum.

Thirdly, persons in general, who cannot judge of what is or is not mathematical demonstration, are bewildered by the pretensions of the illustrious unknown, who remind them that Newton and Galileo were once as unknown as themselves, and that everything really great has had to encounter opposition, and has frequently been preceded by neglect. Most persons have a friend or acquaintance who is at issue with the world upon some question of philosophy, and who declares that he only is in possession of truth upon the matter of that question. Some minds can appreciate probabilities, and can see why it is best for an uninformed person to investigate, not questions, but authorities, the evidence for which is of an easier character. But there are many who cannot see this distinction, and who attempt

to form positive opinions on subjects, as to which their ignorance is a bar to their knowing even as much as why they cannot have an opinion that is worth anything. These are the natural adherents of the speculators on whom this article is written—the blind followers of the blind. There is no acting upon this class without removing a little *ignis fatuus*, such as is enough to dazzle a weak sight, in which no steady habit of seeing has ever been formed. Take the following instance, in describing which, as in every other in this paper, there is no invention, and to our best knowledge and belief, no exaggeration; though we suppress many names, we have every book which we mention before us, and every fact fresh in our memory. Twenty years ago there was an ignorant man in an English country town, by trade, we believe, a shoemaker. This man heated his head by reading accounts of the Hindoo and Greek mythologies, until he imagined himself able to give a complete astronomical account of what he called the Christian mythology. Let any one who knows the writings of Volney and Dupuis, imagine their effect upon a person of some ingenuity, no learning, and unbounded credulity. We say, let any one imagine, because we would give him five attempts at imitation, and wager that nothing so *bizarre* should come of them as the instance we will quote. It is as follows: Judah, of course, was the zodiacal constellation of the lion, and the twelve apostles were but a second version of the twelve signs, *Jude* answering to Judah. Now Judah got his name (how it is not said) because the lion was the *last* constellation in the zodiac. “A few years ago” Jude was the *last* book of the New Testament, until it pleased people to add the Revelations: accordingly, the book of Revelations ought to be called Jude, which is rather a name of position than that of a writer. Now, to our knowledge, men of education—not exactly as full of antiquity as a first-class man of Oxford or Cambridge, but still men of education—were completely taken in by this sagacious antiquarian, to the extent of thinking him entitled to the most serious attention, and his works found a sale, and he was able to print them one after the other. But how could it be that he should find a serious reader among those who had ever construed a Latin sentence? Over and above the general causes given in this paper, there is one of which the amount of force can never be felt, except by

those who have been in the habit of making such inquiries as those which have led us to this article. It is the love of mystery, but not that alone; it is the love of the mysteries of knowledge, which is but another name for the love of knowledge, coupled with the almost universal idea that the results of knowledge are attained by thinking upon puzzles, and not by continuous investigation—that a discoverer is a good shot, not a practised and able workman. Newton is made to solve the riddle, “Why does an apple fall to the ground?” He is made to think about it under a tree, as if it were, “Why is a man in jail, like a man not in jail?” or any other conundrum. He tries one answer after another, fits them to the question, and decides by pure natural sagacity which is the right one. Newton, with a mind full of the inquiries of his predecessors—Newton, led by what is called a lucky accident, but ought to be called the natural result of a disciplined habit, to put together and compare two ideas, each of which was the separate property of others—Newton, carefully acquiring, methodically augmenting, and cautiously applying the mathematical power which it had cost two thousand years to gain—is not the Newton of the world at large. It is said that no man is a hero to his valet-de-chambre; but it ought to be added, that his valet-de-chambre makes him a hero to every body else. All the apple story, all the nonsense about Newton learning Euclid at a glance, was the information which his connexion, Mr. Conduit, sent to Fontenelle, who might have known better than to set it down as authenticated fact. These and similar stories have originated the vulgar idea of discovery, and have led to the natural consequence, namely, the supposition that the ignorant may sometimes hit the mark. If this term were a proper one, we might agree to the position; but, until we hear of a person who is not a mason building a house by accident, we shall dispute the parallel altogether.

We return to our point. This love of knowledge, coupled with the belief that it comes at sight occasionally, easily leads to vagaries on mathematical subjects. Let a latent discoverer be told that it is not settled whether the Metonic cycle did or did not come from the east, and he must perforce content himself with feeling that he could have found out the truth, if he only knew what the Metonic cycle was. The disposition to have his shot is repressed by his not seeing the target. But every one knows what a

circle is, and what a square is ; the moment, therefore, that any one hears of a geometrical difficulty in making a square equal to a circle, he thinks he sees the target, and he takes his aim. A certain nobleman, now deceased, but as far removed in his life-time from geometrical speculations as any man could well be, once saw an article on this difficulty. He was a man whom any one would have supposed to be immersed in politics and the cares of a large estate. But the moment he saw the subject he was bitten, and he instantly found it out, and forwarded his solution to the author of the paper which had come in his way.

The eminent individuals, whose notions we presume to illustrate, may be divided into the theological, the historical, the astronomical, the mechanical, and the mathematical discoverers. The theological ones are a peculiar class : we do not include among them the recent opponents of geology, and all who have endeavoured to control the progress of physics by either literal or allegorical interpretations of the Scriptures ; for these are not properly discoverers, but assertors of the maxim, that experimental discovery is unlawful, as being opposed to Revelation. We are thinking of another set, who deduce unrevealed meanings from the letter of the Bible, or else attempt mathematical demonstration of revealed doctrines. The historical set dive into antiquity beyond the depth of written history, and recover, in the most positive manner, literature which preceded letters, and philosophy anterior to the time of pen and ink. The astronomical worthies spin systems, find longitudes, and the like ; the mechanics work at the creation of force without means ; and the mathematicians square the circle, refute the differential calculus, and find out infallible methods of winning at play. We shall select some miscellaneous instances from among the hundreds which offer themselves to our choice.

We are not inclined to put the heavy folio of Gregory St. Vincent on the Quadrature of the Circle into our list, because he was a mathematician of merit, and lived at a time when the subject was a fair matter of inquiry. But we shall, nevertheless, begin with a folio, and one of a thousand pages, published at Cambridge in the year of the death of Newton, and of which, we answer for it, not one in ten of our mathematical readers has ever heard. It is " The Principles of the Philosophy of the Expansive and

Contractive Forces; or, an Inquiry into the Principles of the Modern Philosophy," by Robert Greene, M.A., and Fellow of Clare Hall: Cambridge, 1727. Saunderson, in a letter written in 1712, says of something which Greene had then recently published, that he had been reputed mad for the last two years, but had never given the world such ample testimony of it before.

In this capacity he had a right to know what the moon is made of, and he informs us that it is of ice, and that one of its functions is to communicate cold to the earth. He makes the circle to be exactly four-fifths of the circumscribed square, which was refuted by Cotes: he lectured on his systems in his college. He introduces Des Cartes as Philomythus, arguing in dialogue with himself as Philalethes, and his pupils, and to show that Des Cartes is a foreigner, he makes him say, *Shentlemen*, which is the only word of broken English he puts into his mouth: the phrases French mountebank, English scoundrel, &c., pass to and fro. The year after this heavy piece of absurdity, the author was received Doctor in Divinity. We collect from various places in this work, that the Cartesian philosophy was by no means obsolete in Cambridge when it was published. So much for Greene: the next editor of Montaña should add his quadrature and Cotes's refutation, to the list. The moon continued to be of ice, till 1798, when the author of the work named at the head of our article found out that the sun was of ice: which any one might know, says he, who would "pay attention to that too much neglected book, the Bible." We shall presently see that the planets are consequences of ice: so that, by combining the information we receive from our speculators, we are left with nothing but ice.

After Greene's elaborate volume, we shall take a book with elaborate plates, a quarto of some hundred pages, "The Triumphal Chariot of Friction:" London, 1829. (We hope the author has seen his folly, and suppress his name.) Magnetism is caused by friction, says this writer. "I must beg you to admit that the universe was churned; the earth was the curd, and the other elements, particularly the water, formed the whey." Has this writer ever heard the Hindoo fable? But this churning took place when all was "moral, directly antecedent to the existence of corporality." Matter which had only a "moral" existence, became physical by churning. This writer was



not mad; he had attended practically to magnetism, and had invented a dipping-needle, which he describes: but he should not have dived into cosmogony with it. His mode of squaring the circle was ingenious; he thought it consisted in filling a circle with squares. He accordingly described square after square with its four points on the circumference, and found that all the squares gave another circle; namely, the white space left in the middle. In this again, he described squares which gave a third circle, and so on. In this way he got fourteen circles, and he declares that he never could get more. He tried the largest circle a dining-room table would hold, and then the floor of a room, with the same result: so that he concluded it to be in the nature of things, that if a square be inscribed in a circle, a circle again in that, and so on, it is impossible that more than fourteen circles can be obtained. To turn this discovery to good account, as he says, he proceeded to connect these seven pairs of circles with the seven heavens, the seven attributes of God, &c., and he has drawn a picture of them, with Leviathan in the middle, to represent, as he says, Lucifer, who turned the moral matter, as far as the third circle, into physical—with a churn, of course. We quote all this because it was really published in 1829, in a handsome quarto, with expensive copper-plates, and a list of subscribers, including many captains in the navy, &c., and the Royal Naval Club. These had all subscribed for a book on magnetism and the dipping-needle, which they got, with the cosmogony into the bargain. How they must have stared when they found they had so often cast anchor in seven fathom whey, with a holding ground of curd underneath; and how glad they would have been if Leviathan would have churned the book back again into the money they gave for it!

Here the reader may perhaps have begun to take a prejudice against handsome quartos: we shall produce another of them as a corrective. On looking at the following work, "*An Original Theory, or New Hypothesis of the Universe*," by Thomas Wright, of Durham—London, 1750, 4to. with thirty excellent mezzotinto engravings, we saw the name of Dr. Smith, the author of the *Harmonics*, among the subscribers. This predisposed us in favour of the book, and the feeling was increased by observing that the author was familiar with the ancients. On further examination, we found Wm. Herschel's no-

tions on the milky way anticipated. In fact, this theory of the universe, or plurality of systems, as the author terms it, is the theory that the milky way is one thin stratum of stars, in which our system is situated, that there are an infinite or very great number of such systems, with a surmise of the systems having orbits of their own. There is some rather wild speculation about one common centre of all; but on the whole, this work must become remarkable as being the first in which the solution of the milky way into stars is made to give the now common explanation of its existence, which was independently suggested by the elder Herschel. While this article was passing through the press, our attention was directed to Arago's account of Sir. Wm. Herschel, in which Wright, Kant, and Lambert, are set down as the predecessors of the first-named in this speculation. Kant, who has the whole idea very distinct, cites Wright in a manner which justifies M. Arago, whose knowledge of the second was derived entirely from the first, in saying that Kant completed Wright's idea. But we, after comparison of Wright's work with the citation from Kant, see clearly that the former had as much as the latter, and must be looked upon as the first possessor of the whole suggestion.

The problem of finding the longitude received a great impulse in the year 1714, from the Act of Parliament offering a reward for its *discovery*, as it was called. The fact was, that it was as well known then as now, that a very great improvement either in watches, or in the lunar tables, would do all that was wanted. The act, which left it open to propose any other method, was afterwards replaced by another, which limited the reward to one or the other of the two methods mentioned. Both are now repealed, but it is impossible to make speculators believe it. And what is more, the squarers of the circle and the finders of perpetual motion, have always thought that their subjects had something to do with the matter. Newspapers have confirmed this notion, by mentioning from time to time, the quadrature, &c., as a national object. We have reason to know that it is not many months since a gentleman arrived in England from South America, with his circle ready squared in his pocket. He came on the faith of a paragraph in an American newspaper, asserting that the British Government had offered a large reward for the solution of this old difficulty. Nor is

this the only person who has come as far, within the last twelve years, for the same purpose.

In the year 1714, we are informed by a preface to one of them, that tracts on the longitude were so much in vogue, that they were generally all sold before the booksellers in the north of England could get any of them. They certainly appeared very fast in that year: we ourselves know of eleven. Perhaps the most preposterous scheme of this lot, is that of Whiston and Ditton, which lives in imperishable rhyme, if not in immortal verse. The ocean, or as much of it as was wanted for the track of ships, was to be mapped out by trigonometrical survey, and ships were to be moored at all the stations: when the sea was too deep, the anchors were to be sunk till they got into still water, below all the currents. Shells were to be fired into the air at certain times, and so high that they could be seen at very great distances, and parties at sea were to find their places by watching for the appearance of the shells, and noting the times at which the sound reached them. Of this very funny scheme, as it appears, it may truly be said that if the plan of mooring the ships in unfathomable water had been effectual, all the revenues of all the kingdoms of the earth might have made it answer: which is more than could *then* be said of watches or of the lunar tables, as they stood.

When Mr. Bailly brought forward his *Life of Flamsteed*, with all the remarkable account of the unworthy treatment which he received from Newton and Halley, the most surprising part of the matter was, that it should have been so completely buried in oblivion. There are nothing but hints of a quarrel, and all the hints, all those at least of celebrity, are against Flamsteed. The national veneration for Newton's discoveries created a desire that he should be considered a perfect character, and the ordinary records of the disputes with Leibnitz and Flamsteed bear marks of a determination that there should be no mistake. But on the other hand it is not altogether true that no hints of a contrary tendency ever found their way abroad. They are of course not much known, but the disposition above-mentioned would prevent their receiving any notice. An idea that Newton stole from Flamsteed (than which nothing can be more unfounded) was one of the consequences of the quarrel; and this found its way into a work of fiction. At the time when Mr. Bailly was employed

upon the Life of Flamsteed, a haunter of book-stalls picked up the "Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson," Dublin, 1750, an ordinary novel of the Smollet school: the following passage struck his eye, and he gave the book to Mr. Baily. "What is your Paracelsus and Van Helmont now, whose works may be bought for three-halfpence by the pound? I thought Mr. Talisman had read better authors and to better purpose; sure none but himself could peruse such rubbish: I warrant you, you are superstitious enough to believe in the philosopher's stone too, and I dare engage never looked into Sir Isaac's *Principia* in your life, though he may justly be called *Princeps Philosophorum*."—"Princeps Philosophorum! Doctor," replies Talisman, all in a heat, "*Princeps Roquorum* you mean; I tell you Newton was a plagiarist, and borrowed everything valuable from *Old Daddy Flamsteed*, and made no little use of those very great men you have the impudence to bespatter so." This is some tenth or twelfth version of the story about the catalogue. Again, one of the longitude speculators of 1714, Robert Browne, whose plan consisted in amendment of the lunar tables, followed the subject for a series of years, besieging the commissioners of longitude all the time. Halley, it seems, was appointed to confer with Browne on the subject, and in 1732, appeared a memorial from the latter to the Lords of the Admiralty, in which Halley is represented as bearing the character which Flamsteed would have given him. Speaking of a paper in the Philosophical Transactions, Browne says, "The Doctor, in Page 190, informs us that 'Not long after Her late Majesty Q. Anne was pleas'd to bestow upon the Publick an Addition of the much greater and most valuable Part of Mr. *Flamsteed's* observations, by Help of which the great Sir *Isaac Newton* had form'd his curious Theory of the Moon.' But I cannot understand what the Public were the better for this Addition. True it is, that when the late Q. Anne and Prince *George* gave upwards of 1000*l.* for Composing, Correcting, and Printing a Catalogue of Stars from Mr. *Flamsteed's* Observations, they were deliver'd to Sir *Isaac* seal'd up, and not to be open'd, but by Mr. *Flamsteed's* Consent, for which I saw the Receipt of Sir *Isaac's* in Mr. *Flamsteed's* Book, but contrary to that Trust, when they had got the Money, they broke them open, corrected, printed, and spoil'd them; I think Mr. *Flamsteed* had

only 150*l.* of the Money, as he told me, (and so the Doctor, at best, designs to serve me,) wherefore this Addition, when Printed, was so erroneous that some were burnt, and the Rest, in fact, destroy'd, to 'prevent the Publick being impos'd on by it; and Mr. *Flamsteed* after that corrected and printed them at his own Cost, as may appear by his Works."

This Robert Browne, by himself would not be much of a witness—he endeavours to enlist on his side, in a most awkward manner, the general disapprobation of Halley's real or supposed antichristian opinions. "The Doctor," says he, "and his Accomplices do all they can to obvert my very great Improvements by Scandal, Combination, false Reports, and such ridiculous and erroneous reflections, as are obnoxious to Christianity and civil Society; for the Truth of which I appeal to those worthy Gentlemen of the Clergy and others that have been both Eye and Ear Witnesses of these corrupt Practices." By the way, we observe that an attempt has been recently made, on evidence which is worth examination, to prove that Halley was a Christian. It would be curious if the opinions of a man of great celebrity, the character of which was supposed to be of the utmost notoriety, should have been completely mistaken. But what will the believers in the internal evidence of writings say to the following work: "*Voltaire Chrétien; preuves tirées de ses ouvrages.*" Paris, 1820, 12mo.

We will now take one or two theologians. In 1839, was actually printed, published, and laid on the counters of a bookseller of note, "*The Creed of St. Athanasius proved by a Mathematical Parallel,*" with a motto desiring the reader to understand the proof before he censured it, or in other words, protesting against its being censured at all. We never shall forget how we were puzzled when an honest bibliopole handed us the book for our inspection, with an air of important communication. Was it in good faith, was it a satire on the creed, or on the methods of the mathematicians? On either supposition it was stupid in the extreme; we made out by attentive examination that it was really in earnest. The remarkable circumstance is the very great ease with which booksellers are taken in. As to the contents of the proof, any person who knows the methods in which young mathematicians misuse the symbol of infinite magnitude could imagine a burlesque of the kind for himself, and others would not

understand it. We pass on to another which is of a more intelligible absurdity.

The famous Lieut. Brothers, under whose prophecies men packed up their goods to go to Jerusalem at the end of the last century, was, as our readers may know, confined at last in a madhouse: here they probably lose sight of him. But we find a book published in 1835, which professes to give further particulars: it is "God's Creation, or the Universe as it is; or the complete Refutation and Exposure of the False and Fabricated Solar System of Sir Isaac Newton and others." Sixth edition. The time of the first publication is no doubt that of the miserable delusion of the Irvingites, as we suppose they are to be called, when people of decent station and education roared gibberish in meeting-houses, and thought it was by the miraculous gift of the Holy Spirit! We rely much on the universal knowledge of this fact, for our readers really believing that we are telling them the truth in our citations from obscure works, and not inventing or exaggerating. We pass over the astronomy of this writer, which is merely the ancient system with some assertions about planets being made of ice, and so forth, and we come to the theology, which asserts that the two works written by Brothers are the witnesses named in the Revelations—that Solomon was the discoverer of America—that the European nations of northern descent are the ten lost tribes of Israel, a notion by the way which has been plagiarized—that these ten tribes found their way through Poland with *sacks on* their backs, whence they were called *Saxons*—that in revenge for the destruction of Jerusalem their descendants destroyed Rome—and a great deal of prophecy. The writer goes on to say that Brothers was released from the madhouse and lived with him till 1824, when he died: and that he had a claim on Government for the support of the prophet, the Admiralty having kept back the half-pay of the latter. He gives his applications to successive administrations, calling on them to pay the money, and reject the Newtonian system which calls God a liar, and threatening them with divine vengeance in case of refusal: and he points out how they were all turned out, one after the other, for non-compliance; and how several kings and ministers even died. Whether such a person as the nominal writer was in existence, or whether the whole is a fabrication, we cannot

tell; but be it one or the other, such as follows is the stuff which is circulated, and, as six editions prove, widely read: it is from a memorial asserted to have been forwarded to the Duke of Wellington in 1834: "When Bonaparte was in the zenith of his greatness and power, I was carried away in the Spirit to the Tuilleries; and he on seeing me left his marshals and advanced to meet me, when I told him what God required of him, and to put down the remaining dynasties, and if he disobeyed they would put him down. He refused to obey, and pointing to his marshals, said they would prevent that. A few days prior to the battle of Waterloo, Bonaparte in a vision was brought before me, with an arrow sticking in his body, and his sword broken in his hand, beseeching me to pull the arrow out to save his life, and to give him a new sword. I pulled out the arrow, but left the broken sword. Your Grace can supply the rest, and what followed is amply recorded in history!" Such are the contents of our London book-stalls: there is hardly one of these on which the prices vary from three-pence to a shilling which has not some of these things, and which had not many others. The cheap books which have abounded of late years have done something towards the abatement of the nuisance, and will do more: but the work is not yet finished.

Among those who promote the continued existence of these wretched impositions, we are obliged with regret to number the members of the Stationers' Company. This body continues to publish its astrological almanac, containing annual prophecies drawn from the stars. If questioned on the subject, no doubt the proprietors of this almanac would say that it was a harmless work, that astrology has no believers left, and that the prophecies are merely for amusement. We have no doubt that they would say this in good faith: but if our article should fall into the hands of any one who is instrumental in keeping up the annual prophecies, we would ask him to reflect upon the facts, that astrological books are constantly published, as the advertisements prove—that professed astrologers have not ceased to work, as the police-offices prove—and that hardly a day passes without evidence of there being many persons, and these not all in the lower classes, who are as capable of being taken in by Moore's almanac as any persons ever were. We are afraid that

those who have not yet found all this out for themselves are not likely to be convinced: but is it quite certain that their proceedings are legal? The law calls by the hard names of rogue and vagabond every person “pretending to tell fortunes, or using any subtle craft, means, or device, by palmistry or otherwise, to deceive and impose upon any of his Majesty’s subjects.” There is not a magistrate in England who would not take the criminal intent to be proved by the simple fact of money being taken for a prophecy respecting an individual: thanks to the strictness of the mode of construing penal acts, and to that only, selling an almanac full of indefinite prophecies is not rewarded by thirty-six days contemplation of a revolving cylinder moved by human agents.

Having written thus far, we remembered that by possibility, we might be speaking of the Stationers’ Company of ten years back, and that the present state of things might owe something to recent amendments. To try this point, we procured a copy of *Moore’s Almanac*, published by the Stationers’ Company, the sale of which we understand to be immense. And we were very soon satisfied that, far from being intended as an amusement, the prophecies therein contained are an appeal to the credulity of the fools who believe in astrology, and to the ignorance of the still larger number who can be brought to half-belief in five minutes by any show of authority. We have no hesitation in saying that the existence of such a quacksalver’s manual is a disgrace to the body which publishes it, to the country in which it is published, and to the laws which do not visit such a barefaced imposition with their most degrading punishments. We shall put in parallel columns a part of the introduction to the astrological address, with extracts from the practical application. The italics are our own, except those in the heading.

“*Judicium Astrologicum, pro anno 1845.*”

“VOX CÆLORUM, VOX DEI: *The Voice of the Heavens is the Voice of God. He speaketh in all the changes of the Seasons and the Times.*”

“COURTEOUS READER, In this my annual production, I have a long time sounded the above *important truth* in your ears, and I trust

“The winter quarter begins on Saturday, December 21, 1844, when 10° of Cancer is ascending upon the angle of life, and 6° of



not in vain. It is, however, to be lamented that there is a great deal of *infidelity* upon the face of the earth, and even no small portion thereof cleaves to the skirts of Britannia, notwithstanding the light and knowledge she possesses! That wonderworking Hand, which placed each mighty orb either as a sun in the centre of numerous planets, or as a revolving world, peopled with beings of various orders and intelligences, is clearly manifest in our earth in the changes of seasons, of day and night, of rain and fair weather, &c., by which provision is made for man and beast, and seed time and harvest continue. Let those who are disposed to *deny the existence of Divine Providence*, reflect on these words of Holy Writ, respecting the lower orders of creatures, "Not a sparrow falleth to the ground without the notice of your heavenly Father." And respecting the children of men, consider these expressions, "The very hairs of your head are all numbered." Besides this, there is a retributive providence in operation, and which will be seen and acknowledged in numerous instances during the revolution of this year, as it has been made known in all ages of the world, in empires, kingdoms, nations, families, and individuals, that mankind, singly or collectively, may see and perform their duty to one another, and also see that it is an evil and bitter thing to *sin* against God. A man may plot an injury against another, but he will not come off scotfree himself; he may, in the haughtiness of his mind, think that the

Pisces is enthroned upon that of honour.....(Configurations of planets).....These latter aspects and positions are good; and I hope will prevail over those of an opposite nature. Our parliament assembled this quarter will have plenty of work, and be almost at their wit's end how to act; but I trust they will ultimately hit upon something which will prove a benefit to the nation. Jupiter traversing over Aries, the ascendant of England, during the latter part of this quarter is a favourable omen to us.....(Spring quarter.) Contrivances for accelerating dispatches to our nation will be brought about; new facilities will be given to the post-office department, fresh railroads will be begun and others completed.....Jupiter, towards the end of this quarter, passes over to the ascendant of Ireland, and will benefit that country....(Summer quarter.).... Mars will be in opposition to the sun in August, when we may expect to hear of wars and rumours of wars abroad; and at home malignant fevers, sudden deaths, murders.....(Autumn quarter.).....The most important positions or aspects at this ingress, are, Venus in the second house within orbs of an opposition to Jupiter in the eighth; and Mars and Saturn still within orbs of their conjunction, and pointed in the fifth house, by which we judge concerning the success of messengers, ambassadors, or plenipotentiaries, or respecting the ammunition or internal strength of a place besieged: and as we have the two malefic planets in this house,

object of his wrath and cruelty is a worthless and insignificant creature ; not so in HIS eye who is God over all, and of one flesh and blood made all mankind that dwell upon the earth."

in Aquarius, we shall most probably hear of some disagreeable or uncalled-for war or disturbance in Russia and Denmark ; and perhaps in Lower Sweden something unpleasant may occur."

Notice the insinuation at the beginning of the first column, that not to believe the important truth announced in the title is infidelity ; the said truth being evidently propounded astrologically. Observe this coupled with a hint about the real office of the sun in the regulation of the seasons, and reflections upon Providence, adapted with the art of the old astrologers (for which there are plenty of models in the old numbers of the series) for a slide into prophecy. What do the church and chapel-haunting members of the Stationers' Company say to introducing their poor and ignorant fellow-subjects, through admonitions on the constant and particular superintendence of Providence, and declarations "that it is an evil and bitter thing to sin against God," to the belief that he regulates Denmark and Russia by two malefic planets in Aquarius, *most probably?* And the "dominion of the moon in man's body," the moon in Leo ruling the heart and back, and in Gemini the arms and shoulders, and so on, to greater detail than it would be desirable to quote : is this for amusement ? No, it is to make money of the remains of an old superstition. Men who can believe that a company furnishing the public with some samples of the old judicial astrology, merely to give the families of their buyers an innocent laugh, would preface the nonsense with such remarks on God and his ways as we have put in the parallel column, ought to subscribe to present the Stationers' Company with a copy of Joseph Miller, bound and lettered as a prayer-book. But those who think they can trace another motive, should combine to abate the mischief. There is a bare possibility that the offensive parts of the preceding citation arise from an inadvertent imitation of the phraseology of the old astrologers, and are not intended to convey all that they do convey. We hope it is so ; succeeding almanacs will give us some information on this point, and we shall watch them narrowly.

But, perhaps, it will be said that we are growing wiser, and that a few years may make a great difference : let us

see. We have before us a prettily printed sixpenny pamphlet, called, "Combination of the Zodiacal and Cometical Systems; printed for the London Society,\* Exeter Hall;" printed in April, 1843. In that year, it will be remembered that a remarkable comet appeared, which called forth a great number of letters in the newspapers. This pamphlet is a nice reprint of all those letters, without one word of comment intermixed; but it has a head and a tail. The head, or *premonition*, is as follows:

"It has pleased the AUTHOR OF CREATION, to cause (to His *human and reasoning* Creatures of this generation, by a 'combined' appearance in His *Zodiacal and Cometical* systems) a '*warning Crisis*' of universal concernment to this our *GLOBE*. It is this '*Crisis*' that has so generally '*ROUSED*' at this moment the '*nations throughout the Earth*,' that no equal interest has ever before been excited by *MAN*; unless it be in that caused by the '*PAGAN-TEMPLE IN ROME*,' which is recorded by the elder Pliny, '*Nat. Hist.*' i. 23. iii. 3. *HARDOUIN*."

The end informs us that the world cannot last beyond 1860. Now this is astrology. Can the Stationers' Company continue to think their almanac nothing more than an innocent revival of a bygone superstition? What the union of the zodiacal and cometical systems means we do not know; but the comet was at first supposed by some to be nothing but the *zodiacal light*, which called forth from Sir John Herschel a distinct explanation of that phenomenon, with reasons why the comet was a comet, and not the zodiacal light. Can it really be that the wisdom of the London Society worked this up into a something called combination of zodiacal and cometical systems?

There is a considerable class of semi-theological astronomers, who, adopting a particular system as revealed, support it, and oppose the rest, mostly on mathematical or physical grounds. Foremost among these is a Frenchman who has tried hard to overturn Newton, both in England and France. This gentleman (we believe him to be one from his style) is a curious mathematician. He maintains that

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\* This, we suppose, must be a false address. The directory tells us that the "London Hibernian Society," has its place of business at Exeter Hall; but this Society can surely have nothing to do with the astrology of comets.

† Both wise and honest. It is open to suspicion that in printing the letters of M. M. Herschel, Airy, &c. and simply attaching a beginning and ending without a name, it was intended that these gentlemen should be implied approvers of the astrological head and tail pieces.

0 multiplied by 0 gives 1. He will have nothing but the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars of the northern hemisphere; the planets are reflections of the sun and moon upon polar ice, and the southern stars are reflections of the northern ones upon some curious crystal plane. This is enough, we suppose; but the Royal Society, we are told, was formerly requested by some one who is called an "exalted personage," to examine this theory. Of course the report was short enough; but is it not to be wished that the labour we are now going through were more frequently undertaken, when such reveries as the preceding are forced upon scientific bodies by the respect due to their royal patrons? Does not the ignorance of the upper classes match that of the lower? The author of this system insists greatly upon his not receiving any answer from the Academies of England or France. We have seen a review of another astronomer of the same kind, which was called forth by the following remark in a club-room: "Oh! there must be something in it, because you see the knowing ones can't answer it." Truly, the knowing ones would have enough to do, if they once set to answering; such notice would provoke twenty new systems for every one which got its answer. We know of a scientific body which once replied to a speculator in the only way which befitted them, namely, by recommending him to turn his attention to the principles of mathematics and mechanics, and to read Newton and Laplace before he criticised them. This was just what the discoverer wanted; a pamphlet, with the Secretary's letter at the head of it, had a good *imprimatur*; and so the worthy controversialist began by informing the Society that they were craven dunghill cocks, &c., &c. These speculators answer one another; if the planets be physical matter out of Leviathan's churn, they cannot be reflections of the sun and moon. Neither can they, in either of these cases, be reproductive animals, which propagate their species by laying eggs. This last theory is that of another Frenchman, an *ancien élève* of the Polytechnic School, in a pamphlet "de la Formation des Corps:" Nancy, 1834. The moon, for instance, is the earth's egg—by this time, we suppose, the earth's chick. The Arcadians asserted they were more ancient than the moon; there it is, you see: and the submersion of the Atlantis, no doubt, took place at the time the moon was born, according to this author. No-

thing can be more touching, the word being used rather in the sense of tickling, than the manner in which this writer requests the indulgence of his readers, as to any errors of detail into which he may have fallen.

We must say, for the French writers, that they have a tact far above ours. There is no flurry, no fret or fume; it might be one member of the Academy talking to another about a somewhat, but not very, dubious point. They are not field-preachers, but quiet street button-holders. With them it is, "Permettez-moi de soumettre à vos lumières," &c.; with us it is at mildest, "Permit me to tell you that you have no *lumières*."

There is a man who is known by name and by printed letters to many men of science; we have no wish to increase his notoriety, but his doings are among our facts. He prints two or three letters every year, and sends them about by the post. It maddens him to receive no answers, and every now and then he breaks out into such flowers of language as these: "I ask the Royal Society, I ask the Saxon crew of that crazy hulk, where is the dogma of their philosophic god now?.....When the Royal Society of London, and the Academy of Sciences at Paris, will have read this memorandum, how will they appear? Like two cur dogs in the paws of the noblest beast in the forest." And sometimes he makes manuscript additions to his letters: as, for instance, "There are no limits in mathematics; and those that assert there are, are infinite ruffians, ignorant lying blackguards." The genius of this unfortunate man leads him to reform the whole of the mathematics, with a declaration that nothing, from Euclid to Laplace and Poisson, has been demonstrated. The answer to all this is simply to put him in his place among the rest, as an extreme case of a disposition which is very common among men who feel so sensible of their own greatness, that they cannot forbear to tell the world of it. It was the way sometimes with Mathews, when he was giving his comic lectures on astronomy, and showing Jupiter and his set-of-lights, and all manner of fun besides, to plant a clown in the gallery who should keep calling out, "Look at me, look at me." At last the lecturer, as if he had lost all patience, turned his telescope to the brawler, and called out, "There's the *Great Bear*," which made a burst of laughter. Men who are constantly calling out, "Look at me," generally are great bears.

We must not forget to notice those who, while they know, for the most part, how to preserve the language of gentlemen, so far forget the character as to insinuate or express their belief in the dishonesty of all who support the Newtonian system: or who, at most, class them into fools and knaves. Perhaps the chief of this class was the late Sir Richard Phillips, a man not wanting in parts or information, but deficient in the mathematical knowledge which must precede all sound study of mechanical physics. Sir Richard imagined he saw an organized conspiracy between the men of science and their Governments, the object of which was to suppress what they all knew to be truth. Castlereagh and Canning were in a state of mutual understanding with Woodhouse and Wollaston, that Newton was to be maintained for the joint benefit of all four. The year 1835, he says, was as memorable as that of Galileo's trial, on account of one or two pensions granted to scientific inquirers. We are sorry to see, in the writings of a man of real science, a tendency to the vagary which runs up and down in the heads of the greatest men of the present article; namely, that letting them alone is oppression. The "persecuted science" of England! And how persecuted? Why, by being let quite alone. It has not the patronage of kings and ministers; they do not favour it enough, and that is all the persecution complained of. "Neglected science" would not be strong enough; there are no associations of prison, whip, rack, stake, and quartering-block, tied to the word *neglect*; accordingly, not only the heroes of this paper, but the cultivator of real science above alluded to, cry persecution, intolerance, and murder. They may print what they like, say what they like, do what they like; and yet there was no suffering in the middle ages like unto theirs.

To return to Sir Richard Phillips. His position as a bookseller gave him great advantages in the endeavour to disperse his system, which he had also the power of incorporating into school-books, and presenting in connexion with other subjects. There is a little "Dictionary of Mathematical and Physical Sciences," (London, 1823,) printed for him, in which good sources are frequently used as to matters on which Sir Richard had no peculiar notions of his own. It would take a couple of pages to enumerate all the attempts which he made to overturn what he calls the philosophical trinity of attraction, projectile force, and

void space—"execrable nonsense, by which quacks live on the faith of fools." The second of the terms which he used, he did not understand at all.

We leave aside a large number of minor stars, because their light may be sufficiently well judged of by that of the more brilliant specimens. We have cited but little from the purely mathematical speculators, because they are comparatively uninteresting to people in general. There used to be a large class of squarers of the circle, who hung mystical interpretations upon their results, but they have almost disappeared of late years. Nobody now, that we know of, finds out this secret in the number of the beast, or in the first verses of St. John's Gospel; but that there is still a large number of persons who employ themselves in this foolish attempt, we have very good reason to know.

The quantity of actual misery which is brought upon themselves by these great discoverers of whom we have been speaking, is by no means small. Many of them have ruined themselves by leaving their several occupations in the full assurance of winning both fame and fortune by one great stroke. We once talked to an unhappy schoolmaster, who had ceased to teach little boys, and set about telling grown men what the sun is made of. By meditating upon the four elements, as he called them, fire, air, earth, and water, and having not the least idea of modern chemistry, he had satisfied himself that he had ascertained the proportions in which these bodies must be compounded to make a sun. Of course he was nearly in rags. At another time, a working man from the north of England presented himself with a quadrature of the circle, which, he assured us, had been admitted by the mathematicians in his part of the country. He had made the journey at his own expense, before there were railroads to save time, and his reward for his labours was the loss of both time and money. But even in cases in which absolute ruin is out of the question, there is a constant state of uneasiness produced by the possession of a supposed important secret, which the world will not hear. None but a person of much vanity begins by supposing that he can teach, when he ought to know he has yet to learn.

There is an excellent and perpetual check upon the mania of discovery among the working classes in the *Mechanics' Magazine*, not merely because it brings a constant succession of useful subjects before the minds of those

who are disposed to think, but also because the conductors have always given a limited portion of their space to discussion of such plans as their contributors have brought before them. Does an unlucky wight think he has found a quadrature, or a perpetual motion, and request the editor of the magazine to publish it? in the next number two or three other contributors are let loose upon him, and he must be very blind indeed if he do not see that he is completely finished. If the operations of this Journal were made somewhat more of the aggressive kind, if it were to search the stalls a little for such rubbish as we have exhibited, and expose it, instead of merely knocking down such nonsense as is voluntarily offered, it would be the best and most efficient opponent of ignorant speculation.

That those who have learnt are the only ones who can teach—that those only can have learnt who have studied—are, one would suppose, as common truisms as can be put forward. They would not be so often denied, if it were not that the converses sometimes fail: those who have studied have not learnt, or those who have learnt cannot teach. There was never, perhaps, such a striking pair of instances on the two sides of one question, as was exhibited in the writings of Bailly and Bentley.

Bailly, the celebrated mayor of Paris during the revolution, the astronomical theorist, the historian of astronomy, and the first who wrote any thing but dry annals, has made his name as much an object of ridicule for his fantasies, as of sympathy for his talents and misfortunes. Throughout his historical career, he kept his eye steadily on a meteor of the marsh which led him straight to the bottom of the sea, to find there a drowned island, an Atlantis, from the inhabitants of which, when their heads were above water, the elements of all science had proceeded. The idea is not quite original, but Bailly's extended use of it is so. Writers on weights and measures have, ever since Graves led them to the pyramids, had a hankering after some unknown people, who measured the earth with perfect accuracy, and left a system of linear denominations which was self-consistent, true, and based upon science. And while the poor followers of history cannot make out what stadium Eratosthenes employed, in the first attempt at geodesy which was founded upon true principles of which we have recorded accounts, the metrologist is reading in the base of the great pyramid or in the



altitude, or in both together, more ancient astronomy than Aratus or Hesiod ever dreamed of. Truly these great Egyptian masses have much to answer for, and much to answer; many valuable days and hours have been spent in asking them questions on mythology, astronomy, metrology, and even mathematics; as if the people who could desire and obtain such a perpetuation of their bodies as is seen in the mummies, might not be allowed both to want and to get a tomb as lasting as the coffin. We hope the following is a finale: "Letter from Alexandria, on the Evidence of the Practical Application of the Quadrature of the Circle in the Configuration of the great Pyramids of Gizeh," by H. C. Agnew, Esq.: London, 1838, 4to. The author hopes "that the nature of the subject will be an excuse for the imperfect manner in which it is treated." Yes, certainly, by all means; but how much better the excuse would have been for not treating it at all. Two absurdities have come together, and we hope that their meeting, like that of the gigantic sword and helmet in the Castle of Otranto, will bring about the end of the story of both.

To return to Bailly;—His fanciful system, presented with all the appearance and some of the reality of learning, and ornamented with all the graces of style, which was quite a new thing for the subject, made a great impression in France; and the extravagant antiquity which was claimed for the Hindoo astronomy, caused our eastern inquirers to look about them. A sober investigation of the real claims of the Hindoo tables, soon overthrew their pretension to date from an epoch of real observation, 3000 years before the Christian era. But the reaction did not stop here; the strict and searching account which Delambre gave of the written history of astronomy, was dictated by a disposition to declare, that nothing but written and contemporary evidence should be received: the world, always in extremes, began to give a hearty assent to a mode of writing history which saved all trouble. It should, however, have been remembered that truth is the thing wanted, and that it is the province of the historian to give us all that can be got at. In a court of law, if a deed be in existence it must be produced; but if it have been destroyed, evidence of its former existence will be admitted; and the court will undertake to say, on the case before it, whether the deed and its contents have been established. Bailly would

have assumed the existence of a conveyance, the names of the parties conveying, and the nature of all the covenants, from the mere fact of long possession. Delambre would have hardly admitted its former existence, if the party whose claim would be destroyed by the production of the deed, had been forced to admit that himself had thrown it into the fire.

But Bentley was the proof that it was possible for the absurdities of Bailly to be equalled on the other side. We have the testimony of Colebrooke that he did not understand Sanscrit; we have his own that he was able to set Colebrooke right about Sanscrit terms. This brings matters to a very simple issue, for Colebrooke was considered the first of English scholars in that language, and was certainly a very cautious reasoner. As Bentley is regarded by many persons as a great authority in the matters he treated, it will, we think, be desirable to state, without any long expression of our own opinion, as much as any one who will examine can ascertain for himself.

Mr. Bentley, a Bengal civilian, fairly versed in astronomical calculation, but of a very positive temperament, writes certain essays upon the antiquity of the Hindoo astronomy, not merely in opposition to the extravagant antiquity claimed for it by Bailly, but in assertion of its being entirely a modern fabrication. His charges of forgery are specific: certain books were forged at certain times; for instance, an author has the impudence, in his own name, to present his book, or allow it to be presented, to a prince, as the work of a man of the same name several hundred years older. Such cases as this are simple assertions, without citation of authority; the arguments for them are errors and pretensions to antiquity existing in the works, which errors, &c., on the word of Bentley, are to be explained by his imputation of forgery, and by no other whatsoever. He calls these imputations established and demonstrated facts; he charges the opponents of his system with being implicated in the support of all that is abominable and murderous in the Hindoo creed, with the immolation of women and children. He propounds an hypothesis by which he takes leave to declare any Sanscrit book, or any passage of any book, in Colebrooke's possession, a forgery. He says that a native offered him his services to forge any book whatever, and that on his contemptuously dismissing this native, the latter entered

into the service of Mr. Colebrooke, who, according to him, had not penetration enough to discover the forged books and the interpolations which his own servant made in his own library. Bentley's method of finding the period of an astronomical table was by finding out the time for which its errors are least; which was also the principle adopted by Bailly, though with very different results. By this method he swore, as the phrase is, contending for the infallibility of its results: though Colebrooke notes an instance in which the method made certain tables to be prophecies of eighteen hundred years to run, which was unquestionably not intended by their makers. And yet this odd arguer, who looks upon it as certain that every existing record of Hindoo astronomy is a modern forgery, is as certain that he has "the most direct and positive proofs that can be given," that the Chaldeans and Egyptians had no astronomy except what they received from the Hindoos, B. C. 746 at latest. We are not surprised at there being a Bentley: the wonder is that those who read ten pages of his later writings, or diligently examine his earlier ones, should treat him as an authority. Colebrooke, on the other hand, was deeply versed not only in Sanscrit, but in the mathematics and metaphysics of the Hindoos, as well as their astronomy, the proofs of which are well known to the learned world of England and Germany. He was no strong partisan of any system; and when he had, with his usual caution, and with large allowances, settled a date, he was quite content that the opponents of antiquity should add a century or two for safety. He could not be provoked by the injurious remarks of Bentley, and the "idle guess, untrue in all its particulars," as he calls the story about the forging native, into any thing more than a very short and temperate exposure of a few of Bentley's contradictions and hap-hazard guesses. He states it as a well known fact (and we have had it confirmed from another source, with the addition that Bentley's ideas about the systematic forgeries of the Hindoos amounted to monomania) that his opponent bore animosity to every one who did not implicitly adopt his theory. And while Colebrooke himself left all his manuscripts to the library of the East India House, where they can be examined by any one, there is a treatise which Bentley relies much upon, which the former asserts was never forthcoming.

If these two men had been in England, debating a subject of interest to the student of Greek or Roman antiquity, we can easily imagine the result. Between Bentley and Bailly, the question was a religious one :\* Colebrooke, with whom the writings called forgeries by the former are neither forged, nor yet much, if at all, more ancient than the Christian era, is not, by virtue of his result, concerned in the religious question either way. To us it is matter of some astonishment that either party should have considered the actual truth of the Mosaic account of the deluge as at all connected with the question, whether tables now existing in India were or were not framed upon actual observations of the date B. C. 3100, or thereabouts. Are we obliged to admit that Noah took no pains to preserve the astronomy of his day? Was any one ever found to assert that astronomy enough to form the Indian tables, written in large capitals upon stone, would be cargo enough even for a Thames lighter? Any one who can answer yes to either question, may, with some show of relevancy, proceed to discuss the Cali Yug with reference to its bearing upon the book of Genesis.

The fact is, that Bentley's writings gained a high degree of authority without passing a very severe examination. He was a defender of Christianity, or at least the opponent of a theory which was supposed to impugn the Old Testament, advanced by a speculator who was certainly not a believer in Revelation. This theory, moreover, though resting on a futile basis, could only be thoroughly well answered by one who was both a Sanscrit scholar and an astronomer. There is nothing which is more easily as-

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\* The ministers of Edinburgh made a curious implication in 1805. Playfair, who fifteen years before had written with ardour in defence of Bailly, as to his Hindoo system, and who therefore must have been supposed to have attacked the book of Genesis, was never publicly assailed, but held his Professorship in peace. But when Leslie's election as Playfair's colleague took place, it was found out that the new Professor had advocated Hume's theory of necessary connexion, from which Hume had drawn, or was said to have drawn, consequences opposed to *natural* religion. It was assumed that Leslie followed Hume into these consequences. Many very sincere Christians have been of opinion that they could not have been convinced of the existence or attributes of God from any thing but revelation; and doubtless the reader will suppose that the ministers, thinking they had reason to doubt Leslie's natural theology, would have contented themselves with being very particular in ascertaining that he was *bonâ fide* a member of the church of Scotland. No such thing; they represented him as "with reason suspected of infidel principles," to the Town Council, and endeavoured to obtain his removal from the chair. So that it should seem from their conduct towards the two Professors, that natural theism was an article of faith, and that the truth of the book of Genesis was not.

sumed, particularly in controversy, than that the point most opposite to the result of a wild speculation is the proper resting-place for sober sense: Homer is not history, therefore Troy is a fiction—is a very common figure of syllogism. But here, as elsewhere, truth lies between the extremes; and Colebrooke, we confidently believe, has pointed out the proper mean, has made its evidence accessible to all who can judge of criticism, and has shown himself to possess, in an unusual degree, the caution and candour in which Bentley was deficient. Any one who compares the former—cautiously setting down as his result, a little less than the tenor of his argument seems to prove, to the disappointment of a sanguine reader—with the latter, ardently shouting “Demonstration! demonstration!” after each of his *ipse dixit* declarations about forgeries of five hundred years standing—will easily see, that, had the learning of the two men been equal, the quiet man would have been the safer guide. But that Bentley approached within any measurable distance of Colebrooke, either as a Sanscrit scholar or a mathematician, is what no person has yet asserted; though, with the sad list we have been reviewing fresh in our memory, we dare not say what may have been imagined. If common sense want a champion against Bailly, that champion ought to wear her colours; this Colebrooke does, and Bentley does not.

We have said that Bentley’s writings present the same lack of judgment on one side which distinguishes those of Bailly on the other, the same want of criticism and disposition to surrender the whole man to one idea. Both have earned their place in our list: not that we would for a moment confound them with the crowd who have furnished our specimens at the beginning of this article, and who are equally destitute both of learning and judgment. Let those who have research, but cannot make a sober use of it, be speculators; while those who have none, but will nevertheless persist, like the Frenchman we have mentioned, in declaring that 0 and 0 generate 1, may be called speculationists. But though the two we have just named stand as opponents upon the same question, with the same weapons, we cannot call Bentley the English Bailly; that place is filled among us by one of the most determined speculators of any age, the late Godfrey Higgins. Had this last-named writer lived in the middle of the last century, when Bailly was living, the striking analogy of their

methods and systems would before this have led to a comparison of their different careers.

Godfrey Higgins was a country gentleman of a good estate near Doncaster, and was educated at Cambridge. The first part of his life, after leaving Cambridge, was passed in the duties of a militia officer and a magistrate. In this latter capacity he earned an enviable reputation by the courage and energy with which he exposed, and finally corrected, the abuses of the York Lunatic Asylum at Wakefield, which was long after considered as a model for such institutions. At the age of forty he began to turn his attention to the origin of mythologies, and acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, that he might have a specimen of Eastern languages. He published the *Horæ Sabbaticæ*, a work directed against the puritanical mode of observing the Sabbath, a life of Mohammed, the "Celtic Druids," a work on the mythological antiquities of Britain and Gaul, and (posthumous) a work in two close printed quarto volumes, containing altogether fourteen hundred pages, entitled, "Anacalypsis, an attempt to draw aside the Veil of the Saitic Isis; or, an Inquiry into the Origin of Languages, Nations, and Religions:" London, 1836. He died in 1833, at about the age of sixty.

Our comparison of course, refers to literature; though if Bailly and Lafayette had possessed between them the energy of the Yorkshire magistrate, peace and order would have had a chance of succeeding to the purely constitutional reforms of the French revolution, which, as it was, they never did get at the right time. In religion, Bailly was an *esprit fort*, as they called it, and Higgins was called an infidel by the Yorkshire clergy, was twitted with religion by the lecturer at the rotunda, who, as our readers will remember, bore the title of the Devil's Chaplain, and was called a Rationalist by those who were acquainted with the state of things in Germany. Bailly tried with all his might to deduce all the *science* on earth from one people; Higgins did the same with the *religion*. The former plucked up drowned astronomy by the locks from the bottom of the sea; the latter deduced all creeds from the Buddhists of Northern India. There is no occasion to argue against either, since it is quite clear that if a learned jury, consisting of one person of every religion and country on the face of the earth, were to sit in judgment on the writings of the two, the unanimous verdict would be, that

the speculators had distinguished themselves from all others of their class by having a niche in their system for every possible fact. We know a sound critic in a doubtful question by his balancing of evidence; but when we see that, in the hands of any inquirer, every thing tells one way, we know at once that his vision is not in a normal state. But at the same time there is one advantage about such speculators, namely, that their facts, their mere isolated facts, apart from all inference or construction, are likely to be better than those of an investigator with a bias on his mind, but no defect in his perceptions. No one need clip off corners, *mutare quadrata rotundis*, to whom every thing naturally appears round. There is a very large mass of references in the *Anacalypsis*, a very varied collection of statements of fact, which would, we have no doubt, be useful finger-posts. Only two hundred copies were printed, which were, we believe, all distributed according to the testamentary directions of the author.

We now take our leave of speculators and speculationists, for the present. They are not likely to fail out of the land for a while to come, and, as it is, we might easily have trebled our number from the past and the present. Surely we may hope that our list, and the details of their performances, will arrest one discoverer at least on the brink of fame, and deprive us of one contribution to a future article.

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ART. IV.—*Hawkstone, a Tale of and for England in 184—*.  
In 2 vols. London: JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street, 1845.

**R**ELIGIOUS novels are, in general, no favourites with us. We feel in their regard somewhat of the same distaste, as we do on finding the sacred subjects of theology treated in a newspaper, which, of course, in the same breath, reports the amusements of the court and the newest lines of railway. In a religious novel we must necessarily look for one of two evils—either the religious subjects treated will be hastily and irreverently dragged into time and place utterly unfit; or the religious dis-

cussions will be gathered apart, and carried on in systematic dialogues, equally strained and unnatural in themselves, and untrue to real life. The latter defect is obviously the least objectionable, and it is the one shared by the novel or tale now before us.

"Hawkstone" is evidently intended to be the embodiment of the theories, the hopes, the wishes, and the fears of that particular school of religionists which has been happily termed the "High-Church anti-Roman;" and also of that particular school in politics, vulgarly known by the ungenial name of "Young England." It represents in the character of its hero, Ernest Villiers, the beau-ideal of an Anglican aristocratic layman, standing within the precisest limits of the "Via Media"—anathematizing popery, while abhorring dissent—zealous for Church and monarchy, loathing popular and even representative government; and viewing manufactures and all their results, very much as if steam and steam-engines bore on the face of them the undeniable mark and print of Satan. These characteristics are drawn out with a care and minuteness of detail, and urged with a vehemence and bitterness of tone, which at once show the peculiar bent of the author's mind, and incline the reader, even at a glance, to take what he urges with more than one grain of allowance.

In endeavouring to follow this bent, and the manner in which it is developed, we must however at once premise, that we are unable to do justice in any way to the subject, both on the score of want of time and room for the necessary detail, and also on account of the confusion and complexity of the book itself; which being evidently the work of a writer unversed in the management of fiction, is cumbrous in its plot, unnatural in its detail, and full to profusion of undigested subject. It is in fact rather the conglomerated note-book of years, than a regularly written tale; every variety of opinion on every possible subject, religion in all shapes, politics of every shade, mismanagers and mismanaged of every class, and theories of every hue, are heaped together in such wild confusion, that to follow each would outrival the task of that celebrated princess of fairy tale, whose cruel fate it was to separate the mingled feathers of every bird under heaven.

As far as may be, however, we endeavour to trace our author through the maze into which he has drawn his readers, and to accompany him, in all courtesy, a little way



in those somewhat quaint and fantastic *raids*, on which in brazen bowl and rusted armour, he has sallied forth against the perversions of popery. And if so be that, like his great predecessor, his giants turn out in the end only harmless beneficent windmills, the fault will lie with him, not with ourselves.

The story chiefly lies in the large and flourishing manufacturing town of Hawkstone. Thriving on credit, and prospering on speculation, much like most other "flourishing" towns of England at this moment, Hawkstone is guarded by a dozing old paralytic rector, and a superactive young evangelical curate, who, very pious and very zealous, with a warm heart and a weak head, wears himself out by doing a great deal with very little profit to himself or any one else. Hawkstone is also well stocked with Ebenezers of every shape, and above all with a new Catholic chapel and a popish priest, the great object of alarm to the curate. The story opens with a fire, from which every one is already saved but an Irishman's boy, who is rescued by a tall commanding figure, who, making his way through the crowd, and signing himself with the sign of the cross, mounts the ladder and re-appears with the child. This is Ernest Villiers himself, who by his papistical seeming shocks the whole town of Hawkstone out of its proprieties, to say nothing of its charities. We do not know, by the bye, what will be done for a bugbear, when papists become, as they threaten, as common as blackberries.

Ernest is the son of General and Lady Esther Villiers, an Anglican father and a Catholic mother, which latter, by her noble and genuine piety, leaves a deeply engraven impression on his young and generous heart. After her death the General goes abroad, and when his education is finished, Ernest joins him at Rome. There he falls in with an emissary of the Jesuits, (always especially on the watch for rich young Englishmen,) who dogs his movements with admirable and all but successful perseverance. We cannot quite understand how a Jesuit happens to belong to the English College; but perhaps it is only intended for the shadow of a coming event: and it will be a hint at least to the College to keep a sharp look-out on the movements of the holy fathers. Villiers and Macarthy are seen every where together, and as they arrive at the Palace of the Cæsars, we may as well give a sketch of the Jesuit, that rich young Englishmen may know what to avoid.

“His thin lips were compressed in thought; his eyes, deep-set, and filled with singular lustre, were fixed on every movement of Villiers; his hands were not merely crossed on his breast, but clasped and folded, it seemed in prayer; and over all his face, in which high intellectual power and purity were stamped, there was spread a chastened, yet ardent humility, strongly contrasted with the bold and commanding contemplativeness of his companion’s eye. *One seemed bowed down by a weight above him, beneath which he nevertheless moved with power and willingness, not without enjoyment; the other stood as lord and monarch of all around him, free and bold to move in every direction, to search into any mysteries, to mould everything according to his will.*”—Vol. i. p. 174.

This last sentence is beautiful and true. The Religious moved freely under the easy yoke of obedience in Christ’s Church: the Anglican, seeking to subject every thing to himself and self-will, was restless and full of unsatisfied pride.

“‘And this then,’ said Villiers, after a long silence, ‘this is the Capitol; the Capitol of Romulus and Numa, of Scipio and Marius, of Cicero and Augustus. And here, then, was the throne of the world.’

“And as he turned to look upon the paltry modern edifices by which it is disfigured, a slight tinge of sarcasm fell from his look upon his companion.

“‘And there,’ said his companion, stretching out his arm toward the dome of St. Peter’s, ‘there is the Capitol, the Capitol of Rome and of all Christendom.’

“‘And where,’ said Villiers, ‘are its triumphs?’

“‘Not,’ said his companion, and his eyes turned up to heaven, ‘not where our heathen triumphs have now passed for ever. Those which are gone are passed into heaven, and those which are upon earth are before you. Look!’ he said, and pointed to a long procession of pilgrims (it was a year of jubilee) which was winding its way between the colonnades of St. Peter’s.

“As Villiers turned to look at his companion, his eye met from him a steady, piercing, but sad and anxious gaze, and even his own proud spirit quailed before him.”

After a little, the “deep, low, thrilling” voice of the Jesuit continues. The Society would seem to have a most unfair monopoly of these voices:—

“‘And you will go from hence to Athens?’

“‘Yes,’ said Villiers, and he affected to answer as if he did not feel the spell, ‘I must tread the ground where Plato taught, where Socrates died, where Eschylus dreamed, and where the people that have subdued the minds of ages, are now lying in the dust.’

Athens has been before me as the first place of my pilgrimage, ever since I read the Phædo.'

" 'You have visited, then,' continued the Ecclesiastic, 'the Tombs of the Holy Apostles; you have studied all the wonders of that art, and the history of that wisdom, which at this place has enlightened the earth. Have you descended into the Catacombs?'

" Villiers felt all that was meant, and simply answered, 'Yes.'

" 'And from Athens,' continued his companion, *still in the same unearthly voice*, 'you will go to Delphi, the oracle of the heathen world, to Egypt, to the Pyramids?'

" 'I hope to do so,' answered Villiers.

" 'To stand,' continued his companion, 'on the summit of mighty structures, on which the storms of ages have beaten, and beaten in vain; and to bring before your eye, at one glance, the mystery of time absorbed in eternity—of change coeval with immortality?'

" 'Such have been my thoughts,' said Villiers.

" 'And such are mine,' replied his companion. 'But I need not quit this spot. Are we not at this moment at the oracle of the Christian world—at the pyramids of human empire—one and the same empire, whether its throne be placed on one side of the Tiber or the other?' "—*Vol. i. p. 174—176.*

This dialogue, whether altogether natural or not, is too good for its ridiculous conclusion. Macarthy, speaking of the use that might be made of steam, showed Villiers the variety of post-marks on his letters, and the latter remarking that of "Hawkstone" on one of them, "*the ecclesiastic slightly coloured, and changed the conversation:*" the fact being that Hawkstone, together with every other place in the kingdom, is subject to the supervision and influence of the Society. We fear the Vicars-Apostolic of England must be somewhat unprepared for so astounding an announcement! Day after day, in short, and doubtless with the same low thrilling voice, does Macarthy pursue Villiers; but the most sublime effort of "kidnapping" is still to come:

" Villiers had launched one day with enthusiasm into the vision of an empire placed in the hands of one great mind, unshackled by the fetters of a popular government, and devoted with honesty and self-devotion to the good of mankind. The same afternoon, Macarthy stopped in their walk at the gate of one of the colleges in Rome; and after some little delay, they were led into a small cell. The stone floor simply matted over, the single wooden chair, the simple deal table, covered with papers and books, the image of the Virgin under a niche, with a lamp burning before it, and the fireless hearth, even in the midst of winter, were familiar to Vil-

liers, and he felt no surprise. But he was not prepared for the noble and almost awful figure of the occupant of that humble apartment—for the command with which he raised himself from his seat, *and bestowing no look on Macarthy, who stood trembling in his presence, pointed to a map of the earth before him, and with his eyes fixed upon Villiers, 'Beware,' said he, 'young man; remember that it is nothing to gain the whole world, and lose your own soul.' He then waved his hand for them to withdraw,* and Villiers learned from his still awed companion, that he had seen the General of the Jesuits."—*Vol. i. p. 183, 184.*

Many such *cells*, as romance writers are fond of terming them, might Villiers have found in Rome and elsewhere; not only in the colleges and convents of religious, but in the palaces of Cardinal-Prelates and of Catholic princes. The deep under-current of the Church's asceticism, is to her children only a simple and ordinary matter. But we must take some exception to the sublime occupant, albeit General of the Jesuits. We cannot quite picture to ourselves that somewhat uncourteous demeanour towards poor Macarthy, that solemn rising from his geographical studies to deliver so abrupt a sermon (in which, by the bye, with most unjesuitical want of caution, he lets out that he is in the plot, and knows all about it), and that magnificent wave of the hand by way of dismissal, compared with which Lord Burleigh's nod sinks into utter insignificance.

But we linger. In Easter week, Macarthy gives Villiers a note-book full of the testimonies of the Fathers to the papal supremacy; and by a profound stroke of policy, absents himself from Rome while the good seed grows. But, in the meanwhile, a rescuing element appears in the shape of an Anglican clergyman, "a good, simple-minded, sensible man, a type of the character of the English church in general," who proves to Villiers that the quotations are every one false, and that the pope is, after all, quite a modern invention, and altogether a complete take-in.

And not only Villiers, but Macarthy also, learning from him that the Roman controversialists had purposely garbled the statements of the Fathers, begins to detect at once all the errors of Roman doctrine; becomes first an infidel, and then a Protestant; and after shunning Villiers in every way, to escape the suspicions of those "lynx-eyed Jesuits," meets him at night by stealth in the Colosseum, *with an arm blackened by torture*, (how well do her children recognize the "cruel-natured Rome!") and a strong desire

to become a protestant rector. Notwithstanding the fair prospects of a domestic parsonage, he does not, however, hold out a very encouraging picture of the apostatizing.

“Outcast, degraded, despised; rejected with suspicion by those to whom he comes, and persecuted even to the death by those whom he abandons; his heart broken, his mind distracted; *without support or guidance*; shut out even from the channels of aid from God, *if such there be.*”—*Vol. i. p. 200—202.*

In despair for himself, he, however, warns Villiers to fly immediately from Rome, though for what purpose it is painfully difficult to imagine, as “at Naples, even in England, even at the farthest part of the globe,” there are still the Jesuits, the Argus-eyed Jesuits, the tiger-clawed Jesuits, the hundred-headed, hundred-handed Jesuits. We are really beginning to tremble for ourselves. They were playing at “high-spy,” of course, in the Colosseum, as well as elsewhere, and before Macarthy could finish his tremendous disclosures, he is suddenly stabbed by an unseen hand; an unknown villain is seen running away, (whom Villiers, as usual, cannot catch,) and the scene closes in a style worthy of the whole melodrama.

The General’s servant, Pearce, disappointed in his addresses to a Neapolitan peasant (but of noble blood, for the author has evidently aristocratic prejudices), whom Villiers marries, determines on revenge, and here again the Jesuits are a never-failing resource. In league with these invaluable agents, he is henceforth the chief mover in every mischief. Through his means, the General is made on his death-bed a forced convert to popery, and a forced benefactor to himself and the Society, who do not stir for nothing. Villiers’s child is stolen, (its mother, Pauline, dies,) and is brought up in every kind of vice and villany; and, in short, “making religious ends a cloak for revenge;” while striving to give the Jesuits complete power throughout England, he moves heaven and earth to ruin his master’s son, and plays in every scene the thorough villain. The episode of Pauline, her death, and the whole punishment of Villiers’s pride and self-indulgence, are, perhaps, the best parts of the book: the most just and true, and besides the absence of the more terrific productions of the author’s imagination, the least disfigured by a certain harshness of morality, and Pharisaism of character, which, in general mark the otherwise fine conception of Villiers.

At Florence, Villiers becomes acquainted with his cousin, Lady Eleanor, (a Catholic), to whom the General has left some estates, and whom he wishes Villiers to marry. Religious grounds alone preventing the union, Lady Eleanor's confessor, the Abbe St. Maur, a beau-ideal of an enlightened Gallican anti-ultramontane ecclesiastic, makes the final effort to induce Villiers to join the communion of Rome; but breaks down on the question of the development of the supremacy. We must pass over (though with regret) the exquisite letter of the Abbé, in which, with great naïveté, he wishes that Rome would acknowledge the English Church to be a true branch of the Church Catholic, and "cease to condemn what she is not called upon to judge," to make a brief remark on his equally naive admission, that the supremacy is a "mere modern development," though it would be as difficult as it is needless to say a single word on the subject which has not been said before.

Endless have been the number and variety of the efforts made to overthrow the doctrine of the pope's supremacy, and most ingeniously subtle the enmity which has been displayed on this point; and with the utmost reasonableness; for this doctrine is the very keystone of the thick-ribbed arch, the summit and crown of the vast dome of the unity of the Church. Without this there may, indeed, be some outline and semblance of Catholicity, a shadow of apostolical succession, an appearance of hierarchical polity, a counterfeit of sacramental grace, minute portions and lingering traditions of Catholic teaching, just sufficient to show what has been, and what is not. But take away this doctrine, and the whole fabric of Catholic unity, the whole scheme of faith and practice, crumbles into dust. The Body is broken, the Spirit is quenched; the Church can only be built upon the rock on which her Lord first raised it, and against which alone the gates of hell shall not prevail. No subtlety of ingenuity can erase His words from Holy Writ: "*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam Meam*;" and it would be well if Anglicans, "anti-Roman," (always excellent scholars,) would compare this singular number, with that equally remarkable instance in St. Luke (xxii. 31.), which would of themselves, and on the very face of the literal text of Scripture, disprove the equal supremacy of the twelve Apostles. On this point the usual strange blunder appears to be fixed,

with more than usual obstinacy, in the mind of the author of Hawkstone. It would be as reasonable to speak of the counties of England, or the provinces of France, as separate governments, as it is to speak of the dioceses founded by each Apostle as separate churches under their individual jurisdiction. Our Lord laid down one foundation of unity, and upon that they co-operated in building one Church, governed by one head, under Him. The supreme jurisdiction was given in the person of St. Peter to the visible head of the Church, and vicar of Christ on earth, for ever, as much, and as much only, as the power of the keys was given in the persons of the Apostles to all Bishops and Priests to the end of the world. The governing and articulate voice of the Church was confided through St. Peter to his successors at the same time, and exactly in the same manner, as the general executive power was vested in the successors of all the Apostles, the Christian Hierarchy. From the very first our Lord vested that government in its simplest and most natural form; it was a monarchy, not a republic. From the very first there was no dispute, no doubt, no difficulty, no confusion among the "Patriarchal Chairs." *All questions were referred to the chair of St. Peter.* No single point of doctrine or practice in the Church Catholic is more clearly declared than this one, declared even beyond the need of demonstration. Far from being a modern development, it is not a development at all. It is, so to speak, itself a primitive fact, an ecclesiastical premise, from which a long chain of conclusions and corollaries flow, instead of being a remote conclusion springing from foregoing premises. The creeds (notwithstanding our author's assertion to the contrary) are "developments"—developments, gradual and successive, of latent doctrine, drawn out and defined by the Church, as heretical disobedience required them. Such dogmatic statements are, no doubt, "declarations" of the Church; they are declarations developed by the teaching of the Holy Spirit abiding in her. And in the same way as the dogmatic developments of the Church are received implicitly as Catholic *faith*, and the guiding of that Spirit, so also the developments of her polity, according to the circumstances of the different ages through which she passes, and the empires which she sways, are submitted to as part of the undoubted providence of God in the *government* of His Church; and those who do *not* submit, are "condemned and excommu-

nicated ;” because, if the authority of Christ’s Church as He ordained it be denied, there is no guarantee whatever for obedience to the doctrines He confided to her teaching—no bulwark against every farther vagary of self-will. Without this bulwark it is easy, as the present time proves, to appropriate individual portions of truth, and bring scattered statements to prove them from antiquity ; when nothing can be clearer (as a late article has admirably shown)\* than that *all* unscientific and independent interpretation of antiquity, must necessarily be only a subtler exercise of private judgment. “ We will recognize,” says such an unscientific interpreter, our author, “ *the old Church of the apostles, not that of modern days ;*” whereas the Church Catholic never changes, it neither waxes nor wanes, it is neither young nor old. It is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The “ Church of the Fathers ” is the Church of their children, the Church built on the immutable rock of St. Peter. All that is not so built not only is, but *must* be condemned and excommunicated, for it is only a more delusive form of Protestantism. “ Whosoever will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican.” And it is only reasonable that it should be so. The civil law is that portion of power delegated by God to the executive government of a nation. That executive power is the protector and preserver of the law of justice between man and man, and whoever breaks that law of justice in any particular is by the executive punished. Would it then be an assoilzing defence, if the criminal at the bar of justice should plead, “ I am an excellent citizen. I never robbed any of my neighbours, nor murdered them in their beds, nor said any thing against their character and reputation. I have only refused to pay taxes—have only violated the laws of customs, of excise—have only kept up a treasonable correspondence with a foreign power. But these are no crimes in me, for you know very well that I have never acknowledged the supremacy of the sovereign. Why then do you condemn me ? ” Would this be the language of justice, or of reason ? Yet this is the justice and reasonableness of the arguments of “ Hawkstone.”

It is not difficult to perceive the reasons for such hearty commendations of Gallicanism. Gladly indeed would the Anglican section, perhaps represented by our author jointly

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\* Difficulties of the Anti-Nicene Fathers.



with Mr. Palmer, make out the fact, that the Gallican theory of the supremacy of St. Peter's chair tallied with their own. But with all the imaginary embellishment of which the Anglican church is capable, with all possible paring down of its continental neighbour, but not ally, there remains still the one obstinate and unsuppressible fact—the badge of truth, the brand of heresy—France remains part of the patrimony of St. Peter—England has cast herself into schism; no web which imagination can spin, can throw a bridge across that gulf.

But we shall still have to return to this subject. Lady Eleanor, the pure, elevated, noble-minded Lady Eleanor, brought up in “the most Catholic form of popery,” and having carried her practice to its most Catholic limits, is won over by the elderly Anglican clergyman, Beattie, to the Protestant—we beg pardon—to the “*Catholic Church in England* ;” for it is one of the most singular crotchets of the work, that it speaks as if Catholicity were some kind of indigenous weed, which changes its class and order in different soils. Lady Eleanor, of course, has reasons for her conduct, and as we supposed them to be conclusive, we have given them our candid attention. The first will be new to our Catholic readers. From the conduct of Mr. O’Foggarty, the priest at Hawkstone, she argues something altogether unsound in the state of the church to which he belongs; from which wide generalization we can only draw the conclusion that after proving the pope to be the greatest Protestant and upholder of private judgment in Christendom, the author sets up each priest as a kind of pope in his own right; and that in case of any failure in this new kind of private popery, the English Catholic has only the option of becoming a Protestant, *in England*; for (as we read the ingenious argument) if he only crosses the water he will be in his right place again, a kind of Gilpin-Horner orthodoxy, by no means to our taste.

However, he will not even then be *so* right; for

“The unity of the church, the extinction of heresy, the suppression of schism, are objects not less dear to us, *nay dearer*, than to any upholder of the papacy. *And it is to save you from the guilt of schism,*

(Beattie speaks to Lady Eleanor,)

from helping to rend asunder the unseamed garment of the Lord of Peace, that you are now called on to acknowledge the

paramount claim of the English church *in this land*."—Vol. ii. p. 375.

It is only such midsummer madness as this, which could render it needful to repeat the question, "From whom did St. Austin receive the pallium?" and which can enable us to conceive that he, with St. Anselm, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and all the long line of saints who in their day blessed the soil of England, are supposed to have been *Anglicans*. Or perhaps catholicity, and the Catholic church in England, date only from the "Divines of the 17th century;" although that idea implies "the unkindest cut of all" to the "four first centuries," which it throws overboard, and leaves completely to their fate. Beattie continues, and after waving with considerate kindness, "the question of heresy," against Rome, as well as "her fearful corruptions of truth, criminal tamperings with divine ordinances, which, if not amounting to formally declared heresy, at least filled the Romish system with such a presumptuous and unevangelical spirit, as to justify the name of Antichristian," he goes on to say:—

"If we were living in Rome.....it would be necessary.....to refuse obedience only when our conscience, not leaning on itself, but supported by the testimony of the *primitive and other churches*, denounced the act as criminal."—Vol. ii. p. 375, 376.

Our conscience, we are thankful to feel, is relieved from so painful a task. We frankly avow that were we condemned to wander through this astounding variety of churches, whose name may well be called Legion, and to undertake besides a complete study of the Fathers, for the purpose of settling our faith, we should either quietly sit down with our Bible in a Methodist meeting-house, without any further concern on the subject, or (which is more probable) betake ourselves to a lunatic asylum in despair. It is really some relief to find it only a hypothetical case.

"But in *England* the case is wholly different. Your first duty is to detach yourself from a state of schism.....and place yourself under your lawful rulers..... When that has been done, then we may proceed to examine what requires to be improved, and take legitimate means of improving it."—Vol. ii. p. 376.

In what way Catholics living in England have incurred the guilt of schism by doing so, we have yet to learn, though certainly deeply to be *pitied* for having to share the

evils inflicted on a schismatical country. Also, who but Catholic authorities are their "lawful rulers." Yet this last sentence lets us a little into the maze. The author evidently cannot divest himself of the notion of the supremacy of a legal "establishment," even when intending to speak most like a Catholic. The idea of first establishing oneself in a doubtful communion, and *then* examining into its claims, is not altogether satisfactory.

Farther on we are considerably enlightened as to certain points in ecclesiastical history.

"The supremacy which the Pope claims over all other bishops, and on which alone he rests his title to interfere with *your lawful bishops and to withdraw your obedience*, is confessed by his own adherents to have been no part of the primitive system of the church for the four first centuries at least. It was not recognized by one half of Christendom—by the Eastern church—nor by the ancient British church—nor by the ancient Irish church; *it was repudiated even by early popes, as a sign of Antichrist. It rests on no evidence, no commission, nothing but the assumption of Rome herself. Its gradual reception by the Western churches, can be traced, step by step, to motives and acts of human policy and short-sighted expediency. It made its way in an age of darkness, in minds corrupted and deceived, when the criterion of historical truth was confessedly unknown and unpractised. Even then it encountered on all sides perpetual opposition and denial—especially in England—by which protests its rightfulness was contested. It is forced upon the mind without having even been defined, so as to become fixed and intelligible. Its extent is disputed even among Romanists themselves. It originated the schism of one half of Christendom from the other, by compelling the Eastern church to protest against a claim, &c., and is justly chargeable with the heresies and blasphemies which followed the Reformation.*

"But if Rome has no title to your allegiance, no ministers of the church can have but those who derive their authority from an apostolical source. *The Bishops of England are the legitimate successors of those to whom the Apostles committed the power of ordained ministers in each church. Has not the English church the Creeds, the Scriptures, the Sacraments, the same as the Primitive church? If it departed in any point from the primitive ministration of the Holy Eucharist, Rome has departed further. If it in any way encumbered the simplicity of the apostolic faith by the additions of dogmatic statements, what are the decrees of Trent?*"—Vol. ii. p. 378—382.

We had certainly thought that St. Jerome had lived at some time within the "four first centuries," and that he, among a cloud of contemporary witnesses, had given undeniable testimony to the authority of Christ's Vicar on earth.

But if all proof and testimony both of Scripture and antiquity were cut away, (which God forbid!) we should still quietly rest upon that conceded to us in the text, viz. "the assumption of Rome herself;" the evidence, that is, of the Church guided by the Holy Spirit. "Expedient" as may be that assumption, in the sense of St. Paul the Apostle, that can scarcely (to say the least) be called a *short-sighted* expediency, which has continued to *answer* for 1800 years, and which after so long a lapse, gives no sign but the contrary, of failure. The doctrine that all power was given to the Church, encountered no doubt opposition and denial, (though we thought that the darkness and ignorance of the middle ages had been long since exploded), for then, as now, the Church bore on her front the holy sign destined to be a stumbling-block, and she was still, as she will ever be, "the sect which is everywhere spoken against," but we shall be difficult to convince that such signs are marks of falsehood and error.

No doubt the authority of the Church has never taken, nor will ever take a rigidly marked and unchangeable line. It is a permeating, flexible, living, moving, and breathing authority; now latent, because uncalled out; now stretching itself abroad to meet some encroachment of the Evil One; now hiding in the catacombs and crouching, as it were, under the feet of Pagan powers; now spreading forth its arms and raising its sceptre over the necks of kings; now girding on the sword of feudal power, and appearing as the ruler of sovereigns to redeem the holy sepulchre; now lying helpless in the grasp of an earthly sovereign, and insulted and put in bonds by heretic and infidel princes. According to its need so is its might; for throughout the whole length of God's providence, there has no more wonderful spectacle appeared on earth, than the continuous course and design of that authority which was confided to the fishermen of Galilee. And it is precisely because the Church knows the value of this all-embracing, all-securing doctrine of her authority, that the words of the text are truer than the writer of them knew. If the power of the human ministers of the Church be recognised, Romanism cares little for articles of doctrine; for if that authority be recognized, there *can* be no doctrinal error.

Again, we can scarcely believe, though we would gladly do so if we could, that the author of Hawkstone is ignorant

that the schism of the Eastern Church, was caused by the question of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and His Equal Godhead with the Father and the Son; but we *can* easily believe that he is unwilling to admit that it was by the very authority he desires to deprecate, the "loosely fixed" and "unintelligible" authority of the Church, and the infallible decree of her visible head, that that deadly heresy was cut off, and the Nicene Creed drawn out.

Lastly, we might ask, if the Vicars of Christ "refused to reform the Church," by whom, and for what purpose, was the Council of Trent convened, and whether the decrees and noble Catechism of that Council are at all known to our author? And we could find something serious to say upon charging the blasphemies of the Reformation upon the Church, were it not for the irresistible amusement which has seized us at finding the thirty-nine articles (confessedly drawn up, as an Anglican clergyman has himself expressed it, by a few bishops in a remote corner of the world, upon no authority whatever), dignified as "dogmatic statements," and put on a level with the Decrees of Trent.

If we had not long since felt that we were most unduly trespassing on the patience of our readers, in drawing this article to an unwarrantable length, we might yet gladly linger over some of the truer pictures presented in "*Hawkstone*." We might glance at the over-busy evangelical lady, Miss Mabel Brook; the toiling, and uselessly toiling, evangelical curate, Bentley, (who, by the way, is persecuted by the author with a relentless ferocity that leaves even the papists in the shade); the desolate widow lady, Mrs. Crump, who is left to die alone, unaided by Church or Pastor, for of such helps Anglicanism is destitute. It is the characteristic of our author to deal strongly and severely alike with friend and foe, fact and theory; and, therefore, while the sketches of a monomaniac imagination are self-evidently distorted and ridiculous exaggerations; the truthfulness of his delineation of the manifold and crying miseries of England comes bitterly home. As instances of the latter (among many) we would mention the conversation between Bentley and the Sister of Charity; Villiers's interview with the Anglican bishop, and his fashionable wife and daughters; the Temperance tea-drinking in the Priory Chapel; and what is implied rather than stated in the following short extract.

“ ‘And,’ continued Bevan, sarcastically, ‘when our monasteries were swept away, came our poor-laws.’

“ ‘Yes,’ said Villiers, with a strong expression of indignation.

“ ‘And for our monasteries,’ added Bevan, ‘we have now—’

“ ‘Yes!’ cried Villiers impetuously, ‘we have our factories and our poor-houses, whose night and day—

‘These wake as monks of old, but not for prayer;  
Then quail with famine’s pangs, but not for God;  
Then crush their limbs with toil, but all for gold;  
Then live and die in shame, but not for sin.’

O England! England!” — *Vol. ii. p. 45.*

Few indeed can better paint the wretchedness of England than the author of “Hawkstone.” For so doing he has our sincerest thanks; and utterly as we differ from him as to the remedies he proposes to use, and enter our protest against the falsities, which, if conscious, could be called nothing less than atrocious, in which his subjects are dressed, he has our freely yielded testimony to the honesty and integrity of his intentions. He is no dilettante, would-be Catholic, no admirer of what he fears to profess, no æsthetic religionist. He is throughout the serious, earnest, religious Protestant, and as a serious, earnest, and religious minded man, however mistaken, we would never refuse him our meed of respect.

In this spirit then, we address to him our closing words, and if we have said anything which to him appears needlessly to wound or offend, we frankly apologize for it, and most sincerely beg his forgiveness for having done so. But we beg of him, as a parting boon, to turn again to that passage of his work, (*vol. i. p. 345*), which, speaking of the Oxford movement, contains blanks filled up without difficulty by the reader, with names deeply venerated, and earnestly beloved for their public and private influence, and of whom he implies a condemnation. Once, perhaps, he too learned from the voice of one of those, which if ever heard will not easily be forgotten. Once, perhaps, he too confided in his judgment, and went with him a little way, leaning on his support, and even now, despite of himself, is compelled to reverence the excellence of his life, and the profoundness of his views. We will appeal to him then, to consider dispassionately, not now the “teaching of Rome,” but the teaching of perhaps the greatest man who has ever grown up in the Anglican communion, while drawing from his

lawful mother the materials of his character and life, and having done so, and compared it with the cold and mournful condition in which his own school now lies, stranded alone, as it were, and left behind without life or motion, let him ask himself what is the inevitable tendency of that teaching, and what the conclusions to which it must simply and necessarily be drawn out.

Clearly and inevitably, he will confess, to the One Living Church; and earnestly we hope and believe that the day may not be far distant, when, renouncing his "invisible" Catholicism, he, together with his ancient teacher, and all those who by the grace of Almighty God, are gradually awakening in England to the claims of the Spouse of Christ, may finally abide and be built up in her, the only Nurse and Mother of Saints, the only Heritage of the Faithful, which, being framed in Apostolic Order, and bound up and fed with the Life Blood of her Lord, will be found a glorious Church—without stain or wrinkle—holy and immaculate, at the Last Day.

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ART. V.—*Speech of THOMAS WYSE, Esq., M. P., on the Extension and Improvement of Academical, Collegiate, and University Education in Ireland, at the Meeting held for that purpose at Cork, Nov. 13, 1844, with Notes documentary and illustrative.* London: 1845.

A GLANCE over the leading periodicals and more elaborate works, with which the Anglican press has been teeming for some time past, satisfies us that at no former period of our literature, was there a more willing mind amongst the most learned of our separated brethren than at the present moment, to receive information and pronounce impartial judgment respecting the claustral character and social influences of the various orders of the ancient regular clergy. People of education are likely before long to be shamed out of the phrases, "monkish ignorance" and "dark ages;" than which no terms have been more conventional in ordinary discourse, and more hackneyed in every path of literature. Of late a spirit of historical enquiry is struggling through these masses of popular, literary, and sectarian prejudices and misrepresentations.

Maitland has done good service in the cause of justice to "the monks of old."\* Beckoned on by the honoured shades of Mabillon and his cloistered brethren, the librarian of Canterbury has forced a passage for truth through heaps of misquotations, and cleared away much of the accumulated rubbish of protestant traditions; and with learned toil and clerical intrepidity, has shown how malignant or illusive are the common notions about the state of literature, as well as of religion, in the ages, still called with pertinacious ignorance, "the Dark Ages." But his researches range only from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. We regret that his subject did not extend beyond the glorious eras of the Benedictines and Cistercians, and that he did not trace the literary zeal and services of the renovated form of monasticism, which sprung up in the thirteenth century, when the active life was combined with the contemplative spirit, and the impersonation of all the ascetism of the cloister, and the charity of the apostleship, was embodied in the conventual missionary, or "Friar Preacher." Then it was that new alliances were formed throughout Christendom between the sciences and the religious orders. That was the most interesting and eventful period of collegiate history, when the learning that had been nursed and fostered by monks and churchmen from the most remote antiquity, went forth under the auspices of religion from amidst the consecrated shadows of cathedrals and abbeys, and centralized the higher studies in universities; incorporating faculties, endowing halls, privileging scholars, and marshalling graduates from all nations, and in all costumes; scarlet cloaks, black cassocks, academic gowns, mingling picturesquely with bleached scapulars, dark cowls, and all the prismatic variety of monastic habits. At that time the great intellectual movement commenced, to which even our present collegiate agitation must be referred for its primary impulse, if not direction; then was the republic of letters, after a pure Catholic model, organized and founded; and amongst the leaders of the educational reforms—the constructors of all that is most solid and beautiful in the learned institutions—the high intellects who were seated in the first chairs of the universities—history gives a prominent place to the members of the orders of St. Do-

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\* "The Dark Ages," &c. by Rev. S. R. Maitland, 1844.



minic and St. Francis. In the extension to our own country of the scholastic improvements then maturing on the continent, the regular clergy were also eminently conspicuous and useful. "We find," says Mr. Wyse, in his speech at Cork, for the establishment of Provincial Colleges, "a similar spirit animating the religious as well as the secular clergy. I cannot instance nobler proofs than were exhibited by the Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Jesuits. The Dominicans, in particular, signalized themselves in this country by their devotion to the cause of academical and collegiate education;" and then the eloquent speaker proceeds to state a great effort made by the Dominicans in the 17th century, for the foundation of provincial colleges in Ireland, of which we shall have occasion to speak at another time.

It was the perusal of this passage, bearing such honourable testimony to the literary devotedness and exertions of the venerable monastic orders, which determined the subject of our present paper, not only for the purpose of vindicating those ancient associations from the charge of checking the growth and expansion of the human mind by systematic resistance to every form of intellectual culture, but also under the irrepressible promptings within ourselves of a hope, that the atonement so auspiciously commenced towards the Alma Mater of Catholic Ireland might be extended in an enlarged spirit of tolerance and generosity, not to speak of strict restitution of rights, to those suppressed and spoliated, and once more doomed, monastic establishments, which, in former ages, were not only sanctuaries of holiness, but also nurseries of learning in our country.

For the illustration of our subject, we select the Dominican order, rather than the Benedictines, or Jesuits; not only because these have been so often brought in this Review before our readers, in connexion with learning; but also because the Dominican is more intimately connected with the history of education in Ireland, and its intellectual character and inappreciable services in the reform of early university education, are as familiar as household topics with the writers of the new Anglican school of scholars and divines.\*

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\* See, for example, *British Critic*, January, 1843. Article "Dante and the Philosophy of the 13th Century."—*Sights in Foreign Churches*, by Faber, pp. 114. 353, &c.

The culture of the sciences, divine and human, entered as an elementary idea into the first construction of the order of St. Dominic. The blessed founder spent many an anxious, devout, and penitential vigil on the steps of the altar, organizing in his mind such a society of learned missionary priests, as the actual state of the church and of society then peculiarly required. He determined that the chief and characteristic function of the new association which he contemplated, should be public instruction in faith and morals. The patriarchal man of God would impress the character of his own well-educated mind, and the movements of his own glowing zeal, on the religious order which Providence designed to be the offspring of his spirit and the inheritor of his name. In his own ministry he combined the attributes, and discharged the duties, of a doctor and a missionary. He publicly expounded to the pontifical household the sacred Scriptures, in which he was extensively and profoundly learned; and was therefore honoured by the pope with the office and title of "Master of the Sacred Palace," which privilege continues to be an heir-loom in his order; and for his preaching and labours in the south of France amongst the Albigenses, he was venerated, even during his life, as the apostle of the thirteenth century. With such views and qualifications he instituted the monastico-canonical body, which the reigning sovereign pontiff designated as the "Sacred Order of Brothers Preachers" — *Sacer Ordo Fratrum Prædicatorum*.

To sustain the character and efficiency of such a society in the church, no inconsiderable share of learning and talents was requisite in the body and the members. Constitutions,\* luminously impressed with the spirit of the apostolic Dominic, were soon framed in the general chapters, for promoting, not merely the personal sanctification of the brethren under the discipline of cell and choir, but also to form them as preachers for the mission, and teachers for the schools. Individually, they were obliged by their rules to study, as well as to pray; to learn or instruct, as well as to fast and meditate. Every convent was to contain within its precincts a school, as well as a cloister; a library, as well as a choir. In fact, the portraiture

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\* Our extracts are taken from "Constitutiones, &c. Capitulorum Generalium S. Ord. Prædicatorum Auctore P. F. Vincentio Maria Fontana."—Romæ, MDCLV.

of a primitive Dominican did not fully express the marked peculiarity of his sacred profession, unless scholarship and zeal for public instruction were its brightest and most prominent features. He should be always prepared to be sent by his superiors, either to a college or conventual school as a lecturer; or to a congregation or mission as a preacher.

The whole life of a Dominican, from his noviciate to the highest offices in the government of the institute, was a life of study, as well as of prayer, zeal, and mortification.\* The proposed end of all studies was the acquisition of sacred knowledge.† Other learning was sought and cultivated as subsidiary, illustrative, or ornamental of the divine sciences, which it was his professional duty to treasure up in his mind.‡ In admitting persons to the habit, strict care was taken that they should be apt for learning.§ During the first probationary year, before solemn inauguration in the order, the novices were exercised in the knowledge of such portions of the liturgy as regulated the service of the choir, attendance on the ministers of the altar, the recitation of the divine office, and in the obligations of the religious state. During this period of trial, they were not permitted to study literature or science; they were, however, allowed to learn languages.|| In every convent there was a grammar school, preparatory to the higher departments, in which the liberal arts were taught, and a regular master was appointed for the training of the younger brethren in knowledge.¶ Even out of school

\* "Taliter debent esse in studio intenti, ut de die, de nocte, in domo, in itinere legant aliquid, vel meditentur, et quidquid poterunt retinere cordatenus nitantur." Dist. 2. cap. 14. text 1. "Priores et Lectores, Fratresque omnes ad studii promotionem incumbere tenentur."—Parisiis A.D. 1276. ord. 10.

† Nec propter studium artium Fratres a studio Theologiæ retrahantur. Medio lani, A.D. 1273. ord. 1.

‡ Sacrarum litterarum studium Religioni nostræ quam maxime congruit.—Dist. 2. cap. 14. in declarat. text 1.

§ 1st. Because the order professes the contemplative life, and study of sacred subjects is necessary to give a proper direction to the consideration of things divine and spiritual. 2dly. Because the order is designed for teaching others the sacred knowledge its members must have acquired by learning. 3dly. Because such studies restrain the sensual passions. 4thly. Because sacred studies quench the lust of riches, &c. Melius est philosophari quam ditari, &c.

§ Ordinamus, ut nullus ad habitum clericalem in nostro ordine recipiatur, vel ad professionem admittatur, nisi sciat distinctè et clarè legere, bene intelligat ac declaret quæ legit et latinam calleat linguam—p. 533.

|| Confirmamus item, ut Novitii intra probationis annum non occupentur in studio litterarum præter quam linguarum, sed in exercitiis spiritualibus devotionis, addiscendis ceremoniis, cantu, Regula, Constitutionibus, &c. (622) *Ibid.*

¶ Confirmamus, quod in Conventu ubi sunt Juvenes, sit aliquis Lector qui eos

they were accustomed to converse and write in Latin.\* In Spain, special provisions were made for learning the Arabic language.† In all the provinces of the order it was commanded that the Greek and Hebrew languages should be taught.‡ Three years were spent in philosophy. In some places it was customary that the students who had completed their philosophical course, should pass three years more in teaching the same branch of study to the junior members of the community, before they were admitted themselves to take their seats in the theological hall. Against the bias of the age for heathen studies—which, when uncontrolled, sad experience had proved to be most dangerous to faith and morals—the youth of the order were solemnly warned and sedulously guarded; though under certain restrictions they were permitted to read the works of the pagan philosophers.§ Classes were held every day. Examinations were daily, weekly, and yearly. The most distinguished of the students in their own cloisters, were selected for a higher order of scholastic-exercises in the Houses of GENERAL STUDIES; but as an indispensable qualification for their admittance into the highest schools of their province, they should have previously spent at least an entire year in the study of the Bible, under a professor of the sacred Scriptures.||

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doceat Grammaticum, vel artes juxta eorum capacitatem.—*Ibid.* 355. The seven liberal arts taught in these schools were divided into *trivium* and *quadrivium*, viz. three of grammar, and four of physics—music, dialectics, rhetoric, grammar, mathematics, astronomy and geometry.

\* Ordinamus quod omnes studentes et studii officiales non nisi Latino Sermonem loquantur et scribant, etiam extra litteraria exercitia.—*Ibid.* 607.

† Injungimus Priori Hispaniæ, quod ipse ordinet aliquod studium ad addiscendam linguam Arabicam, 619.

‡ Ordinamus, ut post sex menses a præsentium notitia Priores Provinciales singuli in suis Provinciis teneantur studium linguarum præsertim Hebraicæ et Græcæ instituere, perquirendo doctissimos harum artium præceptores: quos si in ordine habere nequiverint ex sæculo accersant, discipulisque præficient, decernendo illis annua stipendia ex communibus sumptibus suorum Conventuum. De Studentibus Cons. Dis. 2. ch. 14. a.

§ Declaramus quod *quamvis liceat* fratribus nostris studere scientiis sæcularibus, non tamen *diu* in illis versari debent, et *omne ætatis suæ tempus consumere*, sed *potius scripturarum studio*, atque eis quibus consulere possunt salutem animarum, debent se assidue ac solícite exercere, a curiositate et inani gloria cavendo, atque ex illis non sibi solum, sed etiam aliis ad bene sancteque vivendum documenta capere.—*Ibid.*

Admonemus etiam ne per speciem bonarum, ut ferunt, humanarum artium et exultatoris atque ornatoris linguæ, libros maxime a Canone prohibitas legant, ex quibus corruptos mores et dogmata perversa facile possunt imbibere.—*Ibid.*

|| Ordinamus quod nullus Frater antequam per unum annum in studio Bibliæ Biblicum audierit, assignetur alicui studio Generali, sive in sua Provincia, sive extra; quod si secus actum fuerit, sit irritum et inane.—Page 606. In Cap. Gen. Neapoli, A.D. 1311.

"Besides the particular school in each convent," as a well informed writer in the *British Critic* relates, "every province had a general school, to which the promising students were sent; each province also sent a certain number of its most distinguished members to Paris. Certain indulgences were allowed to the students at the discretion of the Magister Studentium; for instance, private cells were assigned to those who wished for solitude; they might, if they pleased, write, read, and pray in their cells: they were even allowed lights to watch there by night for the purpose of study."—*British Critic*, "*Dante and Philosophy of 13th Century*," No. LXV.

In the beginning of the Institute, there was but one such conventual collegiate establishment, or House of General Studies, as it was called, "*Studia Generalia*," for the rising talent of the entire order, that of Saint Jacques at Paris, to which three students of superior merit and promise might be sent from each province. At the General Chapter, held at Paris in 1246, it was proposed, and subsequently ordained, that four others of a similar kind should be erected at Bologna, Oxford, Cologne, and Montpellier, to which each provincial could send two of his subjects. At these great normal schools of the Dominicans, literary degrees were taken by the most distinguished amongst the professors and students. When this number of central establishments for higher studies was found insufficient for the crowd of scholars in the order, who were qualified by their proficiency and abilities for admission; it was judged necessary to open an establishment, with the same advantages and privileges, in each of the provinces into which the society of Brothers Preachers had already spread. From some cause which we have not examined sufficiently, probably from the troubled state of the countries exposed to the incursions of Saracens and Tartars, the provinces of Greece; of Dacia, lying at the east of Europe, south of the Danube; and of the Holy Land, were excepted. Ireland at that early period was not a distinct province, but was dependent on England, in consequence of which, Oxford was as yet its chief house of studies. It might, however, as we shall show more particularly, send some of its cleverest students to Paris, Cambridge, London, &c.

To enable the reader to form some idea of the manner in which studies were conducted in these provincial colleges, it may be sufficient to remark, that at the Domini-

can school of Cologne, Albert the Great was Head Master, St. Thomas Aquinas Assistant, and such youths as Thomas Joyce\* disciples. The teachers and office bearers of all these chief houses were, the Regent of Studies—in some places he was assisted by a Vice Regent—the Bachelors, or second lecturers in theology; and the master of students, who united the offices of a modern Dean with occasional teaching as a professor. It was a rule of the order most strictly to be observed, that merit alone, and not age or seniority of profession, entitled to those situations. It was required that the Master of Studies should have previously taught theology at least for six years, the Bachelor ten years, and the Regent twelve; and that each should have maintained, at least, five public acts or solemn disputations in the schools before the assembled doctors, graduates, and scholars.

The students of the Monastic orders in the middle ages, who were sent far from their own conventual homes to the universities, were not left without a place of security on their arrival in the great cities, as the writer in the *British Critic*, already referred to, judiciously observes.

“Lest the students (who were sent to Paris, Oxford, or elsewhere) might become unsettled, or even fall into vicious excesses by mixing with the world, it was provided, that during the time of their studies the students were members of the convent in the place where they studied: that they might not wander from their own province, after three years’ absence they returned to the convent in which they had first taken the vows, if the place to which they had first been sent was out of their province. Thus the Dominican student was at home and under discipline wherever there was a society belonging to his order; but at the same time, his affections were specially concentrated in his own province, whither he always returned at a given time, ‘ut magis studium suæ provinciae vigorari possit.’”

What superior advantages must have been enjoyed by the Dominican student in those provincial colleges of his order, the halls of which, it must not be forgotten, were thrown open also to lay and ecclesiastical scholars, whom the fame of the professors attracted in

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\* One of six brothers, all of whom became Dominicans; they were English by birth. Thomas was created Cardinal of St. Sabina. Walter was Confessor of Edward the Second, Professor in the *public schools* (as we read in the History of Oxford) of the Brothers Preachers at Oxford, consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, and subsequently he resigned the Primacy of Ireland.

crowds to their lectures! There the whole circle of the sacred and secular sciences was taught, and the most eminent doctors were located, and the sharpest young intellects exercised in scholastic collision, regulated by laws more courteous than those of chivalry. But far beyond those mental advantages was the moral discipline which flourished in those institutions. The Dominican student at Paris, Oxford, or Bologna, found in his collegiate conventual cloisters, a sanctuary for his innocence, a home of enjoyment more pure and holy, and no less cheerful in its associations than all the social influences which radiate from the domestic hearth. Not so in those early days of the universities was the condition of the secular clerk, whether lay or ecclesiastical. Then there were no colleges except those possessed by the regular clergy in their convents,\* which suggested the expediency and the plan of erecting similar collegiate homes for the secular students.† Inns and hospices and hostels abounded in all the streets and alleys, where youths of gentle blood and varlets of low degree congregated for brawls and carousals; and the peace of the community was disturbed by frequent day outbreaks and midnight feuds, between turbulent academicians and officious bailiffs and sturdy burghers; and serious issues therefrom arose between the authorities of the universities and the magistrates of the cities, for violated privileges on the one hand, and municipal order broken, and public officers maltreated on the other.

From the "Houses of General Studies," the students who had been honoured with distinctions in their own cloisters, passed on to graduate in the Universities. The connexion of the Friars Preachers with the most ancient Universities, was coeval with the foundation of the Order, and almost as early as the period when these famous schools of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, assumed the name of Universities.‡

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\* On appelle ici Collèges les Maisons où les religieux vivoient en communauté, comme les Jacobins (Dominicains) &c.—Hist. Eccles. tom. xii. 169.

† Les premiers (Colleges) furent des hespices pour les religieux, qui venoient étudier à l'Université, afin qu'ils pussent vivre ensemble, séparés des seculiers. Institution au Droit Ecclesiastique.—Page 198.

‡ The General *Study* of Paris, as the Parisian school was first called, was founded by Charlemagne about the year 800. Under Louis VI. in 1110, the studies grew very flourishing, and the establishment obtained the name of *Academy*. In the century following the same institution became so important, by embracing within its circle of teaching all the sciences and arts, that the more

The favourite conventual home of St. Dominic, in which he resided after his various missions and visitations, was at Bologna; it was the centre from which he governed the entire order, and sent forth colonies of the brethren to form new provinces; and there, to this day, his blessed ashes are enshrined, for the veneration of the faithful, under the mingling shadows of the university and his own venerable cloisters. In Oxford he planted the first affiliation of the institute which he sent to our northern islands. He personally visited Paris, "to set in order a regular house, with cloister, dormitory, refectory, and cells for study." It was the University of Paris, conjointly with the Dean of St. Quintin, which, in the generosity of its attachment to the young and struggling community, bestowed the celebrated convent of St. Jacques on "the Brethren of the Order of Preachers, studying the sacred page at Paris," as they were styled by Pope Honorius III.—thus testifying its desire of early fraternization with a society already beginning to shine forth with a singularly intellectual character.

"The privileges accorded to the Friars of this House of Studies in Paris," as we are informed by the writer already quoted, "were much more extensive than those possessed by King's College at Cambridge, and new College at Oxford, but not in their nature unlike them. It appears that a member of the convent of St. Jacques, could demand a degree without being within the pale of the University, or subject to its laws; and that they could license two of their own Doctors to lecture without consulting the authorities, though the number of professors allowed by the University was limited."

Fleury, in his fifth discourse on Ecclesiastical History, describes the manner in which the Friars Preachers graduated in the University of Paris; and from their mode of procedure, in taking degrees, infers what the usual practice in all cases of the kind must have been.\*

The Dominicans were aggregated to the University of Paris from the beginning of their institute, and they ob-

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pompous and significant title of UNIVERSITY was bestowed upon it. The University was a literary incorporation, composed of masters and scholars, and was not originally an aggregate of colleges, which, as we have already shown, did not exist in the beginning, unless in the communities of the regular clergy. The University of Oxford, properly so called, is probably of equal antiquity.

\* Il est a croire que les frères Precheurs suivirent l'ordre qu'ils avoient trouvé établi dans l'Université.—Tom. xi. p. xxix.



served the following order in advancing to the degree of Doctors in Theology. The Friar named for Bachelorship\* by the General of the Order, commenced by expounding "the Master of the Sentences," in the school of some Doctor, for none other than a Doctor was authorized in those days to keep a school for the higher studies.

When the Bachelor had spent a year in teaching from "the Master of the Sentences," the Prior of the convent and the Doctors of the community presented this assistant teacher to the Chancellor of the church of Paris, and attested upon oath, that they deemed him qualified for his *license*, or faculty, to open a public school on his own account. After certain public examinations, and the observance of prescribed formularies, the Bachelor so recommended was elevated to the higher grade of doctorship; and then, in his own school, passed a second year of teaching the same scholastic book of divinity. During the third year of the process the new Doctor was allowed to have for his assistant a Bachelor, whom at the close of the year he presented, as he had been himself, in conjunction with the other persons above-named, for the Chancellor's license. The career was complete at the termination of three years. No one was raised to the rank of "Master of Sacred Theology," or "Doctor of Divinity," who had not thus publicly taught. So jealous was the order of St. Dominic for its character of orthodox teaching and its scholastic reputation, that no degree, though conferred by an Apostolic Brief, was considered valid, unless the aspirant for the university honours had passed through the prescribed ordeal of examination, and finished the appointed period of professorship in the schools, and been presented by the proper authorities.†

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\* Scholastics were established in the cathedrals so early as the 11th century. They were often head masters in the Diocesan schools. In the 12th century it was regulated that no person should teach without their license. In the same age academical degrees were introduced for the purpose of thus licensing teachers. The degree of *Licentiate* was first given at Paris in the twelfth century. In conferring this degree a wand or *bacillum* was delivered, a school rod, whence the name "Baccalaureus or Bachelor." The title was some time after made an inferior and distinct degree. Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Paris, reduced theology into a science about the middle of the 12th century, and may be called the first of the Schoolmen, as St. Bernard has been styled the last of the Fathers. Both classes of writers treated of theology, but with this distinction, that the latter expatiated on the subject without being restricted to the method or terms of any regulated system; whereas the former laid out all the doctrines of revelation on a plan suggested by the philosophy of Aristotle. The standard work in the schools, at the time of which we are writing, was the "Four Books of Sentences," composed methodically by Peter Lombard.

† *Declarantes etiam quod illi qui per Bullas aut Brevia apostolica, sine licentia*

"The effect of this compact and severe system," as an Anglican observes, "thus thrown upon the chief universities of Europe. was electric; it seemed to be the very thing which the church wanted, and it so filled up a void felt by the pious students of the time, that numbers immediately took the vows in Dominican convents. Nothing but the pure love of God could have actuated them; in addition to the hard life of ascetics, they had to struggle with poverty and with all the disadvantages of a newly established order."

Such was the system of studies and degrees under which arose, not only to competition, but to pre-eminence amongst the most illustrious Doctors of the University, many of the devout and humble members of the Dominican community of St. Jacques at Paris, such as Albertus Magnus, and Vincent of Beauvais, so remarkable for their knowledge of the exact and physical sciences; St. Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor, the great reformer of Christian philosophy and expounder of theological science; Hugh of St. Char, the eminent biblical scholar, and first author of the Concordance of the Bible—but to mention names we should describe the glories of an intellectual galaxy. Suffice it to say, that the Dominican Order, though yet a new institute, might boast of possessing for its colleges and schools, a "*cursus completus*," in some departments never excelled, written exclusively by its own professed members.

It was in the full vigour and earnestness of its intellectual growth and apostolical expansiveness, that the Institute of Friars Preachers stretched forth its young giant arms from the continent, to embrace our islands within the widening circuit of its zeal and enlightenment. From the second General Chapter, held at Bologna in 1221, St. Dominic sent thirteen of the Brethren to our northern shores. These men of apostolic meekness and humility, travelled in the suite of Peter de Rupibus, or Roche,\* Bishop of Winchester, on his return from the Holy Land.

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et favore Reverendissimi Magistri vel Capitulorum Generalium promoti sunt, vel decretero promovebuntur ad quoscunque gradus in Theologia, sive Biblicatus, sive Baccalaureatus sive magisterii, nullis libertatibus, exemptionibus, gratiis, pre-eminentiis hujusmodi graduatis ab ordine concessis gaudere possunt sed solum pro simplicibus Conventualibus haberi debent. Mandantes Præsentibus Conventum, et omnibus Fratribus Nostri ordinis sub pœna *Gravioris culpæ*, ne tales sic per saltum et furtivè graduatos pro graduatis habeant, aut eos graduatos nominare præsumant.—Const. apud Font. 290.

\* "Des Roches."—*Lingard*.

Arriving at Canterbury, they presented themselves before the Archbishop, the celebrated Stephen Langton, the assertor of Magna Charta, and reformer of education in the English University.\* The illustrious Prelate received the religious strangers with paternal benignity; and as their profession was to announce the Gospel, he commanded the Prior of the Pilgrim community, Gilbert de Fresnoy, to preach forthwith in his presence in a church where he himself had promised to deliver the sermon on that occasion. The Primate was so pleased and edified with the words of light and unction which fell from the lips of the zealous missionary, that he ever after most graciously cherished the new order, both in its convents and on its missions. Thence they proceeded towards London, and without much delay, for that city was not marked out as their first resting-place, they continued their journey towards Oxford, the place of their destination. It was on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Patroness of the Order, that "the Friars of the Virgin Mary," as the Dominicans were first named,† arrived at this famous seat of learning. At once they erected an oratory in honour of the Mother of God, and dedicated their schools under the invocation of St. Edward the Confessor. Thus the first house of the Dominicans in England arose near the walls of its chief university, and the learned convent at Oxford became the mother house of the English and Irish affiliations; for the establishments of the Institute in both countries were, for a very long period, administered by the same central government in England, and were subject to the authority and visitation of the same Provincial. In England and Ireland, the Brethren of the Order bore the same popular designation of "Blackfriars," from the dark flowing cloak they were accustomed to wear on public and solemn occasions over their conventual habit of spotless white; while in Scotland, as in France, they were distinguished from other fraternities by the name of "Jacobins," because the first colony planted in Northern Britain, came direct from

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\* It was by his aid principally that Fulk of Neuilly effected the "prelude to that greater reformation, wrought not long after by Reginald and the Dominican preachers; all of them instruments in God's hand to save souls from the perils of study."—*Life of Stephen Langton*. London, Toovey, 1845.

† "In principio Fratres ordinis dicebantur Fratres Virginis Mariæ."—S. Anton apud Tournon Vie de S. Dominique, p. 291.

the Convent of St. Jacques, (Conventus S. Jacobi,) in Paris.

Friar Reginald, or Ronald, of Bologna, whom some writers suppose to have been an Irishman, is specially named as one of the number sent to these countries by St. Dominic. Leaving his fellow travellers in England, he passed over to our island. He is the reputed founder of the Order in Ireland, was subsequently appointed Papal Penitentiary in Rome, and died Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of the Irish church. He must have been soon joined by other brethren, for communities were formed in Dublin and other places in 1224. The first convent of the Order was St. Saviour's, which occupied the present site of the Four Courts in Dublin. This house had been a monastery of the Cistercian order, and such was the fraternal sympathy then existing between the two orders of St. Bernard and Dominic—who was then dead but three years—that the monks of the former surrendered as a present to the friars of the latter, their own abbey. The institute thus introduced into the country, was admirably suited to the character of the people, and hailed as likely to confer great blessings on the church and nation, in the distracted condition of both. Before the end of the century, very many of the great cities and towns possessed Dominican convents and schools. The system already described as prevailing in the continental houses, was extended to all the establishments in this country, in all its fervour, regularity, and strictness; so that a special account of the ascetic life and yet public usefulness of the institute in Ireland, would be little more than a repetition of the same facts with merely some incidental varieties. The architectural beauty and extent of their earliest foundations in this kingdom, may be conceived from the ruins of these ancient structures yet standing in magnificent desolation, such as the Bell-tower of Drogheda, the Black Abbey of Kilkenny, the ruins of Kilmallock Friary; and as to the learning and other high endowments which illustrated the Irish communities of the order within the first century of its existence amongst our forefathers, a pretty fair estimate may be drawn from the brilliant and numerous array of Dominican Prelates, who were raised to the highest ecclesiastical dignities and offices in our national church in that limited period; a number which, instead of diminishing, rather increased in

succeeding ages. To name only the Metropolitans, there were of Armagh, Archbishops, Robert Archer, 1237; Henry, 1245; Reginald, 1247; Patrick O'Scanlan, 1261; Raymund, 1286; Walter Joyce, 1306; Martin of Bologna, 1307; Roland Joyce, 1313: of Dublin, Archbishops, John of Derlington, 1279; William de Hothun, 1297: of Cashel, David Mac Kelly, one of the venerable fathers of the first General Council of Lyons. A long list of names equally illustrious, linking the Dominican order with the episcopal succession in various sees of Ireland, may, within the same short period, be traced; and this circumstance is the more singular, as the spirit of the institute was adverse in those days to such promotions, and vehemently protested against them as injurious to the best interests of the society, and seldom was known to yield to the imposition of such honours, unless when overruled by the authority of the Holy See. It might be difficult to account for such a number of eminent men in an order just emerging from its first difficulties, if we did not know that, as on the continent, so here in like manner, ecclesiastics of rank and merit took the habit and mingled with the novices of the order. It was thus that the last-named prelate, Archbishop Mac Kelly, had been Dean of Cashel before he took his solemn vows as a Friar Preacher in "St. Mary's of the Island," at Cork.

The cultivation of learning which so strikingly marked the character of the order in foreign countries, ever since its institution, soon illustrated it also in our own island. A connection was maintained from the beginning between the Irish branch of the Dominicans, and the English and continental universities and houses of general studies. In the year 1314, the head superior of the order, Berangerius de Landorra, addressed a letter from the General Chapter held in London, to the priors, sub-priors, and brethren in Ireland, granting them, with the approval of the Deffinitory, that they might keep at free charge two students of the Irish province at Oxford, two at Cambridge, a third in addition to the two already maintained at Paris, two at London, and as many others as they might be entitled (*secundum ratam terræ vestræ*) to send to the houses of general studies in various parts of the world. The general recommended at the same time, that some students specially qualified for philosophical pursuits, should be sent to the particular houses appointed in England for that de-

partment of science. By this intercourse the Irish Dominicans were enabled to enjoy, from the earliest settlement of the order in this country, the most choice and ample opportunities of mental culture afforded in the middle ages.

By the reflux of such talent to our shores, bringing back the purest and most profound learning of the age, it is easy to comprehend how the intellectual character of the entire country must have been influenced and elevated. The friars, who had graduated on the continent and in England, opened schools in various parts of this kingdom. Their houses of studies must have been in a very flourishing state in Dublin, previously to the erection of the first Irish university. In the document published by Archbishop de Bicknore, on the 10th of February, 1320, for the establishment and administration of the new university, the schools then in actual operation under the conduct of the Dominicans and Franciscans, were specially noticed, as having been recognized as canonical, "*Scholas Fratrum Prædicatorum ac Minorum duximus canonizandas.*"

The Dominicans of Ireland became at once connected with the learned body of the university. No sooner were its doors thrown open, than the Friars Preachers entered with others to claim a share in the freshest honours of the first Irish academy. Four on that solemn occasion were admitted to the degree of doctorship—three in theology, and one in canon law: viz., William Roddiart, the dean of the cathedral, who was appointed chancellor of the university; Henry Cogry, a Franciscan; and two Dominicans, namely, Edward of Caermarthen, who subsequently was consecrated Bishop of Ardfert, and William de Hardite. De Hardite was, in precedence of time, *the first honoured with the Doctor's degree*; a distinction conferred, no doubt, for some acknowledged superiority. However indifferent the circumstance may now appear, it was thought to be an incident so memorable, that it has been handed down in various records of the time. Thomas Carve, in his Irish annals, informs us, that he was not only the first Master and Doctor of the Irish university—"Universitas Dubliniensis.....cujus primus Magister seu Doctor fuit Gulielmus Hardite ordinis Prædicatorum"—but also that he promoted a great number of others Doctors in Divinity—"qui sub prædicto Archiepiscopo plurimos Doctores Sacræ

*Theologiæ creavit.*” (page 205.)\* We shall be pardoned for lingering with complacency on this apparently trivial event. We wish that “our own” young Ireland, brought up as it ought to be in a healthy state of Catholicity, intelligence, and patriotism, should, in the present revival of literary national recollections, be reminded that the primacy of collegiate honours in this country was conferred on the shorn head of a member of a religious order, which, perhaps, is now foredoomed to suppression—that the first chair of the sacred sciences erected in an Irish university, was occupied by a Dominican Friar—and that from a priest of the order of Preachers, the highest graduates who have been ever since admitted to their degrees in this kingdom, must trace their academical descent.

As long as the university which was annexed to St. Patrick’s cathedral was properly supported, the different orders of the regular clergy participated in its honours and privileges, and contributed to its efficiency and reputation. It has just been observed that the Dominican and Franciscan orders had representatives amongst its first professors; and as we proceed in our historical outline, we may be permitted incidentally to mention, that in the year 1364, a chair of theology was endowed for a member of the Augustinian order, also in the college of the cathedral, by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lionel Duke of Clarence, who gave for that purpose an acre of land at Stachallane, and the advowson of the church charged with an annual stipend of ten marks for the lecturer. From the inadequacy of its funds for the maintenance of masters and scholars, the university declined gradually, until, in progress of time, it became almost practically extinct. This failure in the working of the only incorporated literary institution in the country, must have been a heavy discouragement to the aspiring youth who would crowd its halls. Such was the state of collegiate learning in the metropolis, when the devoted and disinterested zeal of the Dominican fathers for the advancement and support of public education, was exerted to meet the critical emergency, and, as far as it might be, to supply from the resources at their own command, the means of academical improvement. They erect-

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\* *Annals of Ireland*, in 4th volume of Camden, p. 488.

*Annals of J. Grace*, translated for Irish Archæological Society. By Rev. R. Butler, p. 96.

ed a college for instruction in all branches of knowledge, from grammar to theology, and admitted to its advantages all classes of students, lay and ecclesiastical. This institution is described in the historical note annexed to Mr. Wyse's Speech on Academical Education.

"A.D. 1428. As a preparatory academy, or high school to the University, or to meet the scantiness of the education there afforded, the Dominicans of Dublin opened a 'Gymnasium,' as it is called by the chronicler of the order, on Usher's Island, which was then a populous suburb of old Dublin. It was dedicated under the patronage of St. Thomas Aquinas, the angelic Doctor of their schools. To this seat of learning, youth crowded for instruction.\* The full attendance of masters and scholars was not unfrequently interrupted. The Liffey divided the convent of the Dominicans from their seminary. The former occupied the present site of the Four Courts; the House of Studies was on the opposite side of the river. When swollen by floods, the river was impassable. There was no bridge. That which had been built at a remote period, had fallen forty-three years before. The professors and students of the convent, and the secular youth who lived in the neighbourhood of Ormond Quay, (*Juvenes Ostmanorum burgi*), (*Oxmantown*), were thus often prevented from attending the schools. With the perseverance and munificence characteristic of the ancient regular orders, the community of St. Saviour's, as the Dominican Friary was called, at their own expense and that of the benefactors of their house,† erected the stone bridge of four arches, which was called 'Old Bridge,' or 'Dublin Bridge,' and was the only structure of the kind in the Metropolis for more than two centuries. It is an interesting fact in the history of education in Ireland, that the only stone bridge in the capital of the kingdom was built by one of the monastic orders, as a communication between a convent and its college, a thoroughfare thrown across a dangerous river for teachers and scholars to frequent halls of learning, where the whole range of the sciences of the day was taught gratuitously.‡ On it stood a Font for Holy Water, long undisturbed by the spirit of later times.§ The bridge fell in the floods of 1802."

Unsatisfied with their exertions and sacrifices in the cause of education, while anything remained to be done that might be effected by energy, the regulars of Dublin

\* *Quo confluebant juvenes pro philosophicis et theologicis disciplinis.*—*Heb. Dom.* 193.

† *Sumptibus Fratrum Prædicatorum Suorum que Benefactorum.*—*Ibid.* ut supra.

‡ *Walsh and Whitelaw's History of Dublin.*

§ *Puerque vidi vas pro aqua lustrali.*—*De Burgo*, p. 193.



aimed at the accomplishment of a nobler project than they had yet collectively, or in separate communities, undertaken. These professors of monastic vows—the adoption or observance of which is, in the evil days on which we are fallen, proscribed under penalty of fine and banishment—displayed in the year 1475 an act of glorious audacity in the application they presented to the Holy See for powers to erect a university; that of St. Patrick's having been allowed by this time to fall into inefficiency and decay. From the same source which supplied our last extract, we derive the following interesting information :

“Third Period, A.D. 1475. In this year a fresh and vigorous effort was made for the restoration of the University, or rather for the foundation of a similar institution, unconnected with that of St. Patrick's cathedral. This movement originated with the four mendicant orders, and was headed by the Dominicans.\* They addressed a memorial to Pope Sixtus IV. for the canonical authority to found such an establishment in Dublin. In this petition they set forth, that no house of General Studies was then flourishing in the kingdom of Ireland, (*nullum viget Studium Generale*), where degrees might be taken or studies prosecuted, though the youth of the country were most anxious for learning, and Professors qualified to teach theology and the arts abounded in the four orders;† that they were obliged to cross the sea with great risk of life, many of their brethren having suffered shipwreck—and to encounter expenses which they were not able to meet in foreign universities; and that, moreover, in foreign universities they had to endure a cold reception, and to combat national antipathies. ‘In Universitatibus alienis—frigescente caritate multorum, et pullulante discordia nationum.’

“The Pope assented to this prayer, and published a Brief, bearing date 5 Kal Maii, 1475, empowering the memorialists to erect a University for the cultivation of the liberal arts and theology, (*studium generale artium et theologiæ*), with all rights and privileges appertaining thereto, similar to those enjoyed by Oxford.

“History does not inform us, whether special buildings were

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\* Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites.

† “Licet in Civitatibus et Villis muris munitis, in dicta Insula consistentibus, quæ Guerris persæpe affliguntur, Multitudo præfatorum Quatuor ordinum professorum propter eorum exemplarem vitam, et Verbi Dei prædicationem admittantur, tamen scholares et studere volentes, de facile in illis non recipiuntur; quod que in dicta insula reperiuntur quamplures dictorum ordinum Professores Magistri et Baccalaurei in Theologia et Artibus sufficienter instructi, et quamplures scholares ad hujusmodi scientias bene dispositi, qui in eis proficere cupiunt, et quorum ingenia de die in diem decrescere et torpere cernuntur, in maximum reipublicæ Christianæ et Fidei Catholicæ detrimentum, eo quod eis tutus non patet accessus ad aliquod studium generale,” &c. &c.

erected for the purpose of carrying out the powers given to the religious orders by this pontifical diploma. It is most probable, that as the first University was located in St. Patrick's cathedral, so the new institution was formed in connexion with the convents of the four orders, the halls of each being raised to the rank of a College of the University.

The statement put forward by the historical annotator, in the concluding passage of this extract, is reserved and cautious, as it should be, in the absence of documentary evidence respecting the manner in which the regular clergy, when authorized to establish a university in the Irish metropolis, accomplished their enlightened project. That the attempt was an instant and utter failure, we cannot, upon any presumptive ground, be persuaded to admit. It appears to us most improbable that, having obtained from the Holy See the boon which they so anxiously sought, prospective of so much honour to themselves, and auspicious of so much advantage to men of learning and studious youth in general, the religious orders should fling such a prerogative incontinently to the winds. Such inconstancy of mind, such recklessness about their own privileges, such indifference to the public good, were never the temper, or the practice characteristic of monastical corporations. If the undertaking proved abortive, not from any lack of zeal or disinterestedness on the part of the regular communities, but from crushing opposition, or irresistible obstacles encountered at the onset, is it not strange that no record to which we can have access in the archives of the four orders, bears any trace of such a struggle? Our deliberate opinion is, that the University, privileged by Sixtus IV., started noiselessly and in the fulness of its stature into life and activity, as soon as the bull for its institution was accepted in this country; and that, from its birth, it silently waxed strong, and flourished in connexion with the monasteries until their suppression; and in this opinion we are confirmed by a passage in *Campion's History of Ireland*, which we shall have occasion immediately to cite.\*

Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, thinks otherwise.† He treats the whole affair, discourteously enough, as "a vox

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\* Page 40.

† Remarks on some statements attributed to T. Wyse, Esq. M.P. in his speech in Parliament on Academical Education in Ireland, July 19, 1844, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., V.P.R.J.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

and *præterea nihil*" of a papal bull. But what are the grounds on which he thus lightly discards the supposition that the university of Pope Sixtus ever obtained "a local habitation or a name?" Forsooth, he says, because first, "His bull provided it with no endowment;" and secondly, because "no buildings were ever erected." But he forgets to inquire whether the memorialists applied to his holiness for funds to raise a grand structure, or to enrich learned chairs; and, in the next place, whether special buildings, or additional fixed revenues, were indispensably requisite for the opening and maintenance of the University under consideration. We opine not, on both queries.

It was not for leave or means to build up from the ground a *material* university with stone and timber, brick and mortar, that the good men who originated this movement applied to the sovereign pontiff, but for powers to institute a literary body,\* a university incorporate for all faculties and studies in their own country, wherein, for the causes recited in their petition, they might be enabled "to graduate at home as licentiates, bachelors, and doctors, with all and each of the privileges, immunities, graces, favours, exemptions, and concessions, in general and in particular, as granted to the rector, masters, doctors, scholars, and persons of the University of Oxford." We cannot see either, that there was an absolute necessity for the construction of such buildings in the present case. Why might not the *senatus academicus* solemnly hold its commencements and terms? Why might not the students pursue their ordinary courses within the spacious halls, which were the ancient schools of the conventual establishments of Dublin, at least *pro tempore*, until, if found expedient and attainable, more appropriate and concentrated structures should be raised? Was there a single stone laid for the University of St. Patrick? Were not all the universities, at home and abroad, originally schools enclosed within the precincts of churches? Why might not, in like manner, the new university have been aggregated to the religious

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\* Taking up the first book at hand on the subject, *Institution au Droit Ecclesiastique*, tom. 1. p. 195. (Fleury), we find that Universities are defined to be Companies of Masters and Scholars. This body was not at first an aggregate of colleges, but was composed of masters who were scattered and gave their lessons in particular places. They were not lodged in collegiate houses until towards the middle of the 15th century, when instruction was transferred to these establishments.

houses? Is there anything impossible, unusual, or absurd, in the assumption that such was the fact?

But the pope promised no income?—Assuredly not: his holiness was not asked to tax the apostolic treasury, or to commission the mendicant friars to quest or levy an impost on their friends and benefactors for the purpose of creating rich fellowships, paying stipendiary professors, and furnishing chambers and commons to poor scholars. Then, argues Dr. Todd, how could the studies of such a university be provided for? We will tell him. There was a time when pious and learned priests were honoured in college, church, and cloister, for their strict observance of the vow of evangelical poverty—men truly independent “*titulo paupertatis*,”—men who were doctors, bachelors, and licentiates, though in cowls and scapulars, with leathern girdles and discalceated feet, and who, without fee or reward, could have filled the professorial chairs with as much unaffected dignity and sterling talent—who could have conducted their scholars through the college course with as consummate skill and complete success—and who, entrusted with the powers of the university, could as discreetly and legitimately confer degrees and honours, as any board of provosts, fellows, masters, &c., established in the modern seats of learning, upon which church and state have lavished with emulous profusion the wealth and patronage of this world. In the four religious orders as then existing in Ireland, the memorial addressed to Sixtus the Fourth, states that such professors were numerous. These men loved learning for learning’s sake, and because they loved it, were zealous for its diffusion. They were not influenced by base lucre, as modern professors of science, of whom Sir H. Davy speaks. “There are,” says the philosopher, “very few persons in England who pursue science with true dignity; it is followed, as connected with objects of profit.”—*Consolations in Travel*, 1830.

Though unendowed with vested property, nevertheless the safety and permanence of this academical institution were sufficiently secured by its connection with the religious houses. With them it was, thenceforward, to stand or fall. And amidst the turbulence of lawless times, what shelter more sacred and shaded than the cloisters within which this literary establishment was planted? What preservative more certain against the poverty with which the university of 1320 was so often shaken to its roots,

shorn of its honours, and was then actually withering away, branch and stem, than the stability of the monastic state upon which the university of 1475 was engrafted and intended to be supported?

The suppression and plunder of these convents in the succeeding century, we hold to have been tantamount to the disfranchisement and spoliation of the second Irish University. So identified was academical education in those days with the monastic system—both were felled together by the same sacrilegious and tyrannical violence—both were stript together by the same act of unmerited confiscation. When will the day of retribution come? We ask not for restitution of property, but of rights—freedom of religion and education upon which we boldly insist.

It is not to be supposed that the older university had been utterly extinct, before the regular clergy so energetically exerted themselves for the restoration of studies, by the establishment of a similar and independent institution. It certainly may be said, that it languidly existed, so reduced had it become in reputation and usefulness under the pressure of poverty. To this cause alone Sir James Ware ascribes its insensible decay. “The maintenance of the scholars failing, the university likewise by degrees came to nothing.”\* He acknowledges, however, that “there remained indeed some footsteps of an academy in the time of Henry VII. For in the provincial council held in Christ Church, in Dublin, before Walter Fitzsimons, then Archbishop of Dublin, the archbishop, suffragans, and the clergy of the province of Dublin granted certain stipends to be pay’d yearly to the *readers† of the UNIVERSITY.*” This timely and generous effort for the revival of studies, and the renovation of the university in St. Patrick’s, occurred in 1496, twenty-one years after the first appearance of its younger and more vigorous competitor within the monastic cloisters. Could the success of the latter have excited and encouraged her elder sister to make this last recorded appeal, for her restoration to the almost forfeited honours and the almost forgotten pre-eminence to which she was entitled over all other schools in the metropolis and in the kingdom? That the venerable Irish university of the cathedral never lost its privileges, we have undoubted proof—that, in the hour of its need,

\* Antiquities of Ireland, chap. xv. p. 38.

† Lecturers.

its wants were largely supplied by the conventual schools—and that when *these* were closed under Henry VIII. *that* languished and died, we have the testimony of a\* Protestant historian who lived in Dublin, and was deeply interested in the cause of academical education, as is evident from his report of the speeches delivered at the meeting for the erection of a university† before Trinity College was founded. Campion, in his “*Historie of Ireland*,” says, “Neither was the same, (to wit—the Universitie ordained in Develin by Alexander Bigmore, archbishop) ever disfranchised, but onely through variety of time discontinued, and *now since the subversion of monasteries utterly extinct, wherein the divines were cherished*, and OPEN EXERCISE MAINTAINED.” p. 123. The reader will judge for himself whether Dr. Todd is warranted in winding up his argument against Mr. Wyse in the following sweeping statement in a tone rather oracular:—“It is unnecessary to pursue any further the history of those transactions, since it must be now sufficiently obvious that the whole story of an endowed university—or *any university at all, endowed or not endowed*—which was confiscated and destroyed at the suppression of monasteries is *an absolute fiction*: and consequently, that the argument, if it be an argument which Mr. Wyse would found upon such a misrepresentation, must fall to the ground.” To make out his case, Dr. Todd lays great stress on the words in the memorial to Sixtus IV. “*Quod in dicta insula nullum viget studium generale.*” We have as good a right to underline *viget* which proves our view—that the university was not then in a *flourishing* condition though *existing*.

The older university was kept up until the suppression of the cathedral under Henry the Eighth. In the chain of historical testimony by which we have been endeavouring to trace down to the time of the introduction of Protestantism into Ireland, the continuous existence of university education in the cathedral, correlatively with general studies in the religious houses, we may bring forward as a

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\* Campion was not at this time a convert to the Catholic faith. (A.D. 1570.)

† “Whereof comming home to my lodging I tooke notes, and here I will deliver them, as neere as I can call them to minde, in the same words and sentences that I heard them.” We refer the reader to the perusal of them, as most interesting and instructive on the subject of founding colleges, particularly the speech of James Stanihurst, an esquire of worship, Recorder of Develin.—p. 194.

terminating and important link, the provision in the charter of Philip and Mary for the restoration of St. Patrick's church, eight years after its interdict by the royal usurper of ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; wherein it is specially recited that amongst the most lamentable consequences of the dissolution of the collegiate and cathedral church, was the closing up of its halls of learning for youth, " verum etiam quod dolendum majis est, pueritiam solitam educationem non habuisse," and that one of the principal motives by which their majesties were influenced in the re-establishment of the cathedral, was to revive its collegiate character, by the re-opening of its schools, in which the youth of Ireland might be trained in moral conduct and the arts and refinements of social life. " Ut hujus regni nostri Hiberniæ pueritia in morum civilitate et virtute erudiat." "

From what has been said, we may collect that there were two universities in Ireland, that of the cathedral, and the other of the monasteries. Even so late as 1584, seven years before the foundation of Trinity College, there appears to have been an impression yet lingering in the public mind, that there ought to be erected two universities in Ireland—a notion originating, most probably, in the popular recollection and belief, that before the confiscation of church property and the suppression of monastic institutions, there had been two independent academies in the capital of the kingdom. In the letter of the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, to the Lord Treasurer of England, on the disposable property of St. Patrick's, and the public purposes to which its revenues might be applied, it is stated, that its yearly income amounted to about four thousand marks ; and " this sum," he writes, " would serve to begin the foundation of *two* universities, and endow a *couple* of colleges in them with £1000 per annum apiece."

If the more ancient university had not flourished uniformly in every stage of its progress up to the time of the establishment of Trinity College, it was owing mainly to the pressure of the poverty which checked its expansion from the beginning, as has been already stated on the authority of Sir James Ware, and not from any lack of zeal or disinterestedness on the part of the clergy, secular or regular, for upholding the dignity and usefulness of the national institution. In its struggles from its infancy to its decrepitude and final decay, the helping hand of royal bounty was not extended to it with the promptitude and

munificence to which it was justly entitled. It strikes us, also, as rather strange, that history records no very energetic measure proposed, no large sum contributed for the maintenance of the Irish university by any of the intervening bishops of Dublin, between the founder and Fitzsimons. Might such indifference be traced to the fact that the prelates who occupied the metropolitan see during that long period were, almost without exception, Englishmen by birth and education; each having but a life interest in his see; each proud of his own alma mater, Oxford or Cambridge; having perhaps little sympathy with the native clergy, regular or secular, for the establishment or endowment of a National Irish university, which under proper encouragement might develop Irish talent and become a rival to the English seats of learning?

When it became the policy of the foreign rulers to Protestantize Catholic Ireland, then grudging parsimony, cold neglect, and national antipathies were laid aside. The royal and Anglican-church solicitude for extending all the lights, honours, and emoluments of the highest university education to the hitherto unendowed mind of Ireland, became marvellously anxious and liberal. A new spirit sat in the high places, and it held out the glory of learning and the gifts of the state, as temptations that might allure the young aspiring intellect of this country to fall down and adore, after a modern fashion unknown in the Island of Saints. To buttress up the tottering universities of Ireland, or rather to build up from its foundation a new national academy, the queen bestowed upon it great wealth, (no matter now how that wealth had been got,) and built it colleges like palaces, and encircled it amidst spacious fields, and planted it round with pleasant gardens. "But at last," says Sir James Ware, after relating the withering parsimony of former times, "Queen Elizabeth restor'd the honour of the university, and built the colledge dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, and *indowed it with revenues* and previledges," xv. p. 38. The spot on which the truly magnificent structure arose was once holy, lifting up its proud pinnacles over the ruins of the monastery of All Hallows. Upon that place, in the chanted offices of night and day, the protection of all the saints of God's church used, before the hand of sacrilegious spoliation was stretched forth upon it, to be devoutly invoked. In all this there was something mournfully ominous of the



change that had taken place. The new college and doctrine were based on the subversion of Catholic principles and institutions. What a large measure of the evils—religious, moral, intellectual, and social—which have befallen our afflicted country for the last two centuries and a half, still lies accumulated—as yet an unexpiated sin—at the gates of Trinity College, Dublin! It is not easy to think of the legalized ignorance to which the mind of Ireland had been consigned for so long a period without calling up the apparition of the grim spectre of Old Trinity. How can we read, without shuddering, the dread records of soul-murder—worse even than death or exile—and all the laws proscriptive of education, which the fell demon of apostacy inscribed in dark characters on the portals of that royal citadel of bigotry and exclusiveness? Was it not on that threshold of high-church Protestantism, that hecatombs of the children of saints were sacrificed to the Moloch of an overshadowing pitiless sectarian ascendancy?

Amidst the political and religious troubles which succeeded the expulsion and outlawry of the parochial clergy and monastic orders, we can catch, but at intervals, and from scattered spots, the fitful glimmerings of the torch of Catholic science, now escaping through chinks of caverned rocks and other hiding places, where aged priests and friars, unable or unwilling to flee, lingered about to teach the poor persecuted children of the land; and at another time gleaming dimly, like expiring beacon-lights on the creeks of the sea-coast, when learning, banished from all its accustomed haunts, was forced to take its mournful departure from the shores, on which, in days of old, it had welcomed the strangers who had come in quest of knowledge, from every clime, to the schools of Lismore, Armagh, Cleonard, Ross, Clonfert, and Bangor. Now the Irishman is to be the exile and wanderer, in quest of learning denied him at home, and every Christian land, save that which was nearest, returns the rights of hospitality; and every university, college, school, and convent abroad, emulously contending for the honour of enrolling the poor homeless Irish student amongst its doctors, scholars, or brethren, throws open wide its gates, and compels him with generous violence to enter, and throw aside his pilgrim's staff, and rest his weary feet, and abide in peace, as in more ancient times, strangers were wont to find a home in the schools and cloisters of his fatherland. Spain,

France, Italy, Portugal, Belgium—may it never be forgotten how each of your people succoured Irish genius in the hour of its need, and sheltered it when harbourless, and slaked its thirst for knowledge at the fountains of living waters, and broke to it the bread of every science.

We would on the present occasion follow the fortunes, so replete with mournful interest, of our exiled countrymen, who matriculated in foreign literary establishments; but the space we have already occupied reminds us, that we must close our lucubrations at the most dismal period of our educational history in Ireland, when the persecuting legislation of its English Mistress sealed up the doors of every college, convent, and school, in which a Catholic might instruct his mind without sacrificing his conscience. Our narrative has already extended beyond the bounds prescribed, and we cannot but regret that it has dragged its slow length along with, perhaps, an unavoidable wearisomeness of detail, and has been marked by a dry and methodical style of composition, so much less attractive than the matchless simplicity of the monastic legend, or the discursive and salient literature that should characterise an Irish periodical. But our subject lay more with the schoolmen, than with ancient chroniclers or modern reviewers. Our object in pursuing the line of inquiry now brought to a close, was to convict of ignorance or misrepresentation, the outcry so often heard within parliament, and repeated in a multitudinous variety of ways abroad, in print and speech, during the debates on the Maynooth, Academic, Trinity College, and Catholic Disabilities bills; that the Catholic Church, in all the grades of its priesthood, from the highest pontiff to the lowest levite, has been at all times unfavourable to the culture and spread of gospel knowledge and scientific acquirements. To overwhelm such dark prejudices and calumnies with utter discomfiture, by opening up the whole historical subject of Catholic university, collegiate, and academical education, such a guide should go before our readers, as the author of the *Mores Catholici*, holding a lamp filled with the purest and most fragrant oil which may be extracted from every branch and fruit and flower of the tree of knowledge, and trimmed by the genius of every art and science and language. Then, indeed, would historic truth be unveiled in all its lustre and beauty; then would the temple of learning, reared by Catholic hands, be lighted up in all its glo-

rious splendours, and shown in all its sacred harmonies of symmetry and strength and taste ; and every shrine would be illumined, which has entombed for ages the honoured and blessed memories of hooded scholars ; and every mural tablet of stone or brass, would be made legible with its mystic inscription, and made fresh with its emblems of the schools intertwined with monastic symbols ; and all the rows of niches solemnly shadowing the statues and images of bishops, chancellors, clerks, monks, civilians, who were once the most celebrated doctors, or the most munificent founders, patrons, and benefactors of colleges and halls still called after Catholic saints, would be revealed and shine out amidst the rich and varied erudition with which the multifarious reading of Kenelm Digby colours and illustrates every subject upon which his mind is poured out, like tinted glories streaming up through an ancient minster. As for our part, we must content with carrying our small taper into one nook, as it were, of such a spacious topic as is the connection of the regular clergy with the rise and advancement and reformation of the higher departments of studies. From one isolated spot, but sufficiently luminous and prominent in the history of the literary world, we have endeavoured to dissipate some dark and malignant prejudices, which gathered most densely upon that particular quarter. The Dominican Monk, or the Black-Friar was—as popularly imagined and fictitiously drawn—a horrid spectre which could scarcely be supposed to dwell or be at rest amidst a blaze of intellectual illumination. Yet so it was—the Dominican—whether doctor of the university, student of the college, preacher of the temple, missionary of the world, artist of the studio, rapt with ecstasy as a saint, or with visions of transcendent loveliness as a poet, or with inspired dreams as a prophet—*his* ordinary home and choicest repose were to abide and rejoice in the encircling and spreading light of all sciences divine and human. This is not the too vivid colouring of an admiring partiality—it is the truth reflected upon our convictions from the many illuminated pages which we have read, concerning the objects, laws, pursuits, services, of a society, which in all the writings of the learned, is usually called “the illustrious order of St. Dominic.” Had we put forward in front of our argument in defence of the contributions rendered to literature by the religious orders, the Benedictines, for instance, already so

honoured, even by infidel writers, such as Gibbon, for their immense accumulation of learning, the most recondite and extensive; or had we given the prominence—so deservedly due to their company—to the Jesuits, whose superiority in every compartment of elegant and instructive knowledge, and inappreciable services in the conduct and improvement of school education, their bitterest enemies durst not gainsay; we would be only reproducing evidence already known to the public, often through the pages of this Review; but to drag forth from the obscurity in which it has been shrouded by circumstances, of which none has been so influential as its own constant and avowed dislike to the blowing of the unevangelical trump of self-laudation, an Institute little known to literary fame in these heretical countries, and in these modern times; such testimony, however scantily we may have supplied it, and feebly put it forth, is, notwithstanding, novel, and may not be without its special weight and impressiveness in the mass of evidence that has been already collected, and so variously exhibited in proof of the services and zeal of the monastic bodies generally, in promoting the cause of mental cultivation and progress.

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ART. VI.—*Egypt and Mehemet Ali.* 3 vols. 12mo. Newby, 1845. By PRINCE PÜCKLER MUSKAU.

NO country, perhaps, so much excites our interest, or calls forth a feeling of wonder, as Egypt.

Its intimate connexion with those sacred writings on which our religion is based—its history, which is entwined with that of the empires which have, at successive periods, been renowned and powerful on the earth—the acts of perfidious treachery, and the sanguinary dramas of which it has been the stage—the mystery which envelopes its scanty records, which throw out but a feeble glare, like the torch in a cavern formed of stalactites, casting a scarcely visible ray only on some prominent objects, while it leaves the others surrounded by fuliginous gloom—those gigantic ruins of temples, palaces, and cities, which are to modern constructions what the antediluvian remains of the mega-

losaurus are to the present existing specimens of organic nature, while the agglomeration of the materials composing them is a problem even in these days of mechanical invention—the traditions of its learning and science, the probable sources from which Greek philosophy imbibed its doctrines, and from which Greek art inhaled its inspirations—all these circumstances have contributed to fix on it for ages the attention of the schoolboy and his professor—of the superficial reader, as of him versed in learned lore ; and there are few men of liberal education who have not, at some time or other, wiled away a few minutes in reveries on its former destinies, and in forming surmises, or building hypotheses, connected with that land of problem.

But to us of the present day, two circumstances have contributed to render that interest more intense in a ten-fold ratio. To the learned, the discovery of the means of deciphering those sealed scrolls, which seemed to defy human ingenuity, has opened a boundless field of antiquarian research, on which the conquests, however limited until now, are nevertheless cheering, by the prospects they hold out for the future. To the merchant and the statesman, the new road opened through it to the Indo-British empire, has facilitated the avenues to wealth, and rendered more easy the government of those distant regions ; though, at the same time, those advantages have implanted anxiety as to their tenure, and excited extraneous jealousy which, when a fitting opportunity offers, will not be backward in disputing with us their possession, or throwing impediments in its way.

Hence, every publication, however small its merits, which bears Egypt on its title page, is sure to find readers looking for information, or hoping to find new views. But though from our previous acquaintance with Prince Pückler Muskau's writings, some of which must be familiar to many of our readers, we did not expect that he would throw any new light on the subjects of the higher order to which we have alluded above ; yet his close and protracted contact with the extraordinary man who wields the destinies of Egypt, has enabled him to give to the public a work not devoid of interest. Whoever sits down to peruse Prince Pückler's writings, must expect more amusement than instruction : not that they are altogether divested of the latter, but because he is not a profound observer, and his talent lies principally in delineating the extraneous

properties of men and objects; he relates what he has seen, or communicates his observations in an unaffected sprightly manner, without seeking after effect, without much method, and indulging, wherever an opportunity offers, in unseemly *persiflage*.

In the work before us, Prince Pückler must be reproached with the same failings, which have drawn down upon him severe censure on other occasions. There is the same unscrupulous use made of the names of individuals whom he has met, whose foibles or ridiculous points of character he places before the public in the most unwarrantable manner, recklessly venting his satirical vein at their expense, without caring how much their feelings may be hurt, and without considering that he marks himself out as a man whose society must be eschewed by every person who would wish to avoid being made by him the character of a comedy, or rather of a farce. But we must excuse him by supposing that this propensity is not under his control, and that he is unable to resist its influence; for at the very time that he was receiving from Mehemet Ali marks of attention, such as were not shown by him to any other European, Marshal Marmont alone excepted, he, in a letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, turned into ridicule the obesity of the Pacha's youngest son, and seems much astonished that in consequence of it he should have been treated subsequently with coolness by the father.

Equally regardless, too, he is of the decorum which a writer ought to maintain towards the public by openly stating or insinuating things and facts, which, to say the least of them, nobody has any interest in learning. Thus, not to mention other instances, we think a subsequent edition of his travels (should they ever reach a second edition,) would be very much improved by the omission of his description of the school of midwifery, and that of the slave-market, with the cynical remarks of the Levantine Greek. Such passages may form very interesting topics for an *estaminet* or a *Brantweinshank*; but we should certainly never have expected to find them in a book written by a Prince who professes to write "not for pedants," but for persons of good society.

Prussian critics have also reproached him (but we reproach him not therewith) with not being a philosopher; to which he replies by saying, that this is like reproaching the violet for not being an oak: but this in Prussia is a

very serious failing, for Prussia is the land of philosophy, *par excellence*.

Now philosophers (we mean German ones) cannot understand a simple fact, or an unvarnished narration. It is essential for them that every simple fact should be traced to, or placed in juxta-position with, something which has no analogy with it—that the simplest transaction should be shown to receive its impetus from some secret spring, or recondite motive, with which it has as much connexion as with the man in the moon. Philosophy is everything in Prussia; and the two greatest luxuries of its inhabitants are philosophy and slices of bread and butter (*Butterpöchen*).

The reputation of Pückler Muskau had preceded him to Egypt, and it is more than probable that the fear of his criticism, and the view of winning golden opinions from him, induced the Pacha to receive him with a degree of distinction never shown by him to any other traveller. Thus we find him scarcely landed at Alexandria, when Boghos Bey, one of the Pacha's ministers, and his factotum, as well as Bessan Bey, the admiral commanding the fleet, waited upon him, and lavished every species of politeness on him; a palace was placed at his disposal, and from the moment of his arrival he was entertained at the expense of the Pacha; and if we consider that he remained in Egypt nearly two years, and made all his journeys also at the expense of that ruler, we must suppose that, notwithstanding his politeness, such guests cannot be much courted by him. The Prince had no objection to avail himself to the utmost extent of the privileges conferred on him. Thus he tells us, at his first interview with Ibrahim Pacha, Mehemet's son and destined successor—

“As soon as I had seated myself on the ottoman, next the prince, coffee was brought in, and a pipe handed to him, but none to me. In the excitement of conversation, I did not at first remark this circumstance, but as soon as it struck me, I instantly made up my mind how to act.

“Assuming immediately an air of offended dignity, I remained silent, and did not answer another word to the questions put to me. Ibrahim's unfeigned surprise proved to me, that the neglect shown me was not his, but his attendant's fault; nevertheless, I remained mute, and was on the point of rising and quitting the Kiosk without taking leave, when he, discovering the cause, called out loudly for a pipe for me. From that moment I continued the con-

versation, like Schiller's Armenian, from the point where I had before interrupted it, exactly as if nothing had happened.

"Let not this be interpreted as presumption or absurd vanity. I in reality cared but little about the matter; but what Mehemet Ali had granted me, I had a right to expect from any one of his subjects, even though it were the heir to the throne."

The personal demeanour of the Pacha himself was more than studiously respectful: when he takes a journey to Upper Egypt he waits for the Prince, and even puts off his intended departure for a couple of days, in order to do him honour: he invites him to dinner as a friend would invite another to take pot-luck with him, and seems not to have been unacquainted with the Prince's fondness for a good dinner, for he regales him with *pâté aux truffes* and champagne.

That he succeeded in establishing himself in the Prince's estimation, is evident in every page of the work; and, in fact, what mortal could have resisted the charms of sherbet, champagne, delicious fruits of every description, numberless delicacies, including even a provision of Bavarian beer—that inestimable luxury to a Prussian—with which he was provided by the munificence of the Pacha?

We are not, however, in the number of those who believe, as some of his enemies have asserted, that he was bribed by the Pacha to write in his praise or justification; and we think that our author has given himself much unnecessary trouble to rebut this imputation. We think that in this, as in many other instances, he has been treated with great want of courtesy, and that though in many respects he deserves severe criticism, it has been exercised with a spirit of rancour and injustice, the effect of which has been to lead many to the persuasion, that the parties who felt themselves aggrieved, were wincing under merited infliction from his pen.

The result, therefore, of Prince Pückler's residence in Egypt was to produce a thorough and complete Egyptomania. Every thing he sees is a subject of admiration: the arsenals, the schools, the manufactories established by Mehemet Ali, are all and each perfection. When he visits the vessels of the fleet, he finds the cleanliness and order reigning on board, in no degree inferior to what he had seen in the British men-of-war he had visited at Malta—though, he says, the Arab sailors are inferior to the English in exercising their guns—a compliment which,



coming from so competent a judge of naval affairs as the Prince, who, we believe, has the rank of captain or lieutenant in the Prussian army, is highly flattering to our tars ; and we suppose the Prince's olfactory nerves are not quite so sensitive as our own—for having once visited a frigate of Mehemet Ali's, it was an unspeakable comfort to us that one of our friends was provided with a snuff-box, without frequent applications to which, we should hardly have been able to withstand the nauseous effluvia which prevailed in many parts of it.

He is equally enthusiastic with regard to the antiquities and monuments, to which he gives the preference over every more modern art ; and, in short, as Panglos found the world, so he finds Egypt, and he almost exclaims, “*Tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des pays possibles.*”

That Mehemet Ali is an extraordinary man, nobody will, we believe, dispute ; but we think that he places him on a rather too elevated pedestal, when he compares him with Napoleon, and even with Peter the Great of Russia. What he has effected in Egypt, he has done by a ruthless unflinching despotism, by grinding down the whole population of the country, reducing it to a state of servitude unparalleled even in the annals of Turkish barbarity, rendered still more oppressive by the introduction of European improvements ; for he has introduced and applied them to the purposes of organising that arbitrary system which previously to him, by its very lack of method and regularity, enabled some more fortunate individuals to escape oppression. But the Pacha has to such a degree improved the administration as to have made wretchedness and suffering extend into every recess, which its squalor and misery formerly made an object of contempt to the tyrants of the land. He has called into existence a mushroom power, which, like all other *fungi*, has hardly started from its bed of putrefaction, when it has been occupied by the insects which corrode its texture and absorb its vital fluids. What he has done has been at the sacrifice of treasures more than tenfold commensurate to the object ; and as that treasure has been amassed at the expense of human misery, that misery has been in a direct ratio with the treasure expended. He has been, during years, for his misfortune and that of unfortunate beings under his sway, the dupe of French intriguers and projectors, for

whom Egypt has been a sort of Tahiti, the resort of penniless ignorant adventurers, who have repaired thither to acquire wealth, and enjoy the good things of the land in exchange for knowledge which, not possessing, they were unable to impart.

The absurd and original system of political economy adopted by the Pacha, the system to which all that mass of misery is to be in a great measure attributed, finds, if not a defender, at least a palliator in the Prince; and we would in a friendly manner advise him, as he professes to be a Pythagorean and half heathen, to pour copious libations to the *Manes* of Adam Smith, which will otherwise, we much fear, at some period haunt him and destroy his rest.

He gives the Pacha much credit for, and in several places lays great stress on, the improved system of education introduced by him into the country. But it is not the building of schools and colleges that educates or cultivates a nation; and notwithstanding the Prince's praises, sufficient may be gleaned from the work before us, to authorise us to think that even in this the Pacha has scattered seeds which are not destined to arrive at maturity. He does not mention a superior officer or dignitary (with one single exception) in the whole of his book, whom he does not tax with presumptuous ignorance, prejudice, or something worse; and the Minister of Public Instruction is particularly signalised as possessing these enviable qualifications for his office in a higher degree than any other functionary. How then is education to be a means of dispelling the darkness with which the land is overcast, when the agents through whose means this is to be effected, are so incompetent to the task? We have not been in Egypt, but we some years back had frequent opportunities of seeing in Paris, and observing the students whom Mehemet Ali had sent thither, and who were to form the foundation of Egyptian learning, in all departments of science: and certes, neither their method of life, nor the capabilities of the man under whose guidance they were placed, were of a nature to lead to the expectation that the object in view would be attained. That superintendent and instructor was a certain Monsieur Jommard, who had acquired a reputation, such as is easily acquired in France, by the trumpeting of a couple of newspapers; he ranked among the *savans* in consequence of some geographical works, compiled by pilfering from English publications without even ac-

knowledging the sources from which he had derived his information. If our memory is not faithless, we think he was further one of the getters up of that farce of Caillard's journey to Timbuctoo, for which our government had the *bonhomme* to pay a recompense of several thousand pounds. Three years ago we met on the continent a superior officer of engineers, whom the Pacha had dispatched to Europe on an important mission connected with his branch of the public service. To judge from him, as one of the most distinguished of the Pacha's officers, of the proficiency of the others who have received an European education, to which class he belonged, it would be but justice to conclude with a recent traveller in Egypt, that they had learned in France nothing but its language and its vices.

The army, too, is one of the Prince's objects of respect, and he does not hesitate to declare it equal to almost any in Europe. One of our own distinguished officers did not, however, hesitate to tell the Pacha a few years ago, that with 10,000 English troops, he would have no difficulty in driving it out of Egypt into the desert; and their conduct and that of their leaders in the Syrian campaign has clearly shown that, however successful, in some degree, the wretched manner in which the guns were pointed at Beyrout and St. Jean d'Acre, together with the inefficient state of the fortifications of Alexandria, clearly demonstrated the want of instruction in those departments in which it is most necessary, and the absence of that organisation which for years had been the theme of praise on which the French press delighted to expatiate. And to obtain such insignificant results, a system of conscription, blending the refinements of Turkish cruelty with every thing which the system introduced by Napoleon in France presents of odious in its nature, and the Russian system of brutal in its details, was introduced and carried out for years. But Prince Pückler finds nothing shocking in it; he talks of the military service as popular, and the soldiers as happy, their treatment as humane. Yet, perhaps, at the very moment that he was writing, a whole regiment of cavalry deserted in Syria, because having lost a number of horses from the unhealthiness of the country where they were quartered, that rapacious barbarian Ibrahim Pacha, the future viceroy, seized the pay of officers and men; while on the other hand such was the insufferable treatment to

which the troops subjected the inhabitants, that also during the Prince's residence there, 5000 Arnauts under Ismael Bey were cut to pieces by the former, and that so completely that only six out of the whole number escaped.

Nor do his bowels yearn with more compassion towards the unfortunate Fellahs. He says that he entered some cottages in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and found them cleanly and the inhabitants comfortable; and he concludes that they are better circumstanced than the inhabitants of many parts of Europe. He moreover derides Mr. Waddington and "English philanthropists," who, when they happen to see a man without "inexpressibles, and who has not roast beef for his dinner," immediately conclude that the whole population are plunged in the deepest misery. But the Prince did not see whole villages deserted by the inhabitants, who had fled into the desert to avoid the bastinado, impaling, or even being flayed alive, because they could not give to the government more corn or cotton than their fields produced, the fault being attributed to their laziness. What did it matter to the Prince that wheat was taken by the authorities from the Fellah at eight shillings a bushel, and that he was compelled to re-purchase it at thirty-two, or starve? Had not the Prince champagne and *pâté aux truffes*, and how could any gentleman or nobleman doubt of the prosperity of a country which for him was a *païs de Cocagne*? The inhabitants ought to be grateful to the Pacha; his only object was to introduce habits of industry. While the Prince was enjoying the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt, we can almost figure him to ourselves innocently asking, like Marie Antoinette, "if the people cannot buy bread, why do they not eat those nice little tarts which cost only a penny a piece?"

The inhuman incursions into the Soudan to search for, or capture slaves, is also passed over with but a very slight reprobation. The subject was brought under the notice of our government by Colonel Campbell and Dr. Bowring, to whom much credit is due for their humane representations on the subject; the Prince's principal objection against the practice seems to be rather of an utilitarian nature, viz. that the greater part of them died before they could be rendered of any use: while he was in the country 2700 of those luckless creatures were collected merely to pay the troops some arrears of pay.

For all the enormities committed the Prince has a ready excuse, by throwing the fault on the shoulders of the governors of the provinces, and other individuals holding office. But if the Pacha had wished to do so, he could have prevented many of them. At all events great credit is due to him for having rendered travelling in Egypt as secure as in the most civilized countries in Europe; for having broken through Mussulman prejudice and introduced inventions, of which some at least may perhaps leave traces behind them; and surely the man who has done this, could, if he were animated with one single spark of humanity, have bridled the barbarians who are his instruments. But notwithstanding the deep views for which our author and others give him credit, his object was never but to establish and extend his own power; and as a means of doing so, to establish a certain reputation in Europe which might contribute to forward his plans. The Prince may not perhaps be altogether wrong, when he says that disappointed travellers have from pique or spite thrown on the Pacha more odium than what was just; but making every allowance for the exaggeration resulting from the bias of such causes, sufficient remains from the concurrent testimony of all, and from the results which all have witnessed, to reduce the superiority of the man to a much lower standard than that which his panegyrist would assign to him.

Another point for which the Pacha is entitled to praise is, the constancy with which he has kept aloof from all jobbing plans; for projectors have not been wanting to induce him to undertake operations founded on credit: had he done so some years back, he would, we have no doubt, have found capital as easily, and to as great if not a greater extent, than the United States; but he uniformly resisted all such tempting offers. For all his enterprises, naval, military, and commercial, for constructing a splendid arsenal, the rival of the most celebrated in the world, for building a fleet of twelve ships of the line, and a proportionate number of frigates, for maintaining a standing army of 150,000 men, with a proportionate matériel, for establishing cannon foundries, manufactories of every description, schools and colleges, for the immense sums requisite for political intrigue and for bribing high functionaries at Constantinople, and for numberless other purposes, the revenues derived from the country have suf-

ficed ; and if it be taken into consideration that all these branches have required much larger sums of money than they would have done elsewhere, when to this is added the amount of speculation by which his officers have acquired immense fortunes, and the means adopted for raising that money, we may form an idea of the stupendous natural resources of the country, and form some conception of what it might be, if it were in hands more capable and better acquainted with the true principles of civil economy.

Where the Pacha has shown himself really great is in the equanimity with which he has borne his reverse of fortune ; and if we consider the manner in which he has conducted himself towards this country after we had destroyed the fruit of plans long matured, when he was on the point of culling it ; after we had frustrated the designs of many years, for the execution of which he had spared no expense, which had been the object of his thoughts by day, and his dreams by night, we must pay a tribute of admiration and thankfulness to a generosity of character and feeling which, placed by the side of his general conduct and the principles of revenge rendered more poignant by the religious principles and prejudices of a Turk, are really paradoxical.

Of the policy which he followed, as of the plans he intended to carry out, Prince P. is the eulogist ; and he asserts that had not the Pacha's plans been thwarted by the belligerent powers, he would have been the regenerator of the Mussulman race. On this subject we are not competent to form an opinion ; but we have seen four of the great European cabinets agree as to the necessity of the policy pursued in 1840, and the measures carried out after mature deliberation by the statesmen composing those cabinets, who were more competent than Prince Pückler to judge on the chain of events that would probably have been the result of Mehemet Ali's success. When he talks of the Turco-Egyptian fleet joining the French, and striking a blow which would have for ever ruined the maritime superiority of this country, we can but smile at the idea, and rejoice, not for our own sake alone, but for the sake of Prince Pückler Muskau's countrymen, and for the rest of Europe, that we can thus smile. That contingency may, perhaps, be a good illustration for the chapter of "*The history of events that have never happened,*" in a future edition of D'Israeli's "*Curiosities of Literature.*" But

had it been destined that such an untoward contingency should have happened, it is very probable that the Prince would, ere now, have had the honour of entertaining at his table at *Waldeinsamkeit*, some French general who would have dined off the Prince's plate, and have manifested his regard for him by packing that said plate up with his baggage, in order to preserve it as a "*Souvenir*." The Prince would, moreover, have been obliged to forego the enjoyment of champagne and *pâté aux truffes*, if not entirely, at least so as to enjoy them at such distant intervals that his fate would not have been dissimilar to that of Tantalus: those good things which he so much prizes, would have appertained to the same *genus* as the pots of ale so feelingly commemorated in Phillip's "*Splendid Shilling*."

But it is time that we should take a cursory notice of the work we are reviewing, which is not completed, nor are we told if it be destined to remain in its present state, though several subjects are broken off to be continued at a future period; but at the end of the third volume there is no intimation whatever on the subject. The translation too, bears evident traces of hurry or negligence, several passages being quite unintelligible: others, too, have evidently not been understood, or sufficiently studied by the translator—in some a dictionary we apprehend might have been advantageously consulted; for though we have not seen the original, we infer from some words here and there, that there has been a little of guess-work. Thus in the enumeration of the ranks of the officers of the navy, we find captains of the first class ranking with majors in the army, those of the second with lieutenant majors, while captains of frigates of the first class are *chefs de bataillon*, while those of the second class are also styled majors: we suppose the first-mentioned are colonels and lieutenant-colonels, (in German, oberst or obrist and oberst lieutenant:) there are several other similar passages, but in other respects the style is pleasing and reads agreeably.

Prince Pückler Muskau arrived at Alexandria on the fifth day of the year 1837, during the feast of the Bairam, and the description he gives of the scene presented by the port, is an earnest of the interest which his book is in some respects calculated to produce. He had scarcely arrived, when Bessan Bey, the admiral of the fleet, waited upon him by the orders of Mehemet Ali, in order to con-

duct him to the quarters prepared for him by the Viceroy's orders. Besides being one of the very few honourable exceptions to the swarm of French adventurers who had made the Pacha their prey, Bessan Bey, (who has since died,) was the man who in 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, formed the project of conveying Napoleon from Rochfort to America, and had actually made the necessary preparations for concealing him in a water-cask prepared for the purpose. The Prince gives a full detail of that transaction from a manuscript of M. Bessan's, but does not seem to be aware that nearly the same details have been given by Walter Scott, in his "Life of Napoleon:" but as he has not found the account in any French author, he thinks that those details were previously unknown: to many readers they may, in fact, be so; and at all events, coming from M. Bessan himself, they are very interesting, as well as more complete than any heretofore given. The relation seems also to establish, notwithstanding the opinion of Walter Scott to the contrary, that if he had adopted the plan proposed, it would have been in Napoleon's power to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers. The Prince does not fail on this occasion to indulge in the usual common-place declamations against the English government for its conduct towards the fallen emperor; and he takes every opportunity that presents itself in the course of his work, to rail against this country, for which, however, considering the severity with which he has been treated, he ought to meet with some forbearance on our part.

At Alexandria he remained some days, and there visited the arsenal and the fleet; two wonders, considering the small space of time in which both were called into being, which may be called the wonders of Mehemet Ali's administration, though the credit of them is due to Monsieur Clerisy, a French engineer, who rendered the Viceroy the greatest services, but who after several years of suffering from seeing his plans thwarted, and his character and intentions misunderstood, was at last completely tired out, and obliged to give way to the intrigues of the Turks; and, though the Prince does not allude to it, without an adequate compensation for his services—but he was sufficiently avenged by the Pacha's never having been able to find a person capable of replacing him. There is a very amusing description of the society of Alexandria, all the



members of which exerted themselves in rendering his stay as agreeable as possible; and dinner-parties, representations of French plays and Italian operas, both performed by *dilettanti*, followed each other in rapid succession. Mehemet Ali's manufactories were also visited by him here as elsewhere, and he is indirectly compelled to avow that they have all failed, with the exception of that in which the *Fez*, or red caps worn by the inhabitants are manufactured.

In describing the country scenery, the cattle, &c., the Prince is in his element, and the details respecting them, and of his journey from Alexandria to Cairo on a boat up the Nile, cannot but be read with pleasure.

At Cairo he had his first interview with Mehemet Ali, and this, as well as the subsequent ones which he details, and his report of his conversations with him, are the most interesting parts of his works; for though it is probable that the cunning Pacha was aware that he was sitting for his picture, and acted in consequence, and it is also probable that the Prince has somewhat embellished the dialogues, yet an estimate may be formed of his character, and of the more than ordinary talent and resolution with which he is endowed.

The public schools, with the system of education, are also amply described, as well as the school of medicine of Abu-Zadel, a splendid foundation of Dr. Clot, or Clot Bey, but which will probably share the same fate as the rest of the Pacha's establishments, when death shall close his career, or when the envy and intrigues shall at length compel him, like Clerisy, to quit the country. The following anecdote which he tells of Clot Bey is very good.

"One man, from whom he had taken a swelling of 120 pounds weight, even commenced an action against him. This fellow was a sort of buffoon, who had availed himself of his monstrous disfigurement, to levy a considerable amount of alms from the idlers who pass their lives in coffee-houses. He taxed Clot Bey with having taken away his livelihood, and asked, as indemnification, a pension, which the generous physician could not refuse him."

In his description of Cairo, its markets, its society, of the gardens of the Pacha, of the departure of the pilgrims for Mecca, he exhibits his usual talent for agreeable description; and the following picture of an Egyptian evening is, we think, convincing, that when he is reproached with

not having any poetry in his composition, the reproach is not very well founded.

"I saw the same evening, through the avenue of Schubra, the Egyptian sky in all its splendour, and this was a nobler spectacle than the one I had just left. It is almost impossible to describe a scene, such as was presented by the sunset of that day, without being accused of exaggeration; and, nevertheless, I discovered new features that I had never before seen, and that I never had the least conception of, in the ethereal delicacy of that spectacle. In our sunset, the clouds only play on the sky in varied and burning colours—here, there were no clouds, but the whole sky, and also the whole earth, seemed enveloped in softly glowing tints of indescribable loveliness. From the bright, golden hues on the distant horizon, there seemed to issue over the clear atmosphere a wonderfully transparent sea-green, and light pink streaks branched off from it, subsequently changing into blue and silver, and finally dissolving in the east, in light blue vapour. Thus shone, in majestic softness and splendour, the wide arch of heaven, whilst the green that covered the earth, assuming an unusual vividness, and encircled as if by an aureole, presented to the eye the gorgeous colours, and varied character of a piece of rich tapestry. The avenue, with its vaulted roof of dense foliage, became smaller and smaller in perspective, and suddenly gleamed with flame, as if a thousand lamps were concealed in its trees, until, by and bye, the upper part of the apparently endless vault became partially wrapped in obscurity, and every thing appeared through it of a pale and undecided hue, as in a struggle between light and darkness. Suddenly, on the spot where the sun had sunk, a dark red made its appearance; the fiery green of the tree tops disappeared in an instant, a strong perfume as if of violets and roses filled the air, and before I could analyze what I had seen, the oriental night, with the rapidity peculiar to this climate, had already cast its darkest veil over the earth, and this glorious scene had vanished, as it were, to the uncertain land of dreams."

Here, too, he had his first interview with Ibrahim Pacha, and his description of him is not less interesting than that of his father; but he characteristically regrets that at that time Ibrahim gave no dinners, which are reported to be excellent, he having engaged one of the most famous Parisian *artistes* in his service. He also introduces us to many of the Pacha's principal officers, and in all his sketches, there is the lively vein of a man accustomed to good society, barring the occasional indiscretion we formerly alluded to, in his manner of speaking of some of them. Among the Europeans, Mr. Lesseps, the French

Consul, later Consul at Barcelona, and whose name is consequently well known in this country, stood the highest in the favour of the Viceroy, who, it seems, was indebted to that gentleman's father, who also formerly filled that office, for important services rendered. Mr. Lesseps is a courtier of the first rank, for he says of him:

"I have been told an anecdote, which is not only strikingly characteristic of this young man's adroit frankness, but has also a general interest from another highly esteemed person concerned in it.

"During Mr. Lesseps' stay at Paris last year, the king, who is too keen sighted not to entertain a high opinion of Mehemet Ali, asked him confidentially—

"'But what do you think of Ibrahim?'—'Sire,' replied Lesseps, 'I do not arrogate to myself a decided opinion respecting him, as I know but little of him; but this much is certain, that no one knows better than Ibrahim how to manage his private fortune; and experience teaches us, that men who understand this well, often become great as the managers of states.'

"I can fancy I see the sly and meaning smile with which the King of the French must have listened to this reply, which is worth a whole life of diplomacy, and might even excite the envy of a Russian."

The Prince, of course, visited the Pyramids, and he occupies about thirty pages in describing them; that is, like all his predecessors, in talking of passages or corridors running east or west, taking a direction upwards or downwards, &c., after perusing which, the reader is just as wise as he was before. Every traveller who visits Egypt, thinks that his narration would be incomplete if he did not give a description of the Pyramids, and repeat a tale that has been a thousand times told. As in a musical concert given for the benefit of an artist, there is sure to be some piece with a *corno obbligato*, a *violino*, or some other instrument, *obbligato*; so in a description of Egypt you may depend upon it that you will find *Pyramidi obbligati*, and you may thank your stars if you escape only with a few pages respecting them; to us, at least, (we may be singular, or have bad taste,) they have become as nauseous as the *Di tanti palpiti*, and sundry other *cavatinas* from Italian operas, which have become so classical as to be certain to grind our ears whenever we chance to encounter a barrel-organ, or when our bad luck compels us to

listen to a boarding-school Miss showing off her progress in music.

We think if future travellers were to leave the Pyramids out of their note-books, until something new be discovered in or concerning them, they would save their readers a chapter of *ennui*.

Towards the end of February, the Viceroy having departed for Upper Egypt and invited the Prince to follow him thither, the latter commenced his journey in two *Kangshees*, or covered barges, provided for him by the government with its "usual munificence," and with every thing that could contribute to render his voyage comfortable. His suite consisted of several persons, among whom was a female slave whom he had purchased at Cairo. He expatiates at great length on her beauty and perfections, but he tells us that she soon attempted to gain the mastery over him. Such of our readers as rejoice in a termagant wife, would do well to read his account of the way in which he tamed this shrew; it was rather oriental, but they may derive some useful information which they may perhaps turn to account. We were so fortunate as to see this beauty on several occasions at Vienna on his return from his travels, where she was quite a lion; but neither in our opinion, nor in that of the profane multitude, was her beauty of such a transcendental quality as he describes it to have been; and if public report spoke truly, if she still continued a slave, she was a very imperious one, and the Prince's talisman for keeping down her temper had lost its charm. He there placed her in a boarding school, where she shortly after died, as we have understood, her Abyssinian blood could not stand the freezing climate of the Austrian capital. We believe that the Prince behaved in every respect like a father to her, in a manner creditable to himself. He gives very useful instructions as to the manner of living best to be followed by travellers, and also as to the best means of travelling, and we think that on account of the profitable information the work contains, no future visitor of Egypt should go thither without having it with him.

We will not follow the Prince step by step on his journey, but will content ourselves with pointing out some of those passages which may appear worthy of notice. On the 8th of March he disembarked at Baramour, where the Pacha's manufactory of sugar is situated, and which he tells us is

situated between the ruins of Hermopolis and Artinöe ; and thus the porticos of those two towns, which were in good preservation, and before one of which Denon fell in ecstasy on his knees, were a short time ago blown down with gunpowder in order to procure at the easiest rate building materials for the sugar manufactory ! But the Pacha, notwithstanding his admiration, real or affected, for Europeans, does not comprehend the interest they feel for ancient monuments.

One cwt. of sugar, four times refined, costs here 1050 piastres, or between £9 and £10 sterling, which the Prince very gravely tells us would certainly yield a very good profit if it found purchasers ; we think that the Pacha is likely to be the sole consumer of such a cheap article. However, as he has got a Frenchman to direct the establishment, he hopes in time to produce it at such a price as to exclude foreign sugar ; a hope which most probably will be realised in the same way as most of the projects which have been intrusted to the schemers of that nation with whom he has been blessed.

At Sirat he again met the Pacha, and continued his journey in his company over land as far as Thebes. Of the ruins of this celebrated town, the “ city of the hundred gates,” he gives a very long description ; but independently of the description of such objects not being intelligible without plates, it has been so fully described in the *Description de l’Egypte*, that the reader is only bewildered by reading the Prince’s account of it, the details he gives of it being abstracted from that and other works. But it would be unjust to throw blame on him in this respect, as he disclaims any pretensions to more than writing for *dilettanti*, and therefore no unreasonable demand can be made upon him. He nevertheless enters into several learned disquisitions which he had better avoided, as he gets out of his depth, and he sneers at Mr. Wilkinson for endeavouring to reconcile the chronology of the Egyptian kings with the Bible, and especially to bring a passage of Ezekiel into accordance with that chronology, and he adds with the spirit of Prussian philosophy and critical criterion, that “ it is a pity to see a grave and learned critic disturbed in his researches by such follies,” and he adds that “ in our times there is no positive faith,” and therefore “ we ought not to deprive ourselves of an essentially critical spirit which can soar so far above antiquated

prejudice of every description, as that it can respect them as things of historic truth once necessary, and long since past, but regards every endeavour to reinstate them as articles of orthodox faith, as vain and morbid attempts."

Prince Pückler Muskau is, we think, doomed to higher destinies than merely to write books of travels; and he is perfectly qualified for a place in the cabinet of Berlin, provided the direction of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction be not placed under his superintendence; the more so that, while the Egyptian temples and every thing connected with them exalt him almost into Pythonic ecstasies, he holds the remains of Cophthic churches, and the crosses carved by Christians on the ruins in different places, in abomination. Yet he tells us that while he was at his dinner his servant Pioranni, in order to procure him an agreeable surprise, marked with oil-paint the Prince's coronet, name, and symbol of faith on a large piece of granite—we regret he does not tell us what that symbol is, but we suppose it must have been a *dindon aux truffes* flanked by a couple of bottles of *champagne* or *Chateau Margaux*.

The ruins of the temples of Luxor and Karnac also occupy a considerable portion of the second volume. During his antiquarian researches, the Prince never forgets the important functions of mastication. While breakfasting among the ruins of Karnack, an English lady's maid suddenly appeared, accompanied by a tall Arab, her guide. The incident is very similar to one related by Forbin Janson; but he does not, like the latter, avail of the incident for an outbreak of abuse upon the English. The Prince, however, does not appear to be very gallant; for though she was but a lady's maid, we think he would not have degraded his rank by inviting her to partake of some refreshment.

Continuing his journey up the Nile, he gives descriptions of the ruins of Elephantina, the island of Philæ, and several others, which do not convey any information not previously given by other travellers, and an account of the incidents of his travels through a country very thinly peopled by inhabitants, generally in a complete state of nudity.

At Korunsko he met four boats loaded with slaves, captured in Dongola, who were being conveyed to Cairo, and enters into an apology of that inhuman traffic, in a strain

which Mr. Calhoun himself might envy, by attempting to convince his readers that the condition of those luckless blacks is much more favourable in a state of servitude than in freedom. It is a singular proof of his theory, that in another passage he mentions, that the greater part of them die within a very short period; no doubt, in consequence of the good treatment they experience. This is the only argument which our liberal Prussian Prince adduces as a motive for the abandonment of the practice.

At Quadi-Halfa, near the second cataract, he left his boats, in order to proceed across the desert to Dongola, Samneh, and Sali-el Abd, a region seldom visited by Europeans, and he therefore gives some judicious instructions for the guidance of future ones.

During the course of this excursion he was awakened by a loud noise of drums, and discharges of musketry. A total eclipse of the moon was the cause of it.

“The natives who had hastened with all this hubbub to the assistance of the moon, and to prevent the black dragon, with which they supposed it to be engaged in combat, from totally devouring it, were much alarmed at this occurrence, and regarded it as a very evil omen.”

At Dongola he resumed his travels by water up the Nile, and traces the steps of previous travellers, with some of whom he enters into controversy, especially with Dr. Rüppel. Some pages are taken up with a dispute with this gentleman, not interesting to the English reader, but which was carried on between them with great warmth some years ago, and with very little moderation on either side. The Prince points out some errors committed by the Professor in his maps, in some of which he may be right, as he is supported by Russeger, an Austrian mineralogist, who was employed by the Pacha in looking out for gold mines in Nubia. But the distances between places in general is given by him on a very uncertain standard, namely, the time it took him to travel between them. We must observe on this occasion, that this uncertainty is made still greater by the English translator; for he sometimes measures them by German miles, or rather hours of march, (*Stunden*), sometimes in English miles, which last *must* all be wrong; for he makes five English miles equal to one German, whereas he ought to have calculated them at three and a half.

In a second excursion through the desert to Schendy, he had the misfortune to lose all his wine, oil, and vinegar, as well as liquors, in consequence of the camels having been frightened by the nocturnal attack of a lion; a serious loss to any traveller, but doubly so to the Prince. At Schendy his berth in the Nile was disturbed by a crocodile, and he tells an anecdote which, notwithstanding our respect for his authority, the Kascheff of the town, is, as the Prince himself says, of a description to be revived in a new edition of the works of Baron Munchausen.

“It is not long ago that a man from Berber established himself here, with whom we were all acquainted. One morning, he led his horse to the water in the Nile, and whilst the animal quenched its thirst, bound the rope he held it by round his arm, and knelt down to say his prayers. At the moment he lay with his face to the ground, a crocodile, after their usual style of attack, brushed him with his tail into the water and devoured him. The horse being exceedingly shocked at this proceeding, made every effort to escape; and as the arm of his dead master in the belly of the crocodile, to which the rope was attached, could no longer let it go, and the rope would not break, the terror-struck horse not only drew the crocodile out of the water, but even dragged it over the sand to the door of his own stable, where the family soon coming to his aid soon killed it, and found in its interior the lifeless body of the unfortunate man still unconsumed.”

At Kartum, the capital of the Soudan, he was received by General Mustapha Bey, the governor of the town, with the same distinctions and attentions as by the other dignitaries nearer the eye of Mehemet Ali, as well as by Korschud Pacha, the governor of the province, a man who, the Prince tells us, had contrived to scrape together in ten or twelve years a fortune of a million of Spanish dollars. From him, however, though he gave him a dinner, which, he says, was “*infernally bad*,” he collected much information as to the unknown regions of the south, which he said were more and more fertile the farther you advance, as well as the inhabitants more hardy and independent.

Korschud Pacha had some years before advanced far into the country, at the head of a warlike expedition, in the conduct of which none of those appearances of civilization which the Pacha Mehemet Ali is said to have introduced into Egypt, were visible. From him he also gained some information respecting the position of Mundera, the ruins of which have not been visited by any modern traveller.



To reach it he made an abortive attempt, and at this point his narrative breaks off abruptly, nor are we informed if it will be at a future time resumed.

The narrative of the incidents which occurred during his journey thus far is full of interest and variety, and, saving the objectionable passages and descriptions of objects often described before, must be read with pleasure by every body. There is also much important information in the last volume; and, in fact, he has been placed in some respects in a much more favourable position than any of his predecessors, for collecting information.

Though many of the data he furnishes are collected from hearsay, they may serve at least as a starting point for those who shall at a future time explore the interior of Africa.

ART. VII.—1. *Lettres, Instructions, et Memoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse.* Par le Prince ALEXANDRE LABANOFF. 7 tomes. Londres: Charles Dolman, 1844.

2.—*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.* Edited by AGNES STRICKLAND. H. Colburn, 1844.

3.—*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.* By WILLIAM TURNBULL, Esq.

4.—*History of Scotland.* By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq. Vols. 6, 7. and 8, containing the Life of Queen Mary. 1842.

THERE are, perhaps, but few that would now regard Mary Stuart either as a bigot or a tyrant; there are probably not many that would venture to term her the murderess of Darnley, or that would condemn her without hesitation as the voluntary captive of the Earl of Bothwell. Charges of this nature might have been made when the accused princess was a captive; when the press, the engine of an unfriendly government, poured upon her the libels of Buchanan, and Elizabeth mocked at her reclamations; when, in a word, the English ministers were leagued with the Scotch regency against her liberty, fame, and life: but those unhappy times have passed;

Mary's personal enemies have long since gone to their account; the press, if inclining to licentiousness, is at least, no longer the slave of despotism; and a zeal for inquiry has been aroused that promises a more favourable verdict, than such at least as could doom a queen to perpetual imprisonment, and consign her as a notorious malefactor to a public execution.

Had this inquiry been limited to mere facts—been directed to nothing more than the removal of obscurities; the separation of mis-statements from truth, and of truth from theory—much would still have been accomplished. Fortunately, however, a yet more enlightened spirit has guided the examination. The facts of history are no more than the actions of men; no more, therefore, than the external developments of inward principles. To understand them aright, we must have a means of learning those principles; a means of reading the heart and deciphering its hidden purposes. The mind, it is true, may be discerned in the act: the knowledge of the facts themselves will reflect some light upon the principles from which they emanate; but it will generally be but feeble, and occasionally deceptive: we must recur to some means more constant and more secure. Such means are found in the study of epistolary correspondence.

If even the writer, from vanity or deceitfulness, should couch his meaning in dark or pedantic expressions, he cannot easily elude a lengthened scrutiny: his weak points gradually unfold themselves; the soul will now and then, despite of precautions, flash up from its inmost depths. Additional light is gained by the comparison of the different letters, addressed at the same time to different persons, or at long intervals to the same correspondent; of the answers and characters of those with whom the correspondence is held, and of the whole result with the co-existing but independent correspondence of contemporaries, both friends and enemies: and thus, at length, we shall have learned the general principles of the writer's conduct; and if his correspondence be extensive we shall have deciphered many of his most hidden purposes. Explained by such a commentary, history becomes divested of the false colouring of caprice or prejudice; and events that lie scattered and unconnected on the wastes of ages, reunite and once more assume form and expression, life and energy.

The importance of contemporary epistles, has not escaped the notice of Mary's biographers. Tytler has even preferred the frequent insertion of such memorials to a uniform style, and an unbroken chain of events. Foremost, however, among the labourers in this important field, is the Prince Labanoff. This nobleman has devoted no fewer than fourteen years to the discovery of these widely scattered documents. He has ransacked libraries and archives in all directions, from St. Petersburg to Madrid, and from Edinburgh to Rome. The result is, that instead of about three hundred of Mary's published epistles, we now possess seven hundred and thirty six. Besides the letters of Mary herself, the prince has inserted a judicious collection of other papers, that serve to render her correspondence more intelligible, or that throw a direct light upon her history. The whole has been placed in chronological order, and has been linked together by brief historical notices.

The outline, or analysis, that precedes each paper, will be found exceedingly useful. That it contains some inaccuracies cannot be surprising. Thus it is stated that Mary protested that she held no communication with Norfolk,\* whereas she merely evades the question, but does not deny the fact. In another part is mentioned the sacrifice that Mary made, that her son might be restored to the bosom of the Catholic Church under the power of the Pope.† This might lead an incautious reader to infer, that he was to be totally subjected to the dominion of the Holy See. The text, however, merely speaks of his being restored to the church, and "to the arms of the Pope, its head."‡

Some of the chronological notices likewise, are susceptible of improvement. The prince reverts to the idea that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's was projected long before it was executed; and imagines that the attempt upon the life of Coligny, was intended to provoke to some deed of vengeance, which might furnish a pretext for the contemplated massacre. If, however, Catherine and the Catholic leaders wished to provoke such an act, why all their alarm when they saw that their desires were about to be fulfilled? that the Protestants were meditating the desired act of vengeance? The dukes of Anjou and Guise, whatever their faults, were certainly no cowards: would

\* T. iii. p. 360.

† T. v. p. 2.

‡ Ib. p. 4.

they thus have shrunk from what they themselves had devised? Labanoff thinks that the dispatches of Salviati tend to confirm his opinion: but Salviati describes the plan and execution of the massacre, as occurring on the same day.

Labanoff tells us in another place, that in May, 1559, in consequence of the queen-regent's refusal to tolerate the new doctrines, the protestants formed themselves into the "congregation," flew to arms, and began to destroy the churches, images and convents.\* Lingard, however, states the very contrary; and his statement is corroborated by the detailed account of Tytler. The only appearance of persecution, was the fact of two or three violent preachers having received a summons to answer for their conduct. At the news of this summons, the protestant barons surrounded the palace: plainly told the queen-regent, that they would suffer no such thing; and putting on their helmets with an air of defiance, so terrified her that she agreed to all their demands. "This success," adds Tytler,† "and a period of tranquillity that succeeded to it, emboldened the leaders of the reformed party, to request the return of Knox to his native country." Knox complied, and the covenant was immediately made, (Dec. 3, 1557.) "It was evidently," continues the historian just quoted, "an open declaration of war against the established religion; toleration and compromise were at an end."‡ Thus, then, in a period of "success" and "tranquillity," the reformers adopted a measure that at once put an end to toleration, and was "an open declaration of war" against the Catholic religion. Tytler has no leaning towards the Catholics; such an avowal could only have been extorted by the force of truth. Labanoff has evidently mistaken a renewal of the covenant, that occurred in 1559, for the commencement of the congregation. Hence his distorted view of the accompanying circumstances. Such inaccuracies, however, though much to be regretted, are trifling when compared with the general execution and intrinsic value of the work.

The collections of Miss Strickland and Turnbull, are useful gleanings from the volumes of Labanoff. The former has added some interesting particulars. Her failings, on the other hand, are still apparent: her want of search-

\* T. i. p. 65.

† T. vi. p. 82.

‡ Ib. p. 84.

ing criticism might be overlooked, but her occasional inconsistencies cannot be so easily excused. Thus, she reflects upon Mary's character, in her connection with Chatelard; while in the note she acknowledges that "there is no evidence of this, excepting from Knox's malignant words," (*p.* 355. *v.* ii. *New Ed.*) She occupies four pages with Randolph's account of the murder of Rizzio, though she herself admits that Randolph "was deep in the plot, therefore his aversion of it must not be trusted," (*note, v.* ii. *p.* 367.) While thanking Miss Strickland for the translation of his volume, Labanoff\* regrets the errors of chronology, which she has left uncorrected, and adverts to a mistake of still greater consequence, by which Miss Strickland has attributed to Mary Stuart, a postscript written by Cherelles to Walsingham.

The earliest of Mary's letters were written to her mother and grandmother, when the little queen was as yet but eight years of age; the last is written forty years later, on the eve of her execution. The style of these letters is unstudied and artless, the very reverse of the stiff, pedantic style of Elizabeth. In reading the correspondence of the latter, we are fatigued with searching out the meaning; we are wearied, if not disgusted, with frigid similes and wordy truisms; with a school-boy's essay, where we expected to find the business-like letter of an energetic ruler: in that of the former, so clear is the thought that we almost forget to observe the style; we are borne along by its graceful yet animated tone; we sympathize in its mournful accents, or kindle with its calm but indignant spirit. From one that is thus undisguised, we may expect to find a correct and candid statement of her personal affairs; nor are we disappointed. Throughout the whole of so long a series of letters, written under a great variety of circumstances, we can scarcely detect the appearance of a contradiction, either between the writings and the position or character of the writer, or between the facts of one letter and those of another. In short, whenever Mary's statement of what fell under her own observation can be collated with undisputed evidence, it is seldom found to require alteration. With respect to her account of other facts, the case is wholly

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\* See Lab. tom. 7. Notice d' Ouvrages, p. 23.

different; their validity depends upon the opportunities and character of her informants.

When these interesting letters are compared with the researches of Tytler and Lingard, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the misfortunes of Mary were the result, not of her own crimes, but of those of traitorous subjects; that she was the victim of a series of plots the most unmanly, the most infamous on record. This will be best understood by a glance at some points of her history.

Mary's first impressions were all of France; her mind seems to have caught its tone from the cheerful clime and gay inhabitants of the land of her adoption. Her Scottish shrewdness and playful fancy, no less than her beauty and accomplishments, attracted universal admiration. A few years passed, and the aisles of Notre Dame beheld her enthroned beside her youthful lord, while the noblest chivalry of Europe, the peers of France, were at her feet, and the old walls sent back the shout that hailed her as queen.

But a bright morning is often the herald of a stormy day. A few months more, and the dream was over. Mary was a widow in her 18th year, and the cold demeanour of the court, too plainly told her that she was deemed an intruder. With a heavy heart and outstretched arms she bade farewell to the receding shores of her "beloved France." Well might she weep as it died from her sight: she was hastening from the scenes and friends of her childhood to a land of rugged, factious men; to a scene of intrigue, violence, and rebellion. Her reception at Leith, however, seemed to chide her forebodings. She had landed a fortnight before she was expected; yet the whole population had poured out to meet her. Could she then have been misinformed? was not Scotland a land distracted by faction? red with the blood of its kings, and impatient of the rule of one that was both a woman and a Catholic? The hearty greetings, the enthusiastic cheers of all classes, noble, burgher, and peasant, at once dispelled her fears; she thought she had wronged her native land, and she entered the palace of her fathers with high anticipation.

That very night she was serenaded by the psalm-singing of a mob of Reformers. A few days after, one

of her clergy narrowly escaped being immolated as "a priest of Baal." Even her private chapel was not secure: the priests and clerks were assaulted and wounded in her very presence, by the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James; the latter was Mary's half-brother. Instead of being punished, he was conciliated by office and titles, and the storm died away. Amid the comparative quiet that succeeded, Mary's native cheerfulness returned, while her duties were not forgotten. Her rule was firm and conciliatory. She constantly attended her council-chamber, often working with her needle while she listened to the debates of her nobles; she gave audience to the ambassadors, listened to the complaints of her subjects, and enforced the laws. Her duties over, she amused herself in embroidery, or played on the lute, or heard her servants practice their instruments for the choir of her chapel. When the weather permitted, she delighted in active exercise; took long walks, or rode out to hawk, or tried her skill in archery.

One of Randolph's dispatches to Elizabeth affords a pleasing insight into this portion of her history.

"The next day she passed wholly in mirth, nor gave any appearance to any of the contrary, 'nor would not,' as she said openly, 'but be quiet and merry.' Her grace lodged in a merchant's house, her train was very few, and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that for the time that I did tarry I should dine and sup with her. Your majesty was oftentimes drunken unto by her at dinners and suppers. Having in this sort continued with her grace Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter that which I received in command from your Majesty by Mr. Secretary's letter, which was to know her grace's resolution touching those matters propounded at Berwick by my Lord of Bedford, and me to my Lord of Murray, and Lord of Liddington. I had no sooner spoken these words but she saith, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment; I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a burgher's wife I live with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters; I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the Queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become; you see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think there is a queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh.' I said that I was very sorry for that; for that at Edin-

burgh she said that she did love my mistress, the queen's majesty, better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered. It pleased her at this to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me in my christendom. At these merry conceits much good sport were made. 'But well, Sir,' saith she, 'that which I then spoke in words, shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing; before you go out of this town, you shall have a letter unto her, and for yourself, go where you will, I care no more for you.' '\*

Not long was her innocent gaiety to last. Amid the smiles of the court, and the apparent devotedness of her subjects, she was yet marked for destruction. The toils of the hunters were prepared, and were already closing upon their unconscious victim. It was well, perhaps, that she knew it not, that she could still enjoy herself for a while, and dream that the world was what it appeared; it was the last gleam of sun-shine upon her stormy path. There was one whose jealous eye peered from afar upon Mary's conduct, one whose agents were scattered through every class, and whose gold had already undermined the loyalty of Mary's ministers: the secret interference of Elizabeth of England, was the real cause of much of the turbulence and strength of the Scottish Reformers.

When Elizabeth ascended the English throne, her position was not a little precarious. According to all recognized forms, the marriage of her mother was irregular. The statute book, on the other hand, was contradictory: one law declared her illegitimate, and therefore incapable of inheriting; another, without annulling the former, empowered her to succeed. The law in other words declared that though illegitimate, she could succeed, despite the claims of the nearest legitimate heirs. Could parliament, however, act thus? could it interfere with the right line of succession? Even in case of a disputed title, it was not for parliament, as such, but for the lords to decide. Here, however, there was no dispute: parliament did not attempt to remove the blot of illegitimate birth, but simply disposed of the crown at the behest of the king. Such an exertion of power, to say the least, appears unwarranted; certainly left room for debate. Men had some reason, then, to hesitate; for if Elizabeth was not the legitimate heir, there could be little dispute of the title of

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\* Ap. Strick, App. v. 2.



Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary, however, was absent in France, and was still a minor. The suddenness of the late queen's death took men by surprise, and Elizabeth found no competitor.

Once seated upon the throne and crowned, though not without difficulty, Elizabeth began to search for means of strengthening her position. Among those whose character had been compromised in the late changes, she discovered some whose abilities were above the ordinary level; these she could count upon were they but well rewarded, and did they but feel that their power, their new wealth and titles, depended upon her security.

When thus provided, the next step was to lay such a foundation of power as could not easily be shaken. Henry VIII. had raised an edifice of despotism such as would, for a time, afford impunity to its possessor. This, however, had been in great measure, shaken down in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary; but the materials remained, and however gigantic the task of reconstruction, it must be done.

The great bulk of the nation was still Catholic, but Elizabeth thought her title would be best secured by assuming the character of champion of the Reform. It was true, the Reformers were but a handful, but their evident weakness would probably force them to a unity of purpose, and their activity and influence might compensate for their scantiness of number. Many among them were needy adventurers, who, amid the confusion of the Reformation, hoped to acquire wealth, and perhaps a title; others were men that had already succeeded in the same profitable career, who blushed not to dwell in the cloisters of banished monks, or enthrone themselves in the halls of executed nobles. On most of these, Elizabeth could securely count; in her removal they could find but little good; perhaps utter ruin.

The Catholics had, as yet, expressed no dislike of Elizabeth's sway, but her resolution was taken; her throne was to be based upon those whose personal interests were bound up with hers; her subjects were to have no will of their own; no security but such as depended upon her; were, in one word, to bow in passive obedience to her nod. From the growth of circumstances, as well as from inclination, she became determined to swell, by all the allurements of royal favour, the ranks of those that already

crouched at her feet; and when the number of her slaves was sufficiently great, to crush at once every element of liberty.

Conciliation was a thing unknown to Elizabeth; she had little or none of the gentleness or mercy that is peculiar to her sex. She had the fierce, boastful spirit of her father; and not a little of his craft and deceit. "Mister ambassador," she once said to the representative of the King of France, "know that I am acquainted with all that occurs in my kingdom; and as I was a prisoner in the time of the queen, my sister, I am aware what artifices prisoners use to win servants and hold secret correspondence."\*

This boasted cunning developed itself in dark schemes at home, and incessant plots abroad; and forms one of the strongest features of her policy. The ungenerous principles of Henry VIII. were Elizabeth's model. If the former could not induce James V. to renounce his spiritual obedience to the successors of St. Peter, he knew well how to avenge the refusal. A numerous faction, the slaves of his will—the death of the broken-hearted James—and the murder of Beaton—told at once of his vengeance and his policy. The ministers of Edward VI. pursued the same career. Cecil was one of those ministers, and he knew well how to instruct his royal mistress in the art of deceit and treachery. In the treaties of Chateau Cambresis, and Upsetlington, (1559,) Elizabeth had sworn on the Gospels, to afford neither aid nor asylum to the Scottish rebels. Scarcely was the peace concluded, when Cecil arranged a plan to undermine what were then the two principal barriers against English aggression—the French alliance and the Catholic faith; to bestow the crown of Mary upon some Protestant branch of her family; and by the marriage of this branch with Elizabeth, or such other means as might arise, to reduce Scotland to an appendage of the English crown.

Unhappily it was no difficult task to find an entrance into that land of faction. James V. had provided for his illegitimate sons by thrusting them into possession of the richest abbeys. As these men bore the title of abbot or prior and enjoyed the revenues, though they nearly all continued laymen, and as they were of violent and licentious

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\* Chateneuf's Mem. ap. Labanoff. t. vi. p. 291.

habits, they scandalised the people and gave a colouring of strong plausibility to the invectives against the clergy that were now re-echoed from Frankfort and Geneva. When the reformation had begun to take root, these usurpers, these "commendatory" abbots and priors, resolved to transmit to their posterity, what they themselves had so unjustly obtained. They became champions of the new doctrines, and appropriated, as hereditary property, the possessions of their respective abbeys. An extraordinary impulse was thus given to the progress of the reformation: the wildest fanatics found admirers; the most outrageous calumnies against the monks were propagated and believed; monastery after monastery fell a prey to the fury of the mob; and the nobles that had secretly guided the incendiary's torch, seized the estates from which the monk had been expelled.

Such was the state of Scotland when Cecil began to execute his insidious project. Commissioners were sent to the borders under pretence of quieting the marches. If their intrigues became too notorious, they could easily be disclaimed. These agents of mischief were soon busily employed: the ambitious were allured by the hope of office; the fanatic were aroused by the cry of idolatry; the avaricious were tempted with gold; the Duke of Chatelherault was bribed with no less a prospect than that of the crown; and all were alarmed by reports of French designs and foreign governments. The war suddenly rekindled; the host of the congregation shut up the royal army in the intrenchments of Leith; and the English tempters wrote exultingly to Elizabeth, "The fray is begun; blood has at last flowed, and it will be long before it can be staunched."

It was staunched, however, sooner than they had calculated. Elizabeth grew ashamed of her interference, and Cecil perceived that if the reformers were left to themselves his object would be gained without compromising the honour of his mistress.

Under these circumstances a defeat of the "Congregation" at Leith on the one hand, and the death of the queen-regent on the other, inclined all parties to peace. In the negotiations that followed, the crafty Cecil overreached the envoys of Francis and Mary; and to the treaty of Edinburgh may be ascribed the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. The French troops were to return to their own country; the lords of the "Congregation"

were never to be molested for their past conduct; and the treaty of Berwick, a clandestine league between Elizabeth and the Scottish Protestants, was to be recognised. Another article of the peace guaranteed the restoration of the ecclesiastical lands and revenues which the Protestants had everywhere seized. It was doubtless from this article that Mr. Tytler concludes that "the bishops and ministers of the ancient faith were treated with uncommon lenity; their property restored, their persons protected, and their right of sitting in parliament acknowledged."\* Had Mr. Tytler given the facts, the fulfilment of the promise, his readers would have perceived that this "uncommon lenity" cost very little; existed merely on paper, and proved the very reverse of what he states. Cecil well knew what was meant by these concessions; he had jeeringly remarked that "they would be light enough," and so it proved. The death of the queen-regent had left the state without a head; and the departure of the French had awakened the distrust and timidity of the royalists. The reformers were thus enabled to outnumber their opponents in the new parliament. Their first measures told by no means favourably of their new principles. They ejected all that refused to subscribe to the creed of the reformers, and then called for those that in conformity with the late treaty, claimed the restitution of their possessions. As had been foreseen, these were absent; they formed a considerable part of the ejected members. Being thus unable to answer, and mostly unconscious of the summons, they were declared to have forfeited their rights.† The Protestants retained what they had seized, and were enabled, by their newly acquired influence, and by English aid, to prove more than a match for the adherents of the crown and of the ancient faith.

We will not pause here to inquire how Mr. Tytler can suppose that the triumph of English influence was the triumph of Scottish liberty. The French alliance with Scotland had never been exerted but in mutual defence against the formidable ambition of the English kings. The

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\* V. vi. p. 173.

† Compare Tytler, v. 6. 183—189. with Ling. v. 7. p. 294. 8vo. "So completely," adds the former, "were the English interests predominant in the assembly of the estates, that Lithington and Moray in all important measures, received the advice of Elizabeth and her ministers; and so far was this carried, that Cecil drew up and transmitted to them the scroll of the act which was to be passed in their assembly." V. 6. p. 192.

latter had shown, during the last thirty years, not only the hostility that had so often burst forth under our Edwards and Henrys, but a determination, right or wrong, to break up the independence of Scotland. What else induced the ministers of Edward VI. to offer Scotland the alternative of fire and sword, or of a marriage between Mary and Edward? What else is revealed by the correspondence of Elizabeth, Cecil, and Leicester, and the English ambassadors? And after all we are to be coolly informed that the expulsion of the French, the main bulwark against the overwhelming strength of England, was a source of joy to the lovers of Scottish freedom, and that the intrusion of the latter was the triumph of liberty!

English ascendancy, however, was not yet completely established; if Beaton's life was sold to Henry, if the queen-regent was reduced to her grave by vexatious plots, there was still another remaining to make head against the designs of Elizabeth. It was on the young and inexperienced Mary that the contest with the wily statesmen of England was now to devolve. The result of such a contest could hardly be doubted. For the present, however, Mary's sagacity and spirit evaded the demands, and excited the apprehensions of her enemies. She refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh till she could obtain the counsel of her Scottish nobles. Once landed in Scotland, and fully conscious of what had occurred, she found ample reason for still withholding her sanction.

Thus baffled for a time, the English had recourse to their usual arts; their emissaries were scattered through every rank, and the time for subduing or removing the Scottish queen could not be distant. The very one on whose fidelity she reposed with all a sister's affection, the Lord James, whom she had enriched and raised to the earldom of Murray, was no better than the hired spy of Elizabeth. Nor was this the first time that he had played the traitor: in the late insurrection he had headed the cavalry of the "Congregation" against the forces of the queen-regent; and, as we have seen, had afterwards dared to insult his queen and sister in the midst of her devotions. Concessions quieted his turbulence for a while; but he had not the generosity of spirit to be touched by his sister's confidence. He was one of the commendatory abbots, and like the rest had determined to transmit to his children or relatives, what he himself unjustly possessed. Hence he became

a strenuous advocate of the new doctrines. Another motive still more powerful strengthened him in this determination. His mother, Margaret Erskine, afterwards Lady Douglas of Lochleven, had brought him up with the absurd notion that he was the legitimate son of James V. and that therefore he had a rightful claim to the Scottish throne. In after life his mother's words must sometimes have struck upon his heart; and when success expanded his views, who knows what influence such words might have? Who knows what dreams ambition might not have conjured up? Certain it is that he sought an entail of the crown upon himself; endeavoured to dissuade Mary from marriage; and, as she herself informs us, obtained office after office, until she was completely under his control, and until he actually dared to propose to her that he and Argyle should wield the whole power of the crown.\*

Amongst the greatest obstacles to the completion of his schemes, were the powerful families of the Huntleys and Hamiltons. The ruin of the former and disgrace of the latter, could hardly have been the result of a series of fortunate accidents. Tytler, indeed, contradicts the general opinion, that the Huntleys were provoked to rebellion by Murray's contrivance. That the progress to the north was planned by Mary herself is not unlikely; but it does not follow that she intended to convert it into a campaign; the confessions of Sir John Gordon, and of his father's servant, would implicate Huntley, if true; but confessions extorted by fear or hope of pardon are of little value. Yet these are the chief grounds on which Tytler declares that the assertion of Murray's attempt to provoke Huntley into rebellion, is "an opinion contradicted by fact."

On the other hand, by the admission of Randolph, the English ambassador, we know that Murray and Huntley were before at open feud. The suspicion naturally attendant upon such a circumstance increases, from the fact that Murray greatly profited, both in purse and influence, by the

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\* Fragment d'un Mem. de M. Stuart sur son second marr. t. 1. p. 298. From the instructions of Elizabeth to Lord Shrewsbury, and from the correspondence of Cecil with the Scottish reformers, it is evident that the latter were already plotting to deprive Mary of her crown. See Ling. note p. 268. v. 7. 8vo. Throckmorton had written to Cecil on the 27th of July, 1559, "that there was a party in Scotland for the placing of that nobleman [Murray] in the state of Scotland, and that he himself did, by all the secret means he could, aspire thereunto." Ibid. p. 277.

fall of his rival. If to this we add the tenour of his life, we cannot be surprised that so many differ from the opinion of Tytler; and if Mary's declaration, that she was held in tutelage by Murray, applies, as it probably does, to this period, as well as to the two subsequent years, there can be no question that Murray was not only the avenger, but the instigator, of the rebellion of the Huntleys.

Be this as it may, Murray had a goodly share in the spoils of his late enemy, and having scared away some of the chief nobility, he found means to obtain the chancellorship for Morton, his uterine brother, and to surround the queen with men of his own stamp, and devoted to his interests. Thus strengthened at court, and supported throughout the country by the preachers of the new doctrines, Murray had only to "bide his time."

In compliance with the joint persuasions of Murray and Elizabeth, Mary had rejected offers of marriage that were made by the royal families of France, Spain, and Austria; thus throwing away the only means that might have enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Elizabeth concluded from Mary's complaisance that she could mould the Scottish queen to her will; that at least if Mary remained firm to her religion, a Protestant husband, such as the Earl of Leicester, might nullify her influence and complete the measure of the Scottish reformers. She had mistaken the character of Mary, and was unable to conceal her mortification at receiving a refusal. Mary thought she had yielded enough, both to Elizabeth and Murray: she found that the ambition of the latter increased with his power; she felt that she was now his ward rather than his queen, and that her only means of escape was by a second marriage.

Having obtained the consent of her nobles, she disregarded the opposition of Elizabeth, and wedded her relative, Henry Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. Murray's intrigues to prevent the marriage having failed, he withdrew from court, and a series of plots began that embittered the whole of Mary's life.

Murray knew that he could rely upon the support of Cecil, and at once began his measures. He easily aroused the Hamiltons and Huntleys to their ancient feud against the family of Lennox; and he rekindled the fanaticism of the reformers by the cry of the "Gospel in danger." Scandalous tales kept alive the excitement, and so duped

were the people, that many actually believed that the queen was labouring under the effects of witchcraft. All respect for the sovereign seemed forgotten. The General Assembly of the Kirk had the audacity to present to the queen what they were pleased to term a supplication; but which was no other than a request that the mass should be abolished, even in the royal household; as well as a warning that idolatry was not to be tolerated in the sovereign any more than in the subject. Mary curbed her high spirit, and quietly answered, that she had granted toleration to her subjects, and expected that the same liberty would be conceded to herself.

Many thought this answer sufficiently reasonable; but Murray, Knox, and Argyle, the prime movers of the disturbance, would not so easily desist. The agitation was renewed, and a plot known as the "Raid of Perth" was soon devised, for murdering Darnley, imprisoning Mary, and placing Murray at the head of the government. Failing in this design, they declared that Murray's life was in danger from the machinations of Lennox and the court; and appealed at once to the aid of the Scotch Reformers, the English borderers, and Queen Elizabeth, the secret abettor of the revolt.\*

Mary, on the other hand, offered Murray and eighty of his friends a safe conduct, signed by herself and the whole of her privy council, if he would appear and substantiate the charge against Lennox; denied that she had ever thought of molesting the religious practices of others; and concluding by summoning all her faithful subjects around her throne. The array that at once started forth revealed the weakness of the rebels: they were everywhere routed and dispersed.

While Murray was hastening to London, and by fawning upon Elizabeth, was earning a wretched pittance in his exile, Mary was engaged in restoring order, and in taking measures both for the punishment of the most guilty, and for the restoration of liberty of conscience to the persecuted Catholics.

Tytler, in a manner unworthy of himself, condemns Mary's punishment of the rebels. Has he forgotten what he himself so clearly stated, that Mary, in her desire to conciliate, had allowed a state provision for the benefit of

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\* Tytler, v. 6. p. 342, to the end.



the Protestant ministers, and had not only tolerated the reformers, but permitted them to enjoy office at the expense of the Catholics, and even to depress and persecute the adherents of the ancient faith? Has he forgotten that Mary had allowed herself to be swayed by Murray, one of the most prominent of the reformed leaders, and that she had given him almost absolute power? And what, according to Tytler himself, was Murray's return? A treasonable correspondence with Elizabeth, and an attempt to overthrow the government, seize the queen, and murder her consort? Mary had done every thing to conciliate and had failed; nay, had been told to her face that she was an idolater, and was to expect no toleration: and after all this she was to consider it good policy to tamper and conciliate still! Mary knew better than those who would thus school her in policy. The men whom she had trusted had proved their baseness; she was not to be mocked a second time. She had endeavoured to rule impartially, or rather had leaned towards the Protestants; they had become rebels, and had forced her to rest upon those whom she had regarded but coldly; upon the Catholics, of whom she had retained but a minority in her council; of whom some she had allowed to be expelled the court, and others to fall victims to the intrigues of Murray. It is easy for one that knows the result, to tell us what ought to have been done; but want of ultimate success is no proof of a want either of judgment or principle.

After such a return from the Reformers, it would be little surprising had Mary, as Tytler asserts, really joined a league to suppress a religion that had proved so dangerous to her throne. Of the authorities whom Tytler cites in support of his statement, some are the English ambassadors, who, on Tytler's own authority, are unworthy of credit;\* others whom he quotes in general terms, convey no such meaning. Lingard has sifted the question with his usual ability. "Randolph," he tells us, "suspected that the queen had signed some league for the support of the Catholic worship. Stevenson, 1539. She had undoubtedly received by Clerneaux, a message from the pontiff, in which he exhorted her to constancy, recommended to her care the interests of the Catholic faith in her realm,

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\* See his account of Randolph's letters, v. 6. pp. 341, 342.

and requested her to send some of the Scottish prelates to the council of Trent. (Jebf. 2. 25). Her answer may be seen in Plat. Con. Trid. IV. 660. She herself hoped at the parliament 'to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion,' (Keith. 331.) 'which is explained by Randolph that she will have mass free for all men that will hear it.' Cotton MSS. Col. B. 9. f. 232. This is the only ground on which it has been asserted that the Scottish queen had entered into a league, for the extirpation of Protestants."\*

Mary soon discovered that the marriage by which she had endeavoured to escape the thralldom of Murray was only a source of misery. Intoxicated with his good fortune, Darnley threw off the reserve that had concealed his vices, and in his drunken fits, forgot even the public respect which he owed the queen. Mary had previously intended to have conferred upon Darnley a matrimonial crown, by which he would have retained the royal station for life. His conduct taught her that he was unfit to reign alone; she refused what before she had almost promised. The refusal aroused Darnley's passion; and Murray's faction was at his elbow to guide his blind fury to their own purposes. As David Rizzio, the queen's secretary, had always taken her part against her brutal husband, Darnley attributed the present refusal to his advice.

There were then at court several nobles who had been implicated in the late rebellion. By fomenting Darnley's rage against Rizzio, these men hoped to escape the consequences of their treason, and to assist their fellow conspirator, whose more public guilt had driven them into exile. They told Darnley that Rizzio was more the favourite of Mary than he himself; that Rizzio was the adviser of Mary's late refusal; and that no remedy was to be expected unless Darnley would call in the assistance of the exiled lords. Darnley suffered himself to become their dupe; he entered into a formal bond for the return of Murray and the other exiles; for the overthrow of Mary's government; and for the murder of several of his fancied enemies; and among these Lennox and Darnley seem to have doomed Mary herself; † but it was determined to be-

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\* Ling. v. 7. 8vo. note, p. 348.

† Compare Tytler's lett. of Rand. v. 7. p. 19. with the Italian Dispatch in his proofs and illustrations, v. 7. p. 363.

gin with Rizzio.\* It was at first suggested to cut him off when playing at tennis with Darnley. It was afterwards suggested that if it were done in Mary's presence, the people might be led to believe that it was a just retribution for improper familiarity with the queen.†

The conspirators were, Morton, Lindsey, Ruthven, Knox, and other leading men of the kirk.‡ They raised the old cry of the "gospel in danger;" spread a report that Rizzio was an agent of the pope, and that Mary had formed a league for the extirmination of the Protestants. A fast was proclaimed from Sunday to Sunday, and during the intermediate week, the people were excited by the reading such portions of scripture as described the extirpation of idolatry, and God's punishment on wicked princes and on those that refused to listen to the voice of his prophets.

On the Saturday evening, at the close of the fast, Mary was taking supper with two of her relations. Among those in attendance was Rizzio, in the full evening court-dress of the period, the captain of the guard, and the master of the household. Suddenly Darnley made his appearance, and heavy steps were immediately heard in the adjoining apartment through which he had entered. In a few moments Ruthven, in complete armour, and four others entered into the room. Mary ordered Ruthven to quit her presence under penalty of treason. The ruffian answered that his errand was with Rizzio. Shrieking for justice, the latter sprang behind the queen. The table was overturned; Mary's voice was scarcely heard in the confusion, and her gestures were disregarded. One brandished his dagger at her throat; two others held their

\* "The industry of Mr. Chalmers, (ii. 156.) has traced from the treasurer's accounts the gradual advancement of Rizzio, and has proved that he was never one of the Queen's musicians, as is generally believed on the authority of Melville. But Melville's memoirs abound with tales, of which many are doubtful, many most certainly false."—*Ling. note, p. 346. v. 7.* It is strange that without any new authority, Tytler should have recurred to Melville's exploded idea.

† Dispatch to Cosmo, first Granduke of Tusc. Ap. Laban. t. 7. pp. 72 and 73.

‡ "To account for the conduct of Morton, we are often told, on the very fallible authority of Knox, that the queen had taken the seals from the Earl, and given them to her favourite Rizzio." This fable is easily refuted. As early as the 12th of October, both Morton and Maitland, though resident at court and members of the council, were secretly leagued with Murray. "They only espie their time," says Randolph, "and make fair weather till it shall come to the pinch." *Apud Chalmers, ii. 464.* Yet Morton was still chancellor on the ninth of the following April, the day of Rizzio's murder. Keith, App. 117, 128. Ling. v. 7. 2nd note, p. 346.

pistols to her face, while Douglas seized the king's dirk, and, striking over Mary's shoulder, stabbed Rizzio in the back. The next moment they seized their victim, and dragging him to the adjoining room, dispatched him with six-and-fifty wounds.

All this time Morton, Lindsey, and a body of armed men kept the principal entrance. Despite, however, of their precautions, some of the palace inmates escaped; the town bells aroused the citizens to arms, and numbers thronged to rescue the queen. Some of the conspirators told the multitude that they had been punishing Rizzio for intriguing with the pope and the king of Spain, to restore the Catholic religion: others were less ceremonious; they threatened that if the people persisted, the queen should be "cut in collops and thrown over the wall."\* The presence of Darnley was more effectual than these barbarous words, and at his assurance that no harm had befallen the queen, the citizens withdrew.

All that night, and all the following day, Mary was in the hands of the conspirators, expecting nothing less than death. Their demand that she should ratify their acts, and establish the Reformation, by no means allayed her fears. The next night, in the absence of the other conspirators, Mary found means to soften the heart of Darnley, and they fled together to the castle of Dunbar.

Darnley's share in the late murder was forgiven, but Mary could no longer yield him her confidence. His wayward behaviour increased her affliction. She summoned him at last before her council, and bade him state boldly the nature of his grievances. He completely exonerated her, but in other respects maintained a dogged sullenness.

His violent conduct, meantime, had not only afflicted the queen, but provoked many of the nobles, and from these he could expect no forbearance. Huntley, Bothwell, and Balfour, had learned that they had been destined for the same fate as Rizzio; Murray's life had been threatened in a fit of passion, and Maitland was mortally offended, by an attempt to remove him from his post as secretary. All these men were bent on revenge, thirsted for his blood, and Murray had taken advantage of the late confusion to return to Scotland, and became, there is

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\* Dispatch to Cosmo of Tusc. ap. Laban. v. 7. p. 94.

little doubt, the originator of a scheme that might console him for his recent failure.

Taking advantage of the increasing coldness of the royal couple, Murray and Maitland suggested to Mary the expediency of a divorce. On her refusal, they resolved upon what they had already contemplated; a bond for the murder of Darnley, was signed by Argyle, Bothwell, Huntley, Maitland, and Balfour. Murray does not seem to have affixed his signature; he was too wily.

Their intended victim, meantime, had been seized with the small-pox. Mary had had the disease, and therefore feared not to revisit her husband. For the benefit of the air, she placed him without the walls of Edinburgh, and the past seemed forgotten.

It was publicly known, that on the 9th of February, the queen was going to a masked ball, to honour the nuptials of one of her maids of honour. That very night all Edinburgh was aroused as by the shock of an earthquake. Darnley's house had been blown to atoms; he himself, his page, and two of his men-servants, were found dead. People scarcely knew what to say or think. Scarcely had they time to recover from the horror of the explosion, when they were amazed to hear that Mary was Bothwell's captive, and, as malice whispered, his willing captive. Her arrival at Holyrood, and her marriage with the Earl, seemed a confirmation of the worst reports.

There was, however, an air of mystery about the palace. Mary was never free from Bothwell's presence many minutes together; and the few days of her captivity had wrought such an alteration in her deportment and appearance, as seemed at once to belie the rumour that she was a party to her own seizure. Her vivacity was gone, and she was often surprised in tears. Du Croc, the French ambassador, had refused to be present at the marriage; but in the course of the same day, he waited upon the queen, and was surprised at the strange conduct ("façon") which she and Bothwell observed towards each other. "This," he writes to Catherine of Medicis,\* "she (Mary) wished me to excuse, saying, that if I saw her sad it was because she had not the will to be merry, as she said she should never more be, desiring nothing but death. Yesterday, both (of us) being in a cabinet with the Earl of Bothwell,

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\* Ap. Lab. v. 7. p. 111.

she cried aloud that they should give her a knife to kill herself. Those that were in the (outer) room heard it; they thought that if God did not help her, she would fall into despair."

We might be inclined to think, that after such testimony few would have the temerity to condemn Mary for being leagued with Bothwell, on any ground short of direct proof. Some, however, and Tytler amongst the rest, still recur to suspicions and the declarations of her enemies, and deem this a sufficient proof that Mary was guilty, and guilty, moreover, even of her husband's death.\* Tytler's chief proofs are the following:

1st. Her light behaviour. Scarcely a fortnight after Darnley's murder, "Mary and Bothwell would shoot at the butts, against Huntley and Seton, and on one occasion, after winning the match, they forced those lords to pay the profit in the shape of a dinner at Tranent."—*Vol. vii. p. 75.*

2nd. Bothwell was an evident favourite with Mary, receiving castles and lands, and ruling the court, so that Murray asked leave to quit the kingdom.—*Ib. p. 84.*

These amount to no more than suspicion, and are both given on the word of Mary's enemies. A more serious charge yet remains.

3rd. In her inquiries into Darnley's murder, "she betrayed a deplorable apathy and remissness."—*Vol. vii. p. 70.*

To this it may be answered, that this apparent remissness may be a mark of innocence no less than of guilt; one that had planned the murder would doubtless have planned a corresponding line of conduct; would have displayed all the external tokens of a zealous vengeful pursuit in quest of the guilty. Mary had made no such preparations; she acted, at least for the most part, as we

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\* A foreigner, named Lutyni, had reached Berwick on his way to France, when he was arrested at the urgent request of Queen Mary. "The latter," says Tytler, "dreaded the disclosure of some important secret, of which Lutyni had possessed himself." (v. 7. p. 59.)

Tytler thinks that the secret was that Joseph Rizzio had "revealed to Lutyni the conspiracy for Darnley's murder, and that the queen suspecting it, had resolved to secure his person." (*Ib. p. 61.*) This passage is rather obscure: did the queen suspect that there was a conspiracy, or suspect his having revealed it? The latter appears the real meaning, else why should the queen dread the disclosure, and why should it be hinted that the secret was learned by prying into the queen's private papers? (*Ib. p. 60.*)

From these and similar obscure passages, Tytler seems to insinuate what he does not openly assert, that Mary was an accomplice in the murder of Darnley.

might suppose that an innocent woman would have acted. For awhile she remained shut up, as if prostrated by the suddenness of the blow; a blow which she declared to her French relative, had been aimed at her own life. Beginning to recover, she is bewildered by the mutual accusations of the leading factions. It is, however, true, that even this conduct might have been affected. But, if we are to suspect whenever we can, and condemn on such suspicion, who will ever appear blameless? Such would be our answer had Tytler established his position; but, that he has established it, that he has proved "a deplorable apathy and remissness," we are far from admitting. He supports his accusation by a list of details: the murder was committed long before day-break on Monday morning, but Mary offered no reward for the arrest of the guilty before Wednesday; the queen refused the petition of Lennox to arrest Bothwell and Balfour; she did not examine Darnley's servants, the owner of the house, or those that had procured the lodgings; the smith that had forged the false keys for the murderers promised to come forward, but his offer remained unnoticed. When at last Bothwell was tried, he was allowed to remain surrounded with his dependents; he sat in council as usual, and had there "given directions for his own arraignment."

These details, if even they were true, are not sufficiently conclusive, and they are nearly all taken from the letters of Elizabeth's agents, the secret but determined enemies of the Queen of Scots. One statement that regards Bothwell's "directions" to the privy-council for his own trial, ought to have been somewhat modified. Bothwell voted with eleven others in the council, and it was this council, and not one man, that arranged the trial, as Tytler himself in the very same sentence informs us.\* The contradiction between the two statements is, perhaps, only apparent. Tytler probably refers to the influence of Morton, Argyle, Lethington, and Huntley, who, he tells us, "were the sworn and leagued friends of Bothwell," and who "conducts the whole proceedings."†

These circumstances ought, however, to have been mentioned with greater care; the fact of Bothwell acting as if a dictator, without a word of the ground of his power, would seem to warrant the idea that this power

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\* V. 7, p. 31.

† Ib. p. 32.

was conferred by the queen as a means of eluding justice ; the fact, on the other hand, that Bothwell acted with the consent and support of the most powerful members of the privy council—members who owed their places to Murray, and were his devoted adherents—gives us a very different idea, points out a connivance, not on the part of the queen, but of treacherous ministers, her unknown but sworn enemies.

It is singular, that while Tytler labours to prove the queen's remissness, he brings forward one circumstance which sweeps away the whole ground of his argument. He tells us that "it was remarked, that whilst all inquiry into the murder appeared to be forgotten, an active investigation took place as to the authors of the placards."\* Faction could, and evidently did express itself, as well by placard as any other means. The proper path to pursue then was, to discover how far the accusation was worthy of credit. For the discovery of the author of a vague accusation is surely a necessary preliminary to the arrest of a person thus vaguely accused. Besides, the placards did not only impeach one or two of the persons of one faction, but many parties of both the great factions that had so long distracted the country. What then can be the meaning of an active investigation, concerning the authors of the placards, and none whatever concerning the murder ? The former presupposes the latter, and the assertion of Tytler is little better than a direct contradiction.

It has been said that princes see the actions of their subjects with the eyes of others, and not with their own ; with the eyes of their ministers and courtiers, who take care to intercept all intelligence that might endanger their own influence. This being true, Mary's conduct is very easily explained ; she depended for information and advice upon the very men who are now proved to have been the murderers ; they would, of course, misrepresent much of what was passing out of her own little circle, what wonder then that she was deceived.

Perhaps of all Mary's history, the point that has been most warmly debated is her marriage with Bothwell. Not long after Darnley's murder she was surrounded and carried off by Bothwell, and more than eight hundred followers. According to her own declaration, the Earl produced

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\* *Ib.* p. 74.



a bond, by which the majority of her nobles had agreed to promote a marriage between him and herself; that this bond was no forgery she was convinced, from the fact that no one attempted her rescue; and at last the Earl, "by persuasion and importunate suit, accompanied with force, had driven her to end the work." The words "accompanied with force," have been explained by Melville, her servant and fellow-prisoner. He assures us that it was nothing less than personal violence. "Melville's testimony is corroborated by Mary's enemies, in their answer to Throckmorton."\*

After a detention of nearly a fortnight Mary re-appeared in the capital, and publicly married Bothwell. She was still, however, his captive. She was never suffered to remain many minutes out of his sight, and was surrounded by his dependents. When the marriage was over, there seems to have been no longer need of such precautions; but to have disowned the marriage would have been to dishonour her expected offspring. Whatever the case, the letter of Du Croc, already quoted, proves her complete wretchedness. On these painful topics we have neither space nor inclination to dwell; they will ever afford matter of triumph to those enemies of Mary, that are willing to substitute suspicion for proof; by impartial inquirers they will be found narrated by Mary herself, in her interesting Memoir to all Christian princes, (*Vol. vii. p. 315.*) and amply discussed in the works of William Tytler and Dr. Lingard.

One point, however, we are unwilling to omit. It is that of the two famous bonds of the Scottish nobles; one for promoting the queen's marriage with Bothwell, and the other for the Earl's assassination. Both were subscribed nearly a month before the queen's marriage with Bothwell.† What could have been the object of two bonds so apparently opposite? Was the latter the effect of resentment, for being compelled to sign the former? Not in the least; we have no reason whatever for asserting, that

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\* Ling. v. 7. p. 371, and note.

† The Lords that signed the bond for the marriage, were, Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Cassilis, Sutherland, Glencairn, Rothes, Caithness, Herries, Hume, Boyd, Seton, Sinclair.

The Lords that signed the bond for murdering Bothwell, were, Morton, Argyle, Cassilis, Glencairn, Caithness, Hume, Boyd, Herries, Athole, Mar, Lindsay, Ruthven, Grange, and many others.

the former bond was compulsory, except from the unsupported statement of Elizabeth's commissioners. Camden, a more unbiassed witness, tells us, that it was signed by the free-will of the lords; "lest Bothwell, if debarred the marriage, should accuse them as the devisers of the whole crime" of the murder of Darnley.\*

What, then, after the first signature could possibly have been the object of the second? The subscribers wrote to Elizabeth that it was threefold: the liberation of Mary, the safety of the young prince, and the punishment of Darnley's murderers. This letter was probably written to Elizabeth, that conformably with her general policy, she might be enabled to give the foreign court a plausible justification of her own conduct. The avowed must have been very different from the real object. For, in the first place, the principal subscribers of this bond were themselves, no less than Bothwell, the murderers of Darnley. In the next place, they knew beforehand that Bothwell intended to seize the queen,† yet did not attempt to warn their royal mistress; nor to rescue her during her ten days' captivity in the castle of Dunbar: their exuberant loyalty is a pretence, and their previous knowledge justifies a suspicion of greater participation in Bothwell's violence than can be directly proved; justifies a suspicion that their real motive was, not only to destroy Bothwell, and thus escape detection, but to accomplish what they had before attempted, the overthrow of Mary's government, and thus at once gratify their former ambition and escape the punishment of their crimes.

The fact, on the other hand, that when the queen placed herself in their hands at Carbery Hill, they suffered Bothwell to escape, warrants the inference that even his destruction was secondary to their designs against the queen. Tytler thinks that Bothwell was allowed to escape because it was easier to deal with him "as a fugitive than

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\* Ap. Ling. v. 7. note, p. 370.

† Kirkaldy, or the Laird of Grange, was a military leader, strongly attached to Protestantism, and one of the confederates against Bothwell. (Tyt. v. 7. p. 87.) Whatever this man knew of the movements of Mary and Bothwell, was doubtless known to the rest of his party. Now, in a letter to one of the English ministers, Grange declares that Bothwell had gathered many of his friends, "as some say to ride in Liddesdale; but I believe it not, for he is minded to meet the queen this day called Thursday, and to take her by the way and bring her to Dunbar." (Ap. Tytl. v. 7. p. 88.) It is evident, then, that Grange knew what in fact occurred precisely as he had written. Whatever he knew, doubtless his party knew.

as a prisoner." This, however, is by no means a satisfactory solution. The unscrupulous men that had so often steeped their hands in blood could have little difficulty in getting rid of so dangerous a prisoner.

While Bothwell was allowed to escape, Mary's enemies were hastening the completion of their enterprise. Mary was required to sign an instrument by which she renounced the crown in favour of her son, and conferred the regency on the Earl of Murray. As a refusal was expected from her known firmness of character, her fears and hopes were alternately excited. When her consent had been extorted by the fear of death, Murray entered the room and expressed his reluctance to accept the office unless he heard from her own lips that it received her free consent. When, however, she evinced her unwillingness, the baffled politician altered his tone; told her it was in vain to make excuses, and quietly informed the captive that he had already accepted the regency.

The conspirators soon found their position more critical than they had expected. At one time, according to Mary's own account,\* they talked of her death, but feared an insurrection; at another, they promised to return to their obedience if she would become a Protestant.† They had called a parliament, but many of the nobles refused to attend, and some openly declared that it was an unlawful assembly. Of those that were present, some protested that all that was done against the queen and the Catholic faith was null; others fearing for their lives signed Mary's deed of abdication, but added a declaration that if her signature had been extorted, theirs was null; others again demanded that the queen should be produced, and that the accusations against her should be thoroughly sifted. Murray's party, however, prevailed; they established their own authority and that of the Protestant creed, and made it death to practice the Catholic religion. To maintain their popularity, by keeping alive the excitement against Mary, they began an investigation into Darnley's murder, and executed several of the obscurer agents. At the moment of death these unfortunate wretches

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\* Mary's Memoir to Chris. Pr. ap. Lab. v. 7. p. 320. It is worthy of remark that this letter was written immediately after Mary's escape into England, and while Murray was still living.

† Ib. p. 322.

declared the innocence of Mary, and the guilt of Murray's associates.\*

The queen all this while was under the jealous ward of her old enemy, Lady Douglas, the mother of the Earl of Murray. Despite the vigilance of such a keeper, Mary found means to escape. Six-and-thirty nobles immediately offered her their services. Hastening to join the loyal garrison of Dumbarton, they were intercepted and routed by their more active and disciplined enemies. From the fatal hill of Langside the unfortunate queen fled to England.

Elizabeth had promised men, artillery, money, and every other kind of help, provided Mary did not appeal to the aid of foreign princes. She had again written, "Be assured that I will take such care of your life and honour, that neither yourself nor any of your relations will have it more at heart than I."† Trusting to her promise, Mary had thrown herself fearlessly into the power of one that had proved herself her constant enemy. Her confidence was basely rewarded. She was as yet but twenty-five; but neither her youth nor her misfortunes could soften the heart of her selfish kinswoman.

Mary was surprised at the coolness of Elizabeth's answers, and still more at the detention in London of her envoy to the French king. It was not long, however, before she discovered the truth: she was not a guest but a captive. In vain when seated securely on the Scottish throne had she asked for an interview with Elizabeth; in vain too, now that she was a prisoner. She was told she must first defend and clear herself. This was a new kind of language, and Mary was not one to conceal what she really felt.‡

"Take away, Madam, from your mind, the idea that I have come hither for the safety of my life.....but to recover my honour and to obtain assistance to chastise my false accusers, and not to answer them like an equal.....And as you say that you are advised by people of great quality to be on your guard in these matters, God forbid that I should be the cause of your dishonour. ....Permit me to seek those who will receive me without any such

\* Ib. "It is very important," Labanoff remarks, "to bear in mind that these memoirs were published soon after the execution of the unhappy men, and that then nothing could be more easy for a person in Scotland, than to ascertain the truth of this assertion." Ib. note.

† Ap. Lab. t. 7. p. 140.

‡ Instr. to her Envoy, Ap. Lab. v. 2. p. 86. Lett. to Eliz. Ib. p. 81.

fear, and take whatever security you please concerning me, though I should even have to place myself again in your hands, which I think you will not desire, that, being restored to my place, and restitution being made for my honour,.....I may come and make known to you my cause and justify myself, for my honour and for the friendship which I bear you, and not for any obligation that I have of giving an answer to false subjects. Or indeed sending to me to inquire, without giving, as you seem to do, to those that do not deserve it, make use in the first place of your favour and help, and then you shall see whether I am worthy of it; if you find that I am not, or my demands are unjust, or to your prejudice or dishonour, it will be time.....to leave me to seek my fortunes;...for being innocent, as thank God I am conscious I am, do not wrong me by detaining me here, when just escaped as if from one prison into another, giving courage to my false enemies to continue in their obstinate calumnies, and terror to my friends delaying their aid if I wished to employ them.....

“I have, for the love of you, pardoned those who up to the present time have sought my ruin; of which I can accuse you before God, and still fear that your delay will make me lose the rest. Excuse me, it is important, it is necessary that I should speak to you without disguise: you receive into your presence a bastard brother of mine, that was a fugitive from me, and you refuse it (your presence) to me, which I am sure will be so much the more delayed in proportion as my cause is just. For it is the remedy of a bad cause to stop the mouths of those that would speak; and I know, moreover, that John Wood’s commission was only to procure this delay as their most certain remedy for an unjust quarrel and usurpation of authority. Wherefore I entreat you help me, and so bind me to you entirely, or remain neutral and permit me to seek a remedy elsewhere; otherwise by drawing out things to their utmost, you ruin me more than my own enemies.....

“Now, ceasing to speak as your dear sister, I will pray you for your honour, without further delay, to send back my Lord Herries with assurance of help according to what he has demanded on my part.”\*

Evasive answers, and increasing restraint, and evil tidings from Scotland, gave Mary sad forebodings for the future. She soon discovered, and plainly tells Elizabeth, that instead of “being in security, she was in greater danger;” that she had seen letters from Cecil, Throckmorton, and other English ministers, urging Murray’s partisans to pursue her loyal subjects to the utmost extremity; that the violence of the former had been sanc-

tioned by the presence of Middlemore, whose ostensible mission was the protection of the latter; and that she had heard that she herself was to be so closely guarded, as never more to revisit her native land. It was, however, in vain that she pleaded her cause; in vain that she pointed out the dishonour that would accrue to Elizabeth, or the injustice of listening to her accusers while she herself was absent; in vain that she demanded leave to withdraw, and refer her cause to the sovereigns of Germany, France, and Spain.\*

Finding that Mary would not stoop to the ignominy of a trial, the crafty Cecil proposed to her that her enemies should be tried; and, if acquitted, should retain their honours and estates; but if condemned, should be delivered over to the justice of their offended sovereign. In case she agreed to the trial, she was to be infallibly restored to her throne.

Mary reluctantly acquiesced. The proceedings that consequently opened at York, were rather a series of artful plots and intricate negotiations than a judicial investigation. After the prince James, the duke of Chastelherault was the next heir to the Scottish crown. Regarding each other with mutual suspicion, the duke and the Earl of Murray found it their interest to make separate advances to Mary, while nothing was farther from their thoughts than her restoration. "These parties," says the Earl of Sussex, "toss between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, and care neither for the mother nor the child, (as I think before God), but to serve their own turns."†

As the trial proceeded, the Earl of Sussex, who presided, declared that Mary's proofs were more likely to fix the guilt of Darnley's murder upon her antagonists than theirs upon her. Sensible of this, Murray urged his insidious advances upon Mary; but she was not again to be his dupe. Failing himself, he made use of the equally designing Maitland. The latter proposed to Mary a compromise to save her honour; and acknowledging her innocence to Norfolk, proposed to that nobleman a marriage with the Scottish queen. His intrigues and subtleties were, however, expended in vain.

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\* See her lett. ap, Lab. v. 2. pp. 102. 106. 109.

† Ap. Ling. vol. 8. p. 24. 8vo.

While the trial and its accompanying plots were thus proceeding, Murray was playing a deeper game. He applied in private to the English commissioners; professed his unwillingness to become the public accuser of his sovereign, unless he was convinced that the proofs were good; if they were deemed sufficient to establish the charge, and if sentence were consequently pronounced against Mary, he wished to know whether security would be given that she should never be restored to her throne. He then produced a casket of letters and love sonnets that were said to have passed between Mary and Bothwell.

Murray's immediate object was gained: the letters were forwarded to Elizabeth; the conference was transferred to Westminster, and the Earl's questions were favourably answered. Even his remoter object seemed within his grasp; by a knowledge of there being secret papers against her, Mary might now be intimidated into a compliance with his wishes.

The attempt to bring Mary to trial was renewed. The persecuted queen expressed her willingness, and in the presence of the nobility and foreign ambassadors made known her demand, to confront her accusers before Elizabeth and her whole court; but she refused to plead, refused to acknowledge the authority of an English judge, or the superiority of the English crown. Elizabeth, however, persisted in her refusal to see her, though, contrary to her promise,\* she had already given audience to Murray. The subsequent conduct of the English queen was as usual most eccentric; she had summoned six Earls to give their opinion of Mary's guilt or innocence, but without giving them an opportunity of speaking, she declared that as she could not before see Mary when only suspected, much less could she now with such evidence of guilt; and this although she afterwards acknowledged that there was no reason why she "should conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen her good sister."

When Mary heard that Elizabeth refused to see her, her spirit kindled; she declared that Murray and his associates had "falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied," imputing unto her the crime of which they themselves were the authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the very executioners;" that with respect to the charge of her intention to murder her son, "the natural love that a mother

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\* See Desp. to Cosmo de Med. ap. Lab. t. 7. p. 146.

bears to her only bairn," was proof enough of its falsehood. The papers alleged against her she declared to be forgeries: let copies of them be given to her commissioners, and the originals submitted to her own inspection; let her be admitted into the presence of Elizabeth; let time be allowed for collecting witnesses and proofs; and she pledged her word not only to clear herself, but to name and convict of the murder some of her very accusers.

This bold language perplexed her enemies; but the Christmas holidays afforded them a respite. On the 7th of January, (1569.) the bishop of Ross reiterated Mary's demands. Elizabeth wished for delay; but the bishop persisted: she offered a compromise; this he refused: she wished him to consult the lords of her council; this too he declined: his business was with her and her alone. Mary's enemies were baffled; for awhile they strove in vain to produce a collusion between Murray and the envoys of Mary; on the third day after the bishop's conference with Elizabeth, Murray was permitted to depart, and the trial was at an end. Many of the English nobility acknowledged that the victory was Mary's. That a queen who had but just closed her twenty-sixth year, and who was shut up at a distance from her accusers, could thus far baffle the arts of treacherous subjects, and the hoary wisdom of the English cabinet, is indeed by itself, no contemptible proof both of innocence and ability.

By Elizabeth's own admission, "nothing was proved against either" party; she was therefore bound by her promise to detain Murray, and to restore the Scottish queen. Nothing, however, was farther from her thoughts; the young, the accomplished, the admired of all Europe, had thrown herself into the arms of her "good sister," and was shaken off as if she were a serpent, although "nothing could be proved against either." Mary's spirit was not thus to be subdued; with a broken heart but invincible firmness, she no longer asked, she demanded the rights of a queen. Unheeded by her gaoler, she appealed to the chivalry of Europe; but her letters were for the most part intercepted, and Elizabeth found work enough for all the Christian princes. She that caused the English pulpits to resound with the doctrine of passive obedience to authority, had armed every faction in Germany, France, and the Netherlands against the authority of which she professed herself the advocate. Fostered by her malicious care,



intrigues ripened into rebellion ; crime and private revenge or open battle rapidly succeeded, till exasperated kings and leaders thought themselves released from the rules of ordinary war, and destroyed as wild beasts their obstinate rebels. Failing in their plans of wholesale murder, they found the passions of war raving but the more fiercely. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's on the one hand, and on the other the earlier plot of Amboise, the plan to blow up the duke of Parma and the murder of Guise, are but isolated features amid a thousand similar atrocities ; they were the effects of preceding, and the causes of subsequent, evils.

Unnoticed by the crowd, the agents of Elizabeth were every where feeding and spreading the conflagration. In so wide, so fierce a tumult, the voice of the royal captive could be but feebly heard. Men listened for a moment, gave utterance to their bitter indignation, then plunged once more into the strife. With society divided into hostile sections, with church and castle crumbling to ruin, with kindred blood upon their fields, what effort could they make for the unfortunate Mary ? Her ruthless gaoler had calculated well ; no help was to be expected from abroad ; at home, the gibbets that soon arose in almost every town of the north, told what it was to attempt her rescue. Woe to the man that dared to send to her but a word of consolation ; spies of every rank pervaded all society ; and Elizabeth in her anger, cared little for the forms of justice, and knew not what mercy was. What she declared with regard to the duke of Norfolk, is proved by too many facts to have been her favourite maxim : the judges declared that he had committed no offence against the law ; " if the law cannot touch him," was her answer, " my authority shall."

Finding that her friends only brought ruin upon themselves, Mary seemed for awhile resigned to her forlorn condition. Her letters assume the tone of mere complimentary inquiry. She was still debarred the exercise of her religion ; she was removed often in the depth of winter from castle to castle, while the number and rigour of her gaolers continued to increase ; and at times she had even to beg for " clothes and other necessities, such at least as were allowed to prisoners."\*

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\* Ap. Lab. t. 4. p. 43.

Amid these trials and frequent attacks of sickness, the result of her rigorous captivity, Mary's cheerfulness still continued. More than once she was allowed to hunt, but her skilful horsemanship made her keepers fear that she "would ride off to Scotland." She could still take up her lute, if perchance it were not taken from her; or amuse herself with birds and little dogs, the gifts of her friends. At one time we find her writing to her relatives in France, for the newest Italian fashions, for patterns of dresses, and the richest silks and brocades; at another, she sends magnificent robes as peace-offerings to Elizabeth; she presents even Leicester with a crystal cup, and obtains for him a rich Turkey carpet, as a token of good-will, though she felt that he would never be but false,\* and though she declared that she received "all her crosses from him and his."†

Soon again she was roused by external events. Huntley had held the north in her obedience, while Murray and his adherents, held the greater part of the south. The treacherous intervention of Elizabeth, again blighted the hopes of Mary; and the last stronghold of the Royalists, the castle of Edinburgh, was reduced by English troops. When, at length, prince James began to advance towards manhood, he dared to treat, although but selfishly, with Mary. He was soon, however, taught obedience to his English tutoress, by the "Raid of Ruthven," and a brief imprisonment; and henceforth he turned a cold ear to his broken-hearted mother.

Mary's trials drew at last to a close. She became the victim of Walsingham's conspiracy; is doomed to the scaffold; is pursued with studied insult to the very grave. She was refused the consolations of religion; her dais was removed, and her room hung with black, because, as her unfeeling keepers told her, she was to consider herself as already dead. While she penned her last and most solemn letters, the strokes of the mallet that prepared her scaffold, echoed through her apartment. Amid all this, and amid the trying scene of execution, she maintained the calm intrepidity that had marked her life, and gloried in the belief that she died for her faith.

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\* *Ib.* p. 247.

† *Ib.* p. 293. For Leicester's character and the state of parties in England, see also t. 5. p. 118; t. 6. pp. 190, 152, 411. &c.

Such was the mournful triumph of the combined arts of Murray and Elizabeth. The former perished before his victim: at the very time that he was completing a negotiation for exchanging the Earl of Northumberland for Mary, and putting the latter to death, he was shot by a man whose wife his barbarous severity had deprived of her senses. Nearly all his associates died by mutual violence. Nor had Elizabeth much reason to boast; it is true that success attended nearly all her projects; that she lived to destroy her rival; that she contrived to trample upon two-thirds of her subjects, the Catholics and Puritans; that as she felt not, so she heeded not the censures of the Church; that surrounding her throne with the flames of civil discord, she sat within the fiery inclosure secure from the vengeance of Europe. Yet what availed it all? Those that might have loved her, she had destroyed; and those that had longest served her, were no more. Her old decrepid frame covered with paint and jewels, excited ridicule not always well concealed; factions were already disputing for her crown; and the voice that made the less guilty Stuarts tremble, the voice of an oppressed people, was already muttering like the warning of an earthquake. A few years of gloomy anxiety, and her reign was over: the melancholy decline of her life, and her reluctant departure from the scenes of her greatness and despotism, present a more awful spectacle than the bloody scaffold of Mary Stuart.

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ART. VIII.—*The History of Sweden, translated from the original of ANDERS FRYXELL.* Edited by MARY HOWITT, 2 vols. London: 1844.

THIS is an interesting and well-written history of a country that is fast coming into notice. Hitherto, indeed, it has remained comparatively unknown. Separated from the rest of Europe by the angry waters of the Baltic, and repelling travellers and visitors, as well as invaders, by the snows of its dreary winter, it has had but little influence in the political, and has occupied but an humble position in the literary world. At times, indeed, an armed horde, led

on by valiant and daring chiefs, and issuing from its mountain strongholds, would pour itself in an avalanche of desolation on the awe-struck people in its neighbourhood, as some icy mass may be detached from the rock, where, like a child upon its mother's breast, it had been nursed to more than giant magnitude. Now and then it happened, too, that some dreadful deed of blood, or the eccentricities of some royal madman, gave intimation that the court of the Eriks and the Waldemars was barbarous still; and that the refinement, which was gradually subduing and softening the nations of the south, had not yet reached the latitude of the Skaggerack. Well would it be for Sweden if it had been equally secure from the encroachments of error, and that the religious movement which agitated the 16th century, had not reached its shores. It is often said that the Reformation was a movement of the mind and faith of Europe against the absurdities of a superstitious creed, and the tyranny of an encroaching priesthood. Alas! little do the authors of such a statement—if it be made in honest faith—know of the real circumstances of its progress. The earthly policy—the human ambition—the thirst of self-aggrandizement—and the coveting of others' goods—in fact, the combination of sensuality, ambition, and avarice, which marked its progress, and to which it everywhere owed its success and permanence, have never been brought more prominently before us than in the history of this country. As the circumstances are but imperfectly known to the generality of English readers, a slight sketch may not prove unacceptable.

It was about the time that the Saxon dynasty was overturned by the Conqueror in England, that Christianity was introduced into Sweden. A kingdom it could ill be called, where the rude and disunited provinces scarcely acknowledged the rule of a nominal superior. The first missionaries were Anglo-Saxon monks, who went forth from their cloisters to preach the gospel to the benighted natives of the north. How different was their errand of peace and charity from that of their pagan forefathers, who, only a century or two before, travelled the same pathway upon the waters, but in a contrary direction. The earliest of those holy men were David, Stephen, and Adelward, the latter of whom was the first bishop of Skara. Nor should we forget to mention Henry, the martyred

bishop of Upsala,\* nor his companion—better known, but can we say more fortunate?—Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards Adrian IV. The diffusion of Christianity was much promoted by the advice and example of Erik, its sainted king, who became the patron of Sweden, and whose memory was held in great esteem while his people continued faithful to the religion for which he died. He was at mass in the church of Upsala, when his attendants came to tell him that Magnus Henrikson, a rebel and claimant of the crown, was coming to assail him. Having but few domestics near him, he was urged to provide for his safety by flight. But the monarch spurned the craven counsel. "Let me hear the mass to the end," said he; adding, as if conscious of his approaching doom, "the rest of the service I hope to hear elsewhere." Mass was scarcely over, when the enemy were at hand. The odds were ten to one against him, and he fell.

For several centuries Sweden continued to be disturbed by internal dissensions, and the many evils that ever follow uncertain, and therefore disputed, successions to the throne. England during the Heptarchy, and Ireland under her native princes, may give us an idea of what it was, when brother rose in arms against his brother, and when a man's worst enemies were those of his own household. In the course of historical events, the most remarkable and the most important in its relations to the after destinies of the kingdom, is the treaty of Calmar, in the reign of Margaret, by which the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were united under the one crown. This union would have been perpetual in reality, as well as in name, if the successors of Margaret had been possessed of her address and ability. But under their degenerate sway, the edifice she constructed so admirably began to crumble

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\* The great temple of Upsala was the seat of the Pagan superstition in idolatrous times. Here, in a sanctuary, rude outside, but covered with plates of gold within, stood the idols of Odin, Thor, and Frey, to which human victims were often immolated. When the idols were removed, and these superstitions swept away by the Christian missionaries, the cross was placed where Odin stood, and the church of Upsala became the centre of religion in Sweden. In the time of Stephen the sixth prelate, it was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric, and became the metropolitan see of the kingdom. It had six suffragan sees, Linköping, Stregnez, Westeras, Scara, Abo, in Finland, and Vexio. The liberality of the faithful during several centuries, endowed these churches with considerable revenues. The bishops were the owners of several fortified castles, had the first seats in the senate, and were lords of very considerable domains; much of the law business of the kingdom was transacted in their courts, and altogether they were the persons of the most importance in the country.

into ruin, and the triple sceptre fell from their powerless hands. At one time Sweden had its own king; at another it rendered a wavering and reluctant obedience to the Dane. Sometimes the men of one province swore a different allegiance from those of the others; and it not unfrequently occurred that the Archbishop of Upsala was virtually the ruler of the land. Once it happened, when King Canutson attempted some injury to the church, that Archbishop Benson was bold enough to hurl defiance against him. He nailed to the doors of his cathedral a formal renouncement of his allegiance; then, entering the church, he deposited his mitre and crosier on Saint Erik's shrine, and swore he would never put them on again until he had driven Canutson from the throne. Then, clothing himself with armour, with helmet on his head, and sword buckled to his side, he led his vassals to the fight, and gained a decisive, if not a glorious victory. The union of Calmar was the great and leading test of the two political parties by which the state was divided—one struggling for its maintenance, the other for its repeal. The church threw its entire weight and authority into the scale on the side of the union; [whether because the nation had solemnly pledged its faith to the agreement, or that the Danish rulers had secured its good will by committing to it, on the old Irish ascendancy principle, the actual government of the country, or that the church hoped to strengthen itself thereby against the host of hungry and jealous nobles, that looked with a longing eye on its property, it is not for us to say. But so it was. On the side of those who sought to dissolve the union, there was only the rude and undisciplined valour of the people, a wild love of liberty and of their father land, the natural strength of their towers and fastnesses—powerful elements of political strength, indeed, but vague, fluctuating, and uncertain; which required the presiding care of some master-spirit, the impulse of some powerful cause, and the concurrence of many favourable circumstances, to conduct them eventually to success. These were afterwards to arise.

The disturbed state of the kingdom, and the respective positions and strength of the contending parties were distinctly seen at the diet of Arboga. The states met for the purpose of electing a successor to Sten Sture, the administrator, who had recently died. He preferred this title to that of king, as being more moderate, and, therefore, less

offensive to the nobles. They were obedient to the one, when they would have rebelled against the other. The national party proposed and supported the appointment of his nephew, Sten Sture the younger. The church and Danish party put in nomination Erik Trolle, the representative of one of the first families of the kingdom. The debate was long and stormy, but was attended with no result. It was adjourned to Upsala, and from Upsala again to Stockholm; and was ended at length by compromise. Sture was elected, on condition that he appointed Gustavus Trolle, the son of Erik, to the archbishopric of Upsala. It was hoped by one party, that the family and professional influence of Trolle would restrain, and, perhaps, eventually overturn the power of Sture, and the appointment was reluctantly consented to by him, because his own election was otherwise impracticable. The young prelate was at Rome, when the news of his nomination arrived; and being ratified by the pope, he was consecrated in that city. With his consecration commenced the long and bloody struggle, which terminated only with the extinction of Catholicity in Sweden. He was, both by family and position, the decided friend of Denmark. His father had been obliged to yield the supreme power to Sture; and the son, therefore, considered himself as one who had been wrongfully defrauded of his inheritance. The archbishop was naturally of a self-willed, proud, and unbending character. He was rendered still more unmanageable by this sense of injury and injustice. He took no pains to conceal his feelings, neglected to present himself at court even on his first arrival, and afforded a refuge in his castle to all those who were discontented with the existing authorities. It was quite clear that matters could not long continue thus, without some collision taking place. The archbishop was accused of treason, and his castle besieged. The siege was long and tedious, but it was at last successful; and the prelate was arraigned before an assembly of the states, which met at Stockholm on the 23rd November, 1517. He denied the competency of the tribunal. "They were not his lawful judges," he said, "and he would prove his innocence before the Holy See." The protest was disregarded, and the archbishop was condemned to be degraded from his dignity. The sentence was signed by the nobles and prelates, among the rest by Hans Brask, the newly elected bishop of Linköping.

The prudent prelate, suspecting that a day of retribution would come, placed unnoticed under the seal a slip of paper, on which he had written, "I do this by compulsion." The sentence was immediately carried into execution. The archbishop was degraded from his office, and his stronghold of Ståke was levelled to the ground. Its ruins are at this day barely discerned among the waving trees that cover the little island of Almære, on which it once so proudly raised its battlements.

It was about this time that John Angelo Arcemboldi was sent into the Northern Countries by Leo X. to distribute the indulgences granted to those who would contribute to the erection of St. Peter's. In Denmark he collected very considerable sums of money, and was there occupied while the events we have now described were taking place in Sweden. This expedient for raising money, which has, alas! been attended with such fatal consequences to the interests of religion in many of the countries where it was had recourse to, was made still more calamitous in the north of Europe, by the manner in which it was carried out. Unwilling, perhaps, to hurt the pride of the monarch, or to injure the commercial interests of the kingdom by the exportation of specie, or afraid, it may be, of provoking the cupidity of the government, Arcemboldi vested the greater part of his collections in the purchase of goods, which he consigned to agents in the towns of Holland and the Low Countries, to be sold for the benefit of the charity. Misunderstood as the object was in so many respects, and mismanaged by those to whom it was entrusted, this method of transmission gave it a still more mercenary aspect, and by interfering with the ordinary course of trade, made for itself a large class of interested opponents. While the Archbishop was besieged by the Swedish troops, Arcemboldi passed over into Sweden, where he was favourably received by the Administrator. In the present aspect of his quarrel with the church, it was his policy to seek to propitiate the Legate by forwarding the objects he had in view. It is said that Sture even promised to make him archbishop instead of Trolle, and that the Legate in return disclosed to him the secret and treasonable negotiation which the latter had been carrying on with the king of Denmark. But it was easier for the one to promise, than for the other to accept. For some years past, a dark cloud had been gathering over



the ecclesiastical relations of Sweden with the See of Rome. The annual tribute which the generosity of former kings imposed, and the piety of the people cheerfully rendered to the successor of Peter, was long withheld by the avarice or the poverty of the Stures. Encroachments were daily being made on the privileges of the clergy, and when the Senate presumed to pass sentence on the Metropolitan of the kingdom, and degrade him from his solemn functions, the measure of the national iniquity was full. The Legate, who had returned to Denmark, was bid go back to Stockholm, demand the restoration of the Archbishop, and adequate satisfaction for the indignity. The application was made and refused. In a few weeks the thunder of excommunication issued from the Vatican. The Administrator and the Senate were excommunicated by name, and the whole kingdom was placed under an interdict. The Bishops of Lunden and Funen were appointed to carry it into effect, and the king of Denmark to enforce its execution.

The latter lost no time in availing himself of the mighty instrument, which was thus put in his hands, for the promotion of his political purposes. He collected men and money, and with an overwhelming force burst over the frozen lakes of the Swedish frontier in the winter of 1520. The rude peasantry summoned by Sture to his banner, were cut down by the French and German auxiliaries, whom Christian had enlisted in his army. The Administrator himself was killed by a cannon ball in an engagement which took place on the frozen surface of the lake Meler, and when he fell, little difficulty presented itself to his opponent. In vain did Christina Gyllenstjerna, the heroic wife of Sture, strengthen the walls of Stockholm; in vain did burgher and citizen, animated by her example, bind themselves by solemn vows to defend themselves to the utmost, even though life and fortune were to be the penalty of their devotedness. After five long months of siege, their valour began to ooze out at their fingers' ends, and they began to think that a crowd of eager customers assembled round their counters, would be a far pleasanter and better thing than the morning drill and the evening muster upon the rampart. Negotiations were soon opened with the enemy, and Christina felt that the ground was giving way beneath her, and that her best policy would be to make her terms with the conqueror. Christian swore upon the altar to

keep his promised word, and was presented with the keys of Stockholm. The sequel shows that not in vain was the warning voice transmitted to us upon the sacred page, to put not our trust in princes. There never, perhaps, was a more terrible confirmation of its truth than the conduct of the monarch on receiving possession of the city.

It was the end of autumn when the Danish king made his entry in triumph. On the 4th of the following November he resolved to have himself crowned king of Sweden in the high church of Stockholm. To the astonishment of all, not a single Swedish lord was permitted to take a part in the ceremony. Three days after there was a levee at the castle, and the Swedish lords saw with alarm that as they passed, the doors were closed behind them. The archbishop Trolle, whom they had degraded and expelled, was there; for he had returned with Christian, and he now rose to demand vengeance against them. To defend themselves, they produced the sentence of deposition which the states pronounced; but that which they alleged as a justification, was now a proof of guilt. The first name was that of Hans Brask, Bishop of Linköping, and when summoned to appear, he showed that he was not a free agent, by producing from under the seal the slip of paper on which he had written the words, "This I do by compulsion," and his defence was allowed. But woe to those who had not been so provident. The Bishops of Skara and Stregnez, a score of the first senators, many opulent burgomasters, and members of the council, were pronounced guilty of treason and of sacrilege. For three days the city flowed with blood, and the headless bodies were exposed in the market-place. No one dared to touch them or perform towards them the last duties of humanity, for fear of the Danish spies and soldiers that were let loose upon the town. One man, a respectable citizen, was hurried away to the scaffold, merely because he wept for an old venerable man who was conducted by his door. It is said that even in their last moments, the consolations of religion were denied. There was scarcely a family of distinction in the kingdom that was not placed in mourning by this terrible massacre, which deprived them of a father, a brother, or a son. The remains of Sture were disinterred, and scattered to the winds; and his widow was asked by the royal savage whether she preferred being drowned, or burnt, to being buried alive. ; It is not improbable that

much of the horror of this dreadful scene was exaggerated by the tradition of later times, for it is certain that Christina had to suffer none of these. She was carried prisoner to Denmark, with the widows of many of the other sufferers. The best proof we can give of the falsehood of those reports, which state her to have died there of starvation and ill-treatment, is, that we find her many years after living in splendour and affluence in her own country.

Notwithstanding the authority which Christian was invested with, on the invasion of Sweden, and the injustice to the archbishop's person and dignity, by which this proceeding was attempted to be justified, it is evident that the whole business was influenced by political reasons, and done for a political object. It was the same policy which the Roman Tarquinius suggested to his son, when he began demolishing the tall poppies of his garden; for as long as the Swedish nobles had life and power, the Danish king could never expect the undisturbed possession of his acquired dominion. He therefore determined to extinguish them for ever. Among the victims of Stockholm, was Sir Erickson Wasa, one of the first nobles of the kingdom. He was lord of the manor of Lindholm, in the province of Upland. About the year 1490, there was born to him, in the old grey castle of his fathers, a son, who was christened Gustavus. The young boy was reared up like all the northern chieftains of his time. In the hunting of the wolf and wild deer, through the primeval forests of his native hills, and in the frugal fare of his father's halls, there was little danger of his being spoiled by effeminacy or over-indulgence. At an early age he was sent to the court of the Administrator, where he attracted much attention by the promise of military eminence which he afforded. During the struggle in which they were engaged with Denmark, he fell a victim of a treacherous stratagem, and was carried a prisoner to Copenhagen. His bondage was a hard and bitter one, and he would have sunk under his sufferings, if his cousin, Sir Erik Banner, had not asked permission to take him with him to his castle of Rallo, pledging his word for his safe-keeping, and binding himself, moreover, in a penalty of 6,000 rixthalers, about £500. if his prisoner should escape from custody. "I will not guard you strictly," said Banner to his young friend, "nor put you into confinement. You shall eat at my table, and go where you please, only promise me not to

escape or journey anywhere unknown to me.” Gustavus promised by word of mouth, and pledged himself by written deed. Here he might have lived in quiet, had his mind been less ardent than it was. But it was the time that Christian was preparing for the invasion of Sweden. Troops were moving around him, and the signs of approaching war were visible everywhere throughout the land. The young noble yearned for the struggle, and, like the war-horse of the scripture, he snuffed up the sounds of the battle afar off, and longed to take his place among his gallant comrades upon the frontiers of his country. He not only longed, but in defiance of his plighted word, he resolved to do so. On a bright morning in the summer of 1519, he disguised himself in peasant’s clothes, and set out on his way to Holstein. Avoiding the open roads and thoroughfares, he made his way by the paths where he expected to meet fewest passengers, and arrived by the noon of the following day at Flensburg. Here he met some German butchers driving cattle to the Saxon markets, and making himself useful, he was permitted to remain in their company until they arrived at Lubeck. He was beyond the Danish frontier, in a neutral town, and he immediately claimed the protection of the chief magistrate; and notwithstanding the demand of Christian, and the entreaty of Banner, who sought to reclaim the fugitive, was permitted to remain. We should be unwilling to deal too harshly with one in his position, but truth compels us to declare against him. He began his career by breaking his word of honour, and violating his plighted faith. Had his lot been cast in a less barbarous time or country, he would most assuredly have forfeited the privileges of civilized society, for conduct unworthy of a soldier and a gentleman.

He remained at Lubeck for near a year, being refused permission, or perhaps unable to find an opportunity of returning home. Here he first heard of the religious troubles that then began to agitate the public mind in Germany. It was only two months before his arrival in that city, that the celebrated conference took place at Leipsic between Eckius and Luther, and the subjects in dispute began to form the principal topic of conversation among the people. Wasa had nothing to occupy his time, and directed his attention to the passing occurrences of the day. For the abstract truth or justice of either cause,

he probably cared but little. Yet he may be supposed to have looked with favour on any measure that promised resistance to the papal authority, or that seemed likely to disturb that reverence for established ecclesiastical observances which was one of the principles of Danish strength in the political condition of his own country.

When he at length succeeded in making his way to Sweden, Calmar and Stockholm were all that remained in the hands of the native party. Even these were on the eve of surrender; for, weakened by famine, they were, as we have already seen, no longer able to hold out against the arms of Christian, and it was useless for the young Swede to try to rouse once more into active resistance the expiring patriotism of his countrymen. They even threatened to deliver him up to the Danish general, and he was indebted for his escape from their violence to the active interference of Christina, the widow of Sture, who had possession of the citadel of Calmar. Hoping to succeed better with the simple peasantry than with the people of the towns, he made his way into the Upper Provinces. It is not our intention to write a narrative of the personal adventures of Wasa, except as far as they relate to the main subject of our notice, and therefore we pass over the many hair-breadth escapes and imminent perils that are related in the record of his adventures. Many of them are even more romantic than those which befel, more than a century later, our own king Charles. Beneath the disguise of a country labourer, which he put on, his rank was once detected by the shrewd glance of a servant-maid, who perceived a silk collar sticking out under his rude frieze jacket. On another occasion, the peasants with whom he was at work, saw that his hands were too fair and delicate to have been always employed in such occupations as theirs. Once, at the house of Swen Elfson, one of his trusty retainers, he was sitting at the fire, when a party of Danes came in to look for him. The good wife, with admirable presence of mind, after saying that she knew nothing about him, gave Gustavus a blow on the shoulder with the shovel, exclaiming at the same time, in a tone which every one who has ever admonished a lazy domestic will immediately understand, "What are you looking at? Did you never see a stranger before? Get you off to the barn and finish the work you have to do." The fugitive took the hint and retired. On another occasion, he

escaped his pursuers by concealing himself in a load of hay. They probed the cart-load with their spears, and wounded him in the leg; his life would have paid the penalty of even one cry of pain, and Wasa held his tongue. The blood which issued from the wound would have revealed the place of his concealment, but the trusty confidant cut his horse on the foot, and said that the blood had issued from the hurt his animal had received. He met many returning from Stockholm, who had just witnessed the horrors of the massacre, and he endeavoured to excite them to resistance, but his words were uttered in vain. A panic had taken possession of the public mind; each was anxious only for his own safety. The attempt to oppose or defeat the Danish rulers, in their first flush of victory, and with the strongholds of the kingdom in their possession, seemed a thing utterly hopeless and chimerical.

Pursued by his enemies and disappointed in his friends, he was about to give up his object in despair, and making his way across the mountains, to take refuge in Norway. He happened to be at Mora, a populous village at the northern extremity of the Lake Siljan, on a Christmas morning, and went with the people to hear mass on that solemnity. When the service was over, the peasants stood in groups, as usual in country villages, around the church door. It was the noon of a northern winter. The sun, though at his meridian altitude, was just visible above the southern horizon, and his slanting beams were reflected from the snow which covered the surrounding country. A strong north wind was blowing, which in these regions is looked on as a sign of good luck, and so far was favourable to the projects of the fugitive. Wishing to make one effort more to rouse the expiring patriotism of his countrymen, he got upon a grave in the churchyard, and began to address them on the grievances of their fatherland. Gustavus was in the prime of youth, had a handsome and manly figure, and an impressive delivery. He had already suffered much from his and their enemies, and was therefore heard with pleasure and applause. They began to ring the church bells, which was the wonted tocsin in times of peril and alarm; and at the sound the men of the surrounding parishes poured in, and added to the number of his followers. The men of these parts of Sweden had been remarkable for their stubborn independence of character; and were ever the foremost in any resistance to an

obnoxious impost, or oppressive ordinance. These were, consequently, the persons most fitted for the designs of the Swedish liberator. The discontented soon increased in numbers, and improved in discipline. As yet, the only arms they had were such as their own rude occupations furnished, or the neighbouring forests supplied. But they had strong hands to wield them, and stout hearts to urge them to the contest. As they advanced into the lowlands, they were joined by thousands, and their confidence increased as their host moved on. The two parties first met at the ferry of Brunback, and though three bishops were present to encourage the Danes, they were defeated by the peasants with great slaughter. A strong and decisive blow in the beginning of such a struggle, was calculated to exercise a material influence on the nature of the contest. The timid were encouraged, the wavering confirmed, and many who would have deserted the standard of Wasa, had it been humbled in the beginning, became his firmest friends when it was crowned with even a passing victory, and promised to conduct them to eventual success.

The interests of his Swedish kingdom had been entrusted by Christian to Trolle, the restored Archbishop of Upsala, and Diedrich Slaghok, the newly appointed bishop of Skara, on his departure from Denmark some short time after his coronation; and on them it now rested to impede the onward march, and destroy, if possible, the prospects of Gustavus Wasa. The task was a difficult one, and they tried in vain to stem the tide of popular enthusiasm that was spreading itself in all directions. In vain did they collect their troops, and meet the tumultuous assemblages of the peasantry—their rude and undisciplined valour bore down every opposition. Once, and only once, was the cause of Wasa in danger. It was when he first gained possession of Upsala. He summoned the terrified chapter of the cathedral before him, and asked which of the contending parties they were resolved to join. It was a delicate and difficult question to answer, and they sought relief in delay. They asked permission to write to the archbishop for information, and obtained it. When the priest, who was the bearer of the letter, presented himself before the prelate at Stockholm, and requested a reply to the contents: “I will bring him the answer myself,” was the only one he received. Trolle took with him a

body of 3000 foot and 500 horse, and setting out privately at night, was within three miles of Upsala before it was known that he had moved at all. Gustavus was at supper when a deserter came to tell him that his adversary was at hand; and he refused to believe it, until the tidings was confirmed by more than one messenger. If the Danes had attacked him at the moment, there is no doubt but that the Swedish party would be destroyed, and its prospects utterly annihilated. But the archbishop was afraid; he could not bring himself to believe that Wasa was not aware of his coming. Anxious to avoid the ambushade, which he thought was laid for him, he lingered in the outskirts of the town till day dawned; and when the first light of morning appeared, the opportunity of striking a decisive blow, and changing the destinies of Sweden, had passed away for ever.

A remarkable feature of the contest, as it had been hitherto carried on, was, that not one of the clergy supported the views of Wasa. However disgusted they were with the atrocities of Christian, and the oppressions of his soldiery, they yet felt that the abstract justice of the dispute was at his side; and, though his opponent might urge the plea of patriotism, and profess to contend for his native land, they could not but admit that his movement was a rebellion, and that his arms were really directed against a power, of which Christian, however he may have abused his trust, was yet the appointed champion. To avenge an insult to the spiritual authorities, and ward off an attack on their rights and privileges, he was called into the country; and they could not but acknowledge that the spiritual and ecclesiastical interests of Sweden, depended, in a great measure, upon the sustaining of his possession of the kingdom. Hence arose, as a natural result of their respective positions, a spirit of antagonism between Gustavus and the clergy. Their principal members were at the head of his enemies; and they all looked on him and his movements with suspicion. Until now he had no legitimate authority or commission. He was but the self-constituted leader of a tumultuous and unrecognized assemblage, who had gained their respect and admiration by his talents and good fortune, but who had no power but what they chose to give him, and whom they may, without any warning and at a moment's notice, depose. To supply in some measure this defect, and obtain some sort of legiti-



mate commission, he appointed a meeting of the states at Wadstena. Even if this diet was composed of any other than the friends of Wasa, it is not likely that they could have either leisure to discuss, or liberty to examine, the real condition of the country; and the only business of importance that was brought before them was the appointment of Gustavus. Some of his own people began to cry out, that he should be their king; but the pear was not yet ripe, and he was satisfied with the title of administrator, reserving the other for a more favourable opportunity.

Armed with his new authority, he began to prepare in earnest for the siege of Stockholm. Knowing how little he could depend on the uncertain and desultory aid of the peasantry for such a purpose, and how unequal they would be to the regular and combined operations of a protracted siege, he hired several troops of German mercenaries, and with their aid invested the city in the winter of 1521-22. The usual consequences of a siege soon fell on the beleaguered city; anarchy and disorder, famine and disease, were rife in their work of ruin. The archbishop, who had command of the town, applied for assistance to his master. But Christian himself had enough to do. His avarice, cruelty, and oppression, had given offence to his Danish subjects. His temper became so harsh and ungovernable, that the nobles feared some such proceeding against themselves as that which he had taken against the Swedes. The clergy, too, thought that he was partial to the opinions of Luther, and favoured somewhat his cause. Against the hatred and opposition of all classes it was hard to contend; and he was, in the end, driven from the throne, to end his days in exile. Few had compassion on the sufferings of his latter years; and even in this life, his cruelty and oppression were visited with a fearful penalty.

In the summer of 1523, Stockholm had been more than eighteen months besieged. It would have fallen long before, if the policy and cunning of the Administrator had not prolonged the siege. He thought that, if all opposition was extinguished, and the Dane utterly expelled, he might not find his countrymen as docile and obedient as he should desire, and he resolved to preserve just so much resistance as would enable him to obtain the object which, notwithstanding all his affectation of disinterestedness, he so ardently desired. For this purpose he called a diet at

Strangnas. Previous to the meeting he took care to fill the vacant sees with men devoted to his views, and Brask, the bishop of Linköping, he had already gained over to his cause. The diet, therefore, opened with not unfavourable auspices. One of the new bishops proposed the election of a king, and recommended Gustavus for that dignity. His past services and his present position pointed him out as the fittest person that could be selected. Wasa coquetted a little, spoke as was to be expected of his own unfitness, told them how much more pleased he would be if they selected some one else, and at length permitting himself to be persuaded, was elected king amid the acclamations of the people. Having now no interest in permitting the siege of Stockholm to continue any longer, he urged on the attack with vigour. The inhabitants were willing to surrender, and the weakened garrison unable to defend it. The bishops fearing to fall into the power of Wasa, fled to Denmark; and the Swedish king made his triumphal entry on the 24th of June, attended by a gorgeous retinue, and followed by a countless multitude. The ceremony of his coronation would have then also been performed, but there were oaths to be taken to maintain the rights and privileges of the church, and it suited not the policy and intentions of the new king to be hampered by any such engagements.

A king he was indeed, but how many were the difficulties of his position. He had a lawless people to rule. Years of civil strife had loosened the bonds that held society together. There were few laws, few revenues, many enemies and heavy and serious liabilities, and it must be confessed that the new king was not in a bed of roses. But a more pressing difficulty staring him in the face, was, how to pay the heavy arrears due to the foreign troops that placed him upon the throne. To tax the peasantry would be to make those who shed their blood in his defence give up their money also. The cities could give him but little, because their commerce was completely crippled by the Lubeckers; and to tax the nobles would be only raising a nest of hornets around him, and making enemies of those whose means of contributing were generally in an inverse ratio to their pride and sensitiveness. The church was the only source of supply that remained. Many of his predecessors had tried it, and failed. It was a hazardous expedient, but nothing else remained; and if

he did not succeed, his own downfall and the forfeiture of his most ambitious hopes were inevitable. There were political reasons, also, to influence his determination. The clergy had considerable power in the state, were always a check upon the ambitious views of the monarch, and the foremost supporters of the treaty of union. He was bound to them by no ties of gratitude; for they had stood aloof from the very beginning of the struggle, and looked with a jealous eye on his success. But he was afraid to attempt it openly, and in accordance with his tortuous policy, he resolved to undermine before he shook the pillars of the sanctuary. The means he had recourse to were worthy of the object he sought to accomplish. What they were, our readers may even already be prepared to conjecture.

During the years that Gustavus was making his way to the throne of Sweden, religious innovation had been making rapid way through the northern provinces of Germany. Men's minds were unsettled, and began to doubt not only the truths in dispute between Catholic and Protestant, but perhaps those of Christianity in general. It has been already stated, that the attention of Gustavus was drawn to this subject during his stay in Lubeck. Many of the German soldiers in his pay were Lutherans, and much to the scandal of the people, and the indignation of the clergy, began to speak with irreverent and blasphemous scurrility of even the holiest observances. The king was frequently called on to interfere; but whether from a secret partiality, or that he had already work enough upon his hands without involving himself in a religious war, and falling out with those whose services were most indispensable to him, he always refused to interfere. But the first avowed apostles of the new opinions were two brothers, Olaus and Laurence. Their father was Peter, a rich smith in the town of Orebro. From the school of the Carmelite convent of that place, where they received the first rudiments of literature, they were sent to the university of Wittenberg. They became acquainted with Luther, and embraced his sentiments with all the warmth and unreflecting impetuosity of the student. The more they argued, the more firmly they adhered to their adopted opinions; for prayer and humility and simple unprejudiced inquiry were little heeded by many of the zealots of those days. Laurence, the younger, was a mild, retiring, and tolerably learned man; and if he had fallen into better

hands, would probably have proved himself an useful member of the church. But Olaus was a man after Luther's own heart, being, like himself, coarse, violent, and headstrong, and possessing withal a great natural facility of expression. Nor was he very choice in the words he used or the means he employed for the maintenance and propagation of his opinions. They both were thoroughly infected with the poison, having taken out their degrees under Luther's teaching, and the elder having accompanied him on a tour through the churches and schools of North Germany. They were consequently fit instruments for the perversion of their native country. Unfortunately for religion in Sweden, Olaus was appointed secretary to the Bishop of Strangnas, and superior of the seminary of that town. It was the beginning of the civil war, and the public being engaged in matters more immediately and pressingly embarrassing, he was allowed to infuse his principles into the minds of the youth with entire impunity. Their father died in 1521, and they hastened home to bury him. Finding that he had made provision for some Masses for the repose of his soul, they opposed the bequest as an useless superstition. The poor mother in vain solicited their forbearance, and besought them to have pity upon their father's soul. "It was an unlucky day," she said, "that he sent them away at such expense to be learned, if such was to be now the requital of his affection." But the appeal was not attended to. They asked her the old question so often put by ignorant fanaticism, whether she understood the Mass in Latin, and her answer should have filled them with confusion, even doctors of theology as they were. "I do not understand it," she said; "but while I listen to it, I pray God fervently to accept their prayers, which I do not doubt he will." The Carmelites came to bury the deceased, as he desired; but the sons drove them away, and buried him with such obsequies as they liked themselves. The monks appealed to the chapter, and the chapter had recourse to the king, but there was little law in the land, and every one did what he liked in those days.

Olaus went to the diet of Strangnas when Gustavus was appointed king, and drew the eyes of many upon him by the boldness with which he asserted the doctrines and discipline of the church, and inveighed against the privileges of the clergy. Many were indignant, and threatened to

have him punished by the authorities, and much confusion was created in the assembly. Gustavus heard of the fanatic, and sent for him to his apartments. He found that he was a man perfectly adapted for his purposes, and took him under his protection. Though he did not immediately avow his partiality, for fear of giving offence to the people, he took care to give him an opportunity of propagating his opinions, by appointing him preacher in the high church of Stockholm. His brother Laurence was made at the same time, and for the same purpose, professor of theology in the national university of Upsala. It is unnecessary to say what a large and fatal sphere of activity and influence was opened to them by these calamitous appointments. In the pulpit of Stockholm the talent and industry of the new preacher, as well as the novelty of the doctrines he inculcated, drew large audiences and made several converts. Sometimes, indeed, his violence and the scurrilous manner in which he spoke of many of the holiest ordinances, excited the anger of the people, and no wretched street preacher was ever subjected to a more sorry infliction than awaited Olaus from the popular indignation. But the object of his appointment was in some measure attained. People began to waver in their faith, and incline in considerable numbers to the new doctrines. The Catholic clergy endeavoured to neutralize the impression by replying from the pulpit, and succeeded but very imperfectly. Whether it was that they were unequal to the task, or unpractised in theological discussion—or that being compelled to act on the defensive they had a more difficult task than the assailant, who, according to the old proverb, were he the veriest idiot, may start objections that would take twelve wise men to solve, we know not; but the work of perversion went on more vigorously every day. If it met with any check, it was when some itinerant anabaptists found their way to Stockholm. The absurd and ridiculous extremes and outrageous violations of sense and decency to which the principle of scriptural interpretation conducted them, was too striking a condemnation of the Lutheran assumption to be allowed to pass unnoticed. If Luther was allowed to think and judge for himself, why may not an anabaptist do so too? Olaus could not answer the objection, but his royal patron came to his aid, and drove the fanatics from the city. When the Bishop of Linköping asked him to extend the same measure of jus-

tice to the Lutherans, Gustavus shook his head and refused. The bishop knew not the secrets of the monarch's breast, and was not aware how far, very far, it was from his intention to do so.

Afraid to touch the episcopal body with too rough a hand at first, he contented himself with filling the vacant sees with men who would, at least, be no obstacles to the carrying out of his views. Accordingly, he nominated Somer and Peter Magnus to those of Stregnez and Westeras. Both were devoted to himself, and indebted to him for their present position. But a more important appointment even than these was the see of Upsala. Trolle having left the kingdom, was cited three times to appear before the council. His silence being construed into contumacy, he was declared to have abdicated his dignity, and the canons proceeded to a new election. The choice, at the royal suggestion, fell on John Magnus, a learned and pious Swedish clergyman, who had spent much of his life at Rome. In ordinary times his episcopacy would have been an honour and advantage to his church, for he was a learned, and withal a good and holy man. But his lot, unfortunately for himself, was cast in dark and troubled days. He had wicked and powerful men to contend with, a deep and subtle policy to encounter, and was deficient in those high and rare qualities which the circumstances of the time required. Though he met it with firmness, he did not encounter it with success. About this time, too, the king made Lars Anderson his chancellor and private secretary. This man had raised himself into notice by the splendour of his talents. He began his career by taking holy orders, and was soon promoted to be archdeacon of Stregnez. When the see was vacant, he hoped to be elected bishop, but was disappointed, and disappointed ambition drove him from the church, to seek his fortune in the service of the court. In the bustle of political life he was more at home; and his sagacity and penetration, the fertility of his resources in every difficulty, and his devotion to the interests of his sovereign, pointed him out as the man that was most suited to the views of Gustavus, and he took care to secure his efficient services. The chancellor soon saw the bent of the royal policy, and gave all the powers of his mind to carry it into effect. He advised the king to promote the spread of Lutheranism, and support, by secret promises of protection, the ministers of that per-

suasion against the opposition of the clergy. Olaus and his brother were not only encouraged themselves, but they were recommended to invite to their assistance other Lutherans from the universities of Germany. These came in great numbers; got admittance into the schools, seminaries, and even private families, as teachers; and being, like all zealots, men of a fiery and restless enthusiasm, made a great impression upon the people. Their industry was indefatigable; and availing themselves of the powerful agency of the press, which was then coming into use, they inundated the country with tracts and pamphlets of every description, all having for their object to wean the people from their faith, and bring the Catholic religion into contempt. In proportion as it was undermined within, the artful policy of the king assailed it from without. He began by limiting the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and abolishing the fines which they had the power of imposing for offences subversive of morality, or injurious to religion. The clergy resisted the change; but the first murmur of opposition was punished by quartering the soldiery for the winter upon those who dared to express their sentiments. The monks he especially disliked, and he converted the cloisters of several of their convents into barracks for his cavalry. The people being relieved by these proceedings from many of the customary expenses, and from several onerous exactions, connived at the insult offered to their clergy. Having been so far successful, he proceeded to other measures, and threatened an examination of the titles by which they held their property. Many of the original charters were lost or destroyed during the civil wars. Several held only by immemorial prescription. The greater part were unprepared for a rigorous investigation. He began with the Carthusian convent of Gryphsolm, which had been originally founded by his own ancestors; and finding a flaw in their legal tenure, he immediately pronounced it void, turned the religious out of doors, and took possession of it for his own purposes. Others shared the same fate; and the nobles, expecting that they themselves would come in for a share of the spoil, longed for, rather than resisted, the extension of this principle to the other monasteries of the kingdom.

The clergy, perceiving that these proceedings indicated a purpose of subverting the Catholic religion, and suspecting that the king, though he continued nominally to pro-

fess himself a Catholic, was a secret friend to the Lutheran movement, resolved on testing his sincerity. They called on him, therefore, to suppress the new translation of Luther's Bible, which was published by Olaus in 1525—to silence the preachers, and to banish the more prominent members of the body as disturbers of the public peace, and dangerous to the public tranquillity. Gustavus received the deputation very coolly, and seemed in no hurry to comply with their request. He refused to give them a satisfactory answer; and merely said, that he was ready to condemn Olaus, or any other, if it could be proved to his satisfaction that he was really guilty. The Bishop of Linköping replied, that it would be very easy to show that the doctrine of the new preachers had a pernicious tendency, and called loudly for suppression. The king, perceiving how much a public discussion would promote his objects, took the bishop at his word, and appointed a day on which he would hear the statements of the contending parties. The discussion took place in the March of 1526, and in the presence of the king and all his court. The bishops would not consent to argue, but claimed their canonical right to sit as judges of the controversy. The defence of the orthodox doctrines devolved upon Gallus, a divine of considerable talent and erudition. But Gallus had been all his life accustomed to discuss such matters in Latin, the common language of the schools, and therefore met at a great disadvantage his antagonist Olaus, who, by many a year of preaching, and constant incessant practice, had become a perfect master of the Swedish tongue. The latter was, besides, inured to the most popular mode of treating the controversies of the day, of seizing the most debateable topics, and putting them before the people in the light most favourable to his own views. In the very beginning of the discussion, another difficulty presented itself as to the rule of faith by which truth was to be determined. One contended for the Scriptures alone; the other would have tradition also. Where such differences existed, it is clear that no decision could be expected. The conversation was rambling, desultory, and inconclusive; and embraced the ordinary topics of the time—purgatory, indulgences, communion under one kind, and the celibacy of the clergy. The theological skill of the Lutheran champion, as well as the temper of his audience, may be guessed, when it is known that he was loudly



cheered, and supposed to have completely demolished his adversary, when he asked: How bishops could be justified in possessing secular dignities, or inflicting canonical censures? Gallus began to point out the wilful inaccuracies of the Lutheran version of the New Testament, and was pressing Olaus sorely on the subject, when Gustavus came to his relief, by requesting the bishops to publish a corrected version, and then abruptly closed the controversy. Though no definitive sentence was pronounced, the designs of the monarch were accomplished, for he accustomed his people to the discussion of religious questions. We are no friends to discussions of this nature, where victory depends much less on the truth of the cause at issue, than on the skill with which the deputed advocate wields his weapons, or the dexterity with which he presses his opponent. But there have been few controversies more calamitous than that of Upsala. Its mischievous consequences were aggravated tenfold, when garbled reports were circulated through the country by the partizans of Olaus, and the public began to ask whether the meagre and unsatisfactory document before them was all that could be advanced in favour of the truths of Catholicity.

Some short time after the discussion, the archbishop called a synod of the clergy at Stockholm, to comply with the king's request relative to the translation of the New Testament. The Bishop of Linköping objected to its expediency at that particular time, when the public mind was agitated with religious doubts, and unprepared to receive the boon with that reverence and docility which the sacred word required. But the objection was overruled, and the work, for greater expedition, confided to several individuals. The secular clergy engaged to translate the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles of St. Paul. The lesser epistles were confided to the mendicant orders; and the Apocalypse entrusted to the Carthusians. Many hands make light work, and the authorized version soon made its appearance; but so far from appeasing, it only aggravated the religious excitement, and by enabling the public to canvass the merits of the two versions, fanned the flame which it was meant to extinguish. The worst anticipations of his Lordship of Linköping were thus unfortunately realized. Soon after the discussion, Olaus gave a convincing illustration of his opinions concerning the celibacy of the clergy, by following the example of his German pro-

totypes, and taking unto himself a wife. His marriage was performed in the public church of Stockholm, and this open and glaring disregard of the vows he had pledged at the altar, was soon followed by many of his brethren.

Emboldened by the progress which Lutheranism was making among his subjects, Gustavus resolved on making another step in advance. He summoned a meeting of the states at Stockholm, and urged on them the necessity of repairing the forts that were falling into decay, and strengthening the military defences of the kingdom. He told them also, what they well knew themselves, that a large debt was due to the town of Lubeck, to whom the import duties of the state were mortgaged. If this debt were paid, he said, and the ports opened to the vessels of other nations, the public revenue would be considerably augmented. But the question arose, where was the money to be had? The Chancellor, who had his budget previously prepared, brought forward a plan by which the necessary resources could be obtained. Two-thirds of the tythe of the current year would provide for the defences of the kingdom, and the Lubeck debt could be adequately discharged by the sale of the superfluous plate and bells of the various churches. Some of the nobles had been previously gained over; others were indifferent. Many were glad to shift the burden from their own shoulders; and two decrees were passed, one to appropriate the tythe, the other to confiscate the plate and bells. The archbishop remonstrated and protested, but the king's mind was made up, and no persuasion, no inducement could bring him to deviate from his purpose. The object for which he had laboured so long, and which he pursued so perseveringly, was not to be abandoned when it was thus placed in his hands.

The great body of the people, bewildered by the controversies of the time, may have been comparatively indifferent to the abstract points of doctrine, and the appropriation of the tythe was a matter that more immediately concerned the clergy; but the bells—their own church bells, that had so often and so sweetly rung at each returning season of social joy and religious festivity—which had also rung in mournful cadence over so many of their departing kindred—which on many a clear sabbath morning had sent their sweet silvery sounds over forest and lake, to cheer the poor toil-worn peasant's heart with

the assurance that a day of rest was come, and summoning him to prayer and holy communing with God—the bells which had been companions since infancy, whose language they knew so well, and whose voices were ever like music in their ears—that they should be torn down by sacrilegious hands from the old grey towers which had been their home for ages, was more than flesh and blood could bear. The people rose in arms throughout the country, and threatened to defend them to the utmost. The clergy sanctioned the insurrection, and resisted the meditated invasion of their rights. There was to be a great fair at Upsala, and the peasants came from the surrounding country in great numbers, to concert measures for their protection. But Gustavus came there also, accompanied by a large array of foreign mercenaries, who had no concern for the people, and no sympathy for their cause; and before a disciplined body of armed men, what could a rude undisciplined populace do? They murmured and demanded that their church bells should be restored; but the monarch knew his strength and would not yield. The people threatened force, and Gustavus ordered his men to charge. Their fingers were already upon the triggers of their matchlocks; the peasants fell upon their knees in terror, and the rebellion was completely at an end.

He continued his encroachments upon the privileges of the church. Most of the Swedish monasteries were governed by superiors sent from the convents of their respective orders in Germany. They were generally selected for their superior merit, and contributed in a great degree to preserve their several communities free from the evils of innovation. A royal edict was issued, commanding all foreigners to leave the kingdom without delay. Those that remained, being native Swedes, were more obedient to his control. The popular discontent was kept alive and sustained by the members of the religious orders, who went about among the people, and spoke strongly of their grievances. To suppress this agitation, he confined them all to the enclosure of their convent walls, and commanded them on no account to absent themselves more frequently than twice a year. Having gagged the religious orders, he turned his attention to the higher orders of the clergy. Before he tried his strength, he resolved to lessen them in public estimation, and diminish, if not destroy, the reverence rendered by the laity to the episcopal character. He had

already made an experiment on the archbishop, by placing a wreath of flowers, half in joke and half in earnest, upon his head in the public street of his own cathedral city. It was May-day, and he wished to amuse himself in utter disregard of the prelate's character, by making him a May-king. The meek prelate bore the mockery with patience, and tried to make it appear a friendly piece of pleasantry. But in the following year, 1527, the nation was doomed to witness a far more ignominious exhibition. A pretender, the Perkin Warbeck of northern story, appeared in Dalecarlia, alleging himself to be the son of Sture, and therefore rightful heir to the throne. Being disowned by the Lady Christina, whose son he claimed to be, he was deserted by his followers and beheaded. Two of the bishops suspected of having favoured his pretensions, were accused of high treason, brought to trial, and found guilty. Whether they were so or not, it is not for us to say; but they made their public entry into the capital, riding backwards on two half-starved horses, and dressed in filthy rags. One had a bark mitre on his head, the other a crown of straw. A brutal mob followed them with loud cries through the streets. Like felons, they were compelled to drink out of the same cup with the executioner on the scaffold, and were then beheaded and impaled.

The Archbishop was now the principal obstacle to the king's ulterior views, for some of the sees were vacant and others filled with creatures of his own. Notwithstanding the timidity of his character, he was, as we have already stated, a good and holy man, who had the interests of religion at heart, and who obstructed the royal policy as far as he could. The whole weight of his personal and professional influence would be thrown into the scale against any project for abolishing Catholicity and substituting Lutheranism in its stead. Gustavus tried to act upon his fears and force him into compliance. At first he demanded possession of the fortresses, which from time immemorial had been the property of the See, and which he had sworn at his consecration to preserve; and when the prelate proved refractory, seized his goods, persecuted his relatives, and when all failed, imprisoned him in one of the convents of Stockholm, on the pretence of treason against the majesty of the king. But it was all in vain. The Lutheran minister, Laurence, was sent to influence his

sentiments and bring him over to his side. He spoke of what the king could do to those who contested his commands and opposed his will, and concluded by whispering something about imprisonment and death. "I love my life," replied the pious prelate, "I love my life and my native land, but not so well that I should give up my faith for them; for what will it profit a man to gain the world and lose his soul, or what will a man give in exchange for his soul? If his majesty chooses to send me forth from my country for ever, let him do so. The earth and the fulness thereof is the Lord's. If he chooses to have me cut asunder, so let it be; the same was done to the holy Isaiah before me. If I am to be cast into the sea, the same happened to the persecuted Jonas also. If I am to be stoned to death, I have the martyr Stephen to encourage and sustain me in my sufferings; and if I lose my head, I but become thereby more like the sainted Baptist. Let him take away my worldly goods if he so pleases. Naked I came forth from my mother's womb, and naked I am content to return to the earth." Such a man was not to be forced into compliance with the royal will. Though not possessing the active energy that would enable him to grapple successfully with the policy of the government, he had that spirit of quiet and patient endurance against which its power would exert itself in vain; and it was resolved to get rid of him in a sort of honourable exile. He was sent as it were on a special embassy to the Polish court, and told that his dispatches would be forwarded to him at Dantzic. He went and waited, but the dispatches never came, but in their stead an intimation that his presence would be required in Sweden no more. He repaired to Rome, laid his case before Pope Clement VII. but there was, alas! no remedy. He devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits, and wrote a valuable history of his native country down to the accession of Gustavus. His last years were spent at Venice, waiting for the opening of the Council of Trent, and were occupied in the composition of his work. It is said that in one of the hospitals of Rome, in great poverty and distress, about the year 1544, died the last Catholic Archbishop of Upsala.

When the archbishop was gone, the king had comparatively few enemies to resist him. He had nothing now to fear from Rome; for the Pope, once so dreaded, was at this time a prisoner of the Emperor, and the Vatican,

whence had been wont to issue the voice before whose dread sounds tyranny had so often trembled, was become a prey to his Lutheran soldiery, more barbarous, it is said, than any Goth or Vandal that ever desecrated the shrine of Peter. Gustavus had, moreover, a large and efficient standing army, officered by German Lutherans, completely at his command. The senate was in a great degree composed of his own friends, and he feared no foreign enemy, for he had just concluded a treaty with Denmark. He therefore believed that the time was come, to complete finally his intentions. The axe was about to be laid to the root of the tree which saints had planted and martyrs watered with their blood. He called a meeting of the States at Westeras, and to overawe the deliberations, and deprive the members of any inconvenient freedom of discussion, he took care to fill the town with a large body of troops, whom he directed to call loudly for the pay, which the king, calculating on such a contingency, permitted purposely to fall into arrear. On the first day of meeting, he gave a grand entertainment to the members of the Diet. According to the old established ceremonial on such occasions, it was usual to place the bishops near the king and above the laity, but on the present they were placed immediately below. It was the first time since the days of Erik, that they were subjected to such an indignity, and was justly considered as a symptom of what they had yet to expect, and what the monarch had yet in store. Alarmed at the danger that threatened their body, the clergy assembled in the evening at the church of St. Giles, and with closed doors, deliberated on the measures to be adopted in the crisis. The Bishop of Linkoping, the senior suffragan, was called to the chair in the absence of the Metropolitan. He was the only one of her old bishops that the Swedish church possessed in the hour of her greatest difficulty. His hair was grey, and his step was feeble with age, and the words of counsel fell tremulously from his tongue, but it was not the tremor of timidity or fear. It was the dead of night—not a sound was heard save that of their own whispered voices that murmured through the dark aisles, as if the sainted dead that lay buried there sent forth audibly their approval—and by the light of one glimmering lamp, they swore before God and his altar, and on the bones of his holy witnesses, to resist the threatened innovations to the utmost, and defend their

faith and church, even though their advocacy should lead them to the scaffold. This high resolve they recorded in a solemn deed; and that the writing might not fall into the royal hands, they dug up one of the flags of the church, and buried it there as the place of greatest security.

The States assembled on the following day, and the Chancellor explained the object for which they had been called together. It was the usual story, an empty exchequer, an unpaid soldiery, dilapidated fortresses. He required that a considerable portion of the church property should be assigned permanently for these purposes. The opposition was led by the bishop of Linköping, who said that much had been already given, and that concession had reached an end. He was supported and followed by Ture Johnson Roos, great Marshal of the kingdom. His high dignity and his great age—he was the oldest of the nobles—gave him considerable weight, and his words much importance in the assembly, and great was the surprise of all, and not little the dismay of Gustavus, when he adopted the bishop's sentiments, and objected to any further concession. The clergy cheered and applauded, said they had vowed to preserve their rights and privileges unaltered, and could consent to no appropriation without the sanction of the Holy See. Surprised and baffled at the moment, the king dissolved the meeting in haste, and retired to his own apartments. He was, or he pretended to be in a perfect fury; said that he never more would consent to be their sovereign; that they were ungrateful and obstinate, and never more should receive the light of his countenance. The Marshal, on the other hand, was conducted home amid the acclamations of his party, and a final check was seemingly put to the progress of spoliation. But the first act of opposition was not followed up with energy and perseverance, there was a want of system in the tactics of the opposition, or rather there were no tactics at all. Three days of angry debate followed one another, but nothing effectual was determined or done. During these days the royal emissaries were at work, and when they met on the fourth day the fruits of their activity appeared. There was treachery and desertion in the camp, and among the traitors we are sorry to say were the two bishops of Stregnez and Westeras; the former spoke strongly in favour of the appropriation, praised the king's zeal for religion, and said that it was by no means necessary to

consult the Holy See. When the bishops deserted the cause, who could expect that the laity would remain faithful? Afraid of the royal displeasure, anxious as soon as possible to retrace their steps, and sheltering their defection under the sanction of episcopal authority, they professed their readiness to agree in the proposed enactments. After gaining such a victory, the opposition was effectually crushed, and nothing could be refused. It was resolved:—1. That the superfluous revenues of the church should be appropriated to the crown.—2. That all property given to the church since the year 1445, should revert to the crown, or to the families of those by whom the grant was originally made.—3. That the pure word of God should be preached in all the churches of the kingdom, and that the bishops, deans, and all other dignitaries should be nominated by the crown, without any reference to Rome.—4. That the king should have full power to remove, depose, or punish the clergy, without reference to any ecclesiastical tribunal. The diet voted these and some other similar resolutions with outstretched hands, and when the sounds of their acclamations died away, the Catholic church had no longer a legal existence in Sweden. To prevent any further opposition or resistance, Gustavus demanded of each of the bishops the surrender of the castle which had always been attached to the See. The obsequious ordinaries of Stregnez and Westeras complied at once, and the bishop of Linkoping was asked to give up Munkeboda. For many a year his banner had floated from its battlements, the wonder and the pride of Linkoping. Every stone of its old grey walls he knew, and often his foot had paced the steps of its turrets. Within its powerful and massive keep he feared neither angry king nor noble, and if the strong hand of tyranny and injustice threatened any of his flock, they were ever sure of finding shelter and protection there; at its portals the poor and the hungry traveller was fed, and went on his way rejoicing. It was hard, indeed, to be deprived in his old age of the patrimony of his See, and the home of his declining years, and to go forth from its gates for ever. But so it was now to be; the aged prelate sighed and hesitated. Some of the nobility besought the king to leave it to him during the few years he had yet to live. But the prelate had thwarted the monarch's views, and been a powerful obstacle in his way. Now that he was prostrate and humble before him, the



revengeful monarch trampled on him without mercy. He not only had to surrender his castle, but moreover to give security for his good behaviour. When this was done, the Diet of Westeras, the most important in its consequences that Sweden ever witnessed, was without delay dissolved.

The decrees of the Diet were followed up with vigour, for the king (to use a homely phrase) resolved to strike the iron while it was hot. Being now the supreme head by law of the Swedish church, he commenced a regular visitation. He was accompanied by a large body of cavalry, to enforce his authority, and to give effect to his missionary arrangements; Olaus and several Lutheran divines were also of his company, and by his desire, they preached in the several churches as they went along. He examined most minutely and attentively the charters by which their property was held, and wherever he found a flaw or colourable pretext, he confiscated them without mercy. Having such a direct interest in the issue, we may suspect that he did not very nicely discriminate between the shadow of a flaw, and the reality. So sweeping was the effect of the royal scrutiny, and so wholesale the confiscation, that in this one journey the protestant historian assures us that no fewer than 16,000 manor farms were alienated to the crown. The lion's share he kept himself; the remainder he divided among his followers, soldiers, courtiers, favourites—every one who had proved himself the servile and obsequious minion of the royal will came in for his portion of the sacrilegious plunder. The clergy who consented to embrace the new religion, were allowed to retain their property for a time. Those who spurned the proffered bribe, and preferred poverty and exile to riches and apostasy, had to leave their native country, and many years afterwards were to be seen begging their bread from door to door through the continent of Europe. Among the many noble examples of devotedness and heroic self-sacrifice afforded us by the faithful of those times, cotemporary writers make honourable mention of the Swedish nuns. Threats and promises, the sunshine of the royal smile, and the terrors of the prison cell, were tried by turns to shake their constancy, but they were always tried in vain. In their saddest reverse of fortune, and in the darkest hour of their melancholy history, they remained ever true to that first faith which they plighted at the altar. The aged bishop of Linköping

took refuge for a time in the Olivetan convent at Dantzic ; but afterwards removed to that of Landa in Poland, where he died. These were, however, honourable exceptions. Great numbers of the secular clergy preferred to keep quiet possession of their livings, even at the expense of conscience, if any peace was possible to be had at such a sacrifice ; and many of the monks and friars availed themselves of the universal license to forget and violate their vows, and return once more to the indulgences and dissipations of that world which they had so solemnly forsaken for ever.

Gustavus had deferred his coronation until now, being unwilling to take the usual oaths about preserving the privileges and property of the church. But that business being now disposed of, he determined to have it done without delay. Previously, however, to the ceremony, he wished to provide for the stability of the new order of things, by appointing a Lutheran to the Archiepiscopal See of Upsala. The presence of the archbishop would also give additional eclat to his own coronation. But it was easier to appoint than to have him consecrated. With all their timidity and selfishness, the other bishops of the kingdom had some lingering qualms of conscience, and objected to take a part in the proceedings. The delicate task of negotiating the transaction was confided to the chancellor Anderson ; ever fertile in resources, and unscrupulous in his means of attaining his object, he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the bishop of Westeras, and this prelate had the address to draw over to his side three other bishops, namely, those of Abo, Scara, and Stregnez. The simple and too confiding prelates were persuaded by the promises of Anderson and the parties to be consecrated ; a promise which was formally made in writing, that immediately after their consecration, they would make their excuses to the Holy See, and seek a canonical confirmation of their appointment. They promised and were consecrated ; but having obtained their wished-for ends, they thought no more of Rome or its confirmation.\* The new archbishop was Laurence Petri,

\* Messanius in his *Scondic Chronology*, says, "Anno. 1528. Princeps Gustavus, suæ inaugurationi, Presulum quorundam ratus consecrationem ipse præmittendam, Magnum Scarensem, Magnum Stregnensem et Martinum Abogensem, Stregnesiæ, quinto Januarii per Arosiensem procurat Antistitem Petrum solemniter invitandos. Nec prius Laurentius Andreæ illud cui negotium Rex commisisset, Petrum huc permovere poterat quam Candidati literis spondidissent, quod sibi

the brother of the Lutheran Olaus; and hence it is that the Swedish hierarchy, although Lutherans, have a regular succession of validly ordained prelates from the catholic times. When the Lutheran archbishop was consecrated, the king gave directions for the ceremony of his own coronation to be performed; it took place a week after with great pomp in the Cathedral church of Upsala.

He now publicly declared himself a Lutheran, and the Reformation went on with great strides. Lutherans were placed in all the churches. Olaus was appointed minister of Stockholm, and his brother, as we have just now seen, was enthroned in the Metropolitan See of the kingdom. The clergy of the old school who consented to retain their parishes, were required to marry as proof their sincerity; to encourage them to compliance, he gave his own sister-in-law as wife to the new archbishop. The splendour of the connection would remove, it was thought, any scandal it might cause, or at least, would reconcile thereto the party more immediately concerned. Great, indeed, at first, was the surprise of the good people of Upsala, at the clerical phenomenon thus exhibited to them in the person of the archbishop's lady, and marvellous was the gossip of the good wives about the fruits of the archbishop's conjugal union, but the example was followed nevertheless, and adopted by many of his brethren. Disturbances occasionally broke out in some of the remote provinces, but the king had spies employed to find out the secret movements of the parties he suspected. There was scarcely a family of any note whose movements were not narrowly watched, and accurately reported to the government; and before these disturbances became dangerous, the ringleaders were seized and brought to punishment. In many of the churches mass continued to be said, and the sacraments administered in Latin, but these remnants of their ancient faith and practices were, after a short time, abolished. The diet of Orebro, which met in 1529, decreed the uniformity of religious services, enjoined on all pastors the use of the Lutheran ritual, and made Swedish the language of the liturgy. Some have asserted, that in this Diet the confession of Augsburg was received as the rule of faith; but this cannot be, inasmuch as the Diet of Augsburg

confirmationem Romæ impetraturi essent et Petri essent illic excusationem facturi, citra licentiam pontificiam consecrantis."—Lib. 5, page 41. The Bishops must have been very simple or very credulous, to suppose that Rome would, after what had lately taken place, give any sanction to such an appointment.

was not held until the following year. The articles of faith, however, of Augsburg and Orebro are substantially the same. It was several years before the Catholic religion entirely died away. The old people long continued to look with horror upon the new doctrines, and to loathe the ministry of their married priests. Even to this day, the peasants of the remote country districts may be heard muttering an Ave Maria of their old Catholic prayers, of which they still preserve a traditional recollection.

We have hitherto followed Gustavus Wasa in his career of spoliation and injustice; it is time that we take a glance at the private life of the Northern Reformer. He was three times married; his first wife was the princess of Saxe Lauenburg. He was a harsh and a brutal husband, often abused her with words and blows, and if the scandal of the court of Stockholm speaks true, her sudden death was caused by the blow of a hammer she received. Her only offence was a kind intimation to her and his relation of the king's intentions in his regard. She was married only four years, and left a son who was the successor of his father. His second wife, Margaret, bore him ten children, of whom eight only reached maturity; she died in the year 1551; he was then sixty-one years old. Those who remarked his love for the late queen, and how much he grieved for her loss, said he never would marry again; but the Royal Reformer and apostle of religion in Sweden, was not to leave this life without adding other crimes to the sacrilege, robbery, and perhaps murder, of which he was already guilty. That other crime was incest. Margaret's sister was married to Stenbock, the governor of Torpa. She bore him several children, among them was the young and beautiful Lady Katherine. The old king saw her, and was smitten with her beauty; and though his late wife's grave was scarcely covered with its first verdure, he determined to take her as his wife. Her affections were already engaged to the young Gustavus Roos, and suspecting the errand on which the monarch came, she sought to hide herself until his departure. But when royal suitors come to woo, in vain will maidens run away. Even mothers will make known the place of their concealment, and the young Katherine was brought back, to hear the king confess his love, and promise to make her his for ever. She asked her parents what was best for her to do. What they said we know not; but when the monarch urged

his suit again, she answered "Yes," to his proposal. But there were difficulties still in the way of union. Marriages between uncles and the nieces of their deceased wives are, by the canon law, invalid. At a meeting of the States he asked whether such marriages were lawful, and they answered in the negative. He told them that he himself had a personal interest in the answer, and that he wished it to be in the affirmative. The complaisant senate took the hint, and replied accordingly. Some of the bishops said, that though such marriages were not permitted by divine law, yet that kings formed exceptions to the general rule. In vain did the archbishop remonstrate and seek to dissuade him from the connection. Alas! he little knew the secrets of the human heart, who sought to dissuade an old man from a marriage on which he had once resolved, especially when the bride was fair and young. What success could he hope to have when the ardent and aspiring lover was an aged and hoary king! He disregarded the remonstrances of his Metropolitan, and the latter refused to be present at, or to bless the union. The new Lutheran Bishop of Linköping officiated at the ceremony, which was performed amid the contempt and ridicule of the kingdom. But even the royal crown could not wean the heart of Katherine from her first and early love; and though she strove to reconcile herself to her fate, the memory of him who won her young affections, came now and then, like a troubled dream, to sadden and disturb her. She had the very inconvenient habit of talking in her sleep, and one night that Gustavus lay awake in the restlessness of old age, he overheard the words, "Gustavus I hold dear, but Roos will never be effaced from my heart." For some such incidents of the married life, old men must be prepared who marry youthful wives.

In the list of the Royal accomplishments, must also be numbered the good old gentlemanly practice of profane swearing. To such and so scandalous an extent was it carried, that even Olaus, the Lutheran minister, made it frequently the subject of reprehension from the pulpit, and in the course of his invectives, went so far as to call him a miser and a tyrant. There appeared also about the same time some parhelions in the heavens. Olaus caused representations of these phenomena to be painted and hung up in the open church, with an inscription stating that they boded some impending punishment upon the land, in con-

sequence of the king's wickedness. This was rather more than his majesty could be expected to bear. He accordingly wrote to the archbishop, commanding that no further step should be taken in the work of the Reformation, without the royal permission expressly given, and that this order was to be obeyed by the bishops and the clergy, "if they wished to avoid disagreeables." And as they had no particular wish to experience these "disagreeables," the public heard no more of the royal swearing. But that a tighter rein might be kept on the clerical body for the future, he appointed a layman to be superintendent of the church, and gave him a council to advise and assist him. To this council every ecclesiastical functionary in the kingdom was made subject, and the right divine which the bishops claimed of governing their flocks was by this means effectually abolished.

Even in this life the divine vengeance seemed to fall upon the agents by whose means the preceding changes were wrought, and the Catholic religion abolished. A conspiracy was entered into a few years after the Diet of Orebro, by some persons to assassinate the king in the high church of Stockholm. The authors were detected, and by some means Olaus and the Chancellor Anderson were implicated in the plot. They endeavoured in vain to excuse themselves on the plea that the knowledge of the intended murder was communicated to them in the secrecy of the Lutheran confession. This was an excuse that Gustavus would by no means admit. It may do very well for the poor, but when a king's life was in jeopardy, it was a different matter. They were both condemned to death. The archbishop himself had the unpleasant duty to perform of pronouncing and signing his brother's sentence. The chancellor saved his life by the sacrifice of all his ill-gotten and sacrilegious wealth, and spent the remainder of his days in poverty and retirement. Olaus, being more guilty, had more difficulty in obtaining a remission of his punishment. He spent three years in prison, and was liberated only on the payment of 500 Hungarian guilders as a ransom. He died in 1552. But even in his grave his ingratitude was a source of trouble to his master. He wrote, some short time before his death, a history of Sweden to the beginning of the Reformation; and the conduct of the past and living members of the house of Wasa being spoken of in terms by no means

complimentary, the king ordered every copy he could lay his hands on, to be collected together and burned. A few of these records of Lutheran consistency and gratitude have, however, been preserved.

Calamity and affliction embittered the monarch's latter years, and family misfortunes hovered round his domestic hearth, like avenging ministers, to punish him even here for the wrongs he had done to God's children, and the evils he brought upon the church. Erik, his eldest son and successor, was subject to periodical fits of insanity; and, indeed, was seldom entirely free from aberrations of intellect. Magnus became a fool; his daughter Cecilia, even in her father's lifetime, by her folly, vice, and indiscretion, brought down his gray hairs in sorrow to the grave. The temper of Gustavus became each day more harsh and violent, and on his death-bed even his own children could scarce remain an hour in his company. He died at Stockholm on the 29th of September, 1560, and with his two first queens, Catherine and Margaret, lies buried within the high altar of the cathedral church of Upsala.

We had intended to have given here a brief summary and concluding estimate of his character; but, having already trespassed at some length on the patience of our readers, we must leave each to form his own opinion upon the subject. We trust they will perceive, from the brief statement placed here before them, that with such instruments and such means, the Reformation in Sweden could not have been the work of God. The principal actors of the scene, and the prime movers of the innovations, have long since gone to their dread accounting, but their work remains, and may remain for ages yet to come, the instrument of error and perdition to millions, and a warning and example to the world that the evil which men do, does not terminate with themselves.

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ART. IX.—*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria; being a Series of Illustrations of the Ancient Versions of the Bible, copied from Illustrated MSS., executed between the Fourth and Sixteenth Centuries*, 4to. By J. O. WESTWOOD, F. L. S. London: William Smith, 1845.

THE immense improvements which have been made in typography, may be said, in the strictest sense of the

word, to have wrought a revolution in the art of printing; for it has taken us back to old practices which had become obsolete, and, strange to say, has made us return to what our fathers, perhaps, thought a barbarism of darker ages. The first typographers naturally borrowed their ideas of elegance from the manuscripts which they sought to multiply by the press, and sought in some sort to imitate their embellishments. Hence, at first, the initials of books and chapters were left blank, that they might be supplied in colours, and even illuminated by hand, or they were printed in ornamental blocks. Head and tail pieces were similarly supplied. But by degrees all this taste for ornament seemed to fade away; plainness and economy seemed alone to be sought, and the beauty of typography was apparently considered to consist in there being nothing, when a book was opened, to disturb the eye in its contemplation of even lines and spotless margins. The slightest illustration enhanced immensely the cost of a volume; and it was only in magnificent quartos of travels, or princely folios of natural history, far beyond the ambition of plebeian literature, that one looked for the gratification of the eye, in conjunction with that of the mind.

At length the wheel has gone round, till a plain book, with nothing but printing in it, looks ghastly and insipid: the new publications on our bookseller's counter, glow like a flower-bed, in all the brilliancy of coloured wrappers; and on peeping within, be it a prayer-book or a collection of ancient minstrelsy, we meet nothing but illustration—fanciful borders straitening the letter-press into narrow columns, or with an array of horse and foot, huntsmen and sprites making desultory inroads into its proper territory, cutting away its rightful space, and utterly deranging the symmetry which the composing-stick is supposed to enforce.

Where all this is to end we know not; but this we think is manifest, that there is a catholic air about such books which strongly contrasts with the puritanic plainness and stiffness of their predecessors. And, in fact, is there not in them the acknowledgment of a catholic truth, that a picture is as good a book to learn by as rows of type, and that we can interest the mind and impress truth and facts upon it, as well through the eye as through the ear? Furthermore, one cannot help being struck by the tendency which this taste for illustration has developed, to revive



catholic art, or at least what is akin to it. That this should be the case with regard to devotional books, is but natural; but it is no less obviously true respecting other works. It is through this sphere of art that the German school is making its way into England, and no one can fail to see the germs of a purer style and a more religious thought in the illustrations of our ancient songs and ballads. But a still nearer approach to the richness of old catholic decoration, one which promises to assist us in rivalling the delicate and glowing illumination of our ancient manuscripts, is to be found in the recent combination of colouring with printing, without which we could not have possessed the splendid illustrations of Mr. Pugin's invaluable glossary. This has certainly been the most useful as well as the most splendid application of this discovery to a religious, or indeed to any purpose. And after this, we would place, as far as we have seen, the rich and beautiful volume before us.

It is not easy to review that which has to be looked at more than read: and we are sure that for one who takes the trouble to read the learned disquisitions of this volume, twenty will be content with looking at its curious and quaint illustrations. Of what these consist, a short notice of the contents of the volume will inform our readers. Its object, as its title indicates, is to bring before us specimens of the writing and embellishment of biblical manuscripts of different countries and different periods. This it effects, not merely as older works on the subject have done, in plain black engraving, but with all the complication of colours so ingeniously interwoven in old illuminations, enriched with gold and silver. These specimens occupy fifty quarto plates, and are a hundred and sixty in number. They consist of facsimiles—first, of Hebrew and Samaritan; secondly, of Greek; thirdly of Oriental biblical manuscripts. After these, come Latin manuscripts, written in different countries, but principally in England and Ireland. Lastly, we have specimens of more recent versions of Scripture.

There is no attempt, in the arrangement of the specimens, to form a regular chronological series, so as to assist the scholar in conjecturing from them the age or country of any MS. which may come in his way, nor even to compose a systematic course of illustrations for the critical study of the Scripture texts or their versions. We cer-

tainly think that great advantage would have been gained by such a disposition of the materials collected, as would permit their being better adapted for purposes of study, instead of their forming, as they now do, rather a book for the curious. At the same time we are ready to admit, that they will be most valuable also to the scholar who wishes to study the topographical, rather than the chronological distribution of biblical caligraphy. Thus, for Latin MSS. the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Lombard writing, both as regards the letters and illuminations, will be learnt easily and accurately from the beautiful specimens in Mr. Westwood's work.

By far the most valuable portion of the work is that which refers to early Irish manuscripts. Without colour it would have been impossible to give an idea of their peculiarity. The complicated patterns into which all their illuminations run, would lose their beauty without it, and degenerate into a mere confusion of lines, and ill-drawn and monstrous figures. No fewer than eight plates are devoted to these interesting documents, and we think they are well bestowed. The great antiquity of many of them cannot be doubted, and when we consider that they have been kept cushioned as relics in silver *cumdach*s or cases, unopened till our times, and thus have them unaltered and untouched since they were in the hands of ancient Irish saints, we cannot but feel veneration as well as interest in their regard. In fact, we would rather see such sacred books in a reliquary chapel, than in the Museum of the Royal Hibernian Society. There is one style of art to which we fancy we can see many points of resemblance in the ornaments of these manuscripts, but to which the editor has not alluded. We mean the Mexican picture books, as published by Mr. Aglio; though we have not that splendid work at hand, there is much in pattern and in colouring in Mr. Westwood's, that recalls it to our memory.

A proportionate space of letter-press is, of course, allotted to the explanation and illustration of these plates; and the editor goes more systematically to work with the subject of them, than he does with any other portion of his task. It is not our intention to follow him in his history of early Irish ecclesiastical literature; but we cannot pass by unnoticed a remark which might easily mislead any unwary reader, who might content himself with running over

the preface, and then merely amuse himself with the plates. In the first page of his preface, the editor writes as follows:

“The collation of many of these MSS. has also furnished additional (although unlooked for) evidence, that the ancient church in these islands, was independent of Rome, and that it corresponded, on the contrary, with the Eastern churches.”

We have been so accustomed to see our faith confirmed by every new document of antiquity brought to light, that really we opened our eyes with some surprise on reading this announcement. We could not, indeed, see very correctly the connexion of the two assertions; “the church of these islands was *independent* of Rome,” and “*on the contrary*, it *corresponded* with the churches of the east.” When all the world was united in religious communion, we do not see how *correspondence* with eastern churches, was *contrary* to dependence on Rome. However, we hastened on to the account of Irish biblical manuscripts, and read it with some eagerness; but found ourselves at the end, without discovering one single ground drawn from them, whether “additional,” or otherwise, of the independence of the British or Irish church. The description of the “Book of Kells,” opens, indeed, with what we must consider meant for an argument, and it is reduced to this: the version of the New Testament, found in the Irish Bibles, is not that of St. Jerome, but either an older or a mixed one. Now “the Romish church in the sixth century, strenuously endeavoured to substitute the Vulgate translation in lieu of the old Italic and Septuagint versions; therefore the Irish church was independent of Rome.” But unfortunately for this argument, if it deserve the name, no proof is brought, or can be brought, that the church of Rome, by any decree, or otherwise, ever attempted to suppress the old versions, whether the Latin or the Septuagint. As to the latter, it became disused with the language in which it was written, or rather it never was the version of the west; and as to the Latin ante-Hieronyman version or versions, (for we do not allow the *Itala* theory), they gradually were laid aside for that of St. Jerome; but we defy Mr. Westwood to bring a single proof of any attempt to suppress them. They were still in use in Spain till St. Gregory’s time, indifferently with St. Jerome’s. Nay, his version of the Psalms has never

been adopted by the church, and must be sought for in his work, not in our Psalters.

But we think Mr. Westwood should have gone one step further, and shown us from what eastern church the Irish procured its *Latin* version, and moreover the *Itala*, according to him, that is, the version used in the Roman church before St. Jerome. For, if their having different version from the Roman church in the sixth century proves independence from that church, surely their having the same three centuries earlier, will prove some connexion between them. Or further, we may ask, how comes it that the Irish, if descended from an eastern church, did not get and use a version in their own language, instead of a Latin one? If they were free from modern Roman corruptions, surely they ought to have had their own version. Wherefore should Mœiel Brith Mac Durnan, Dimma Mac Nathi, St. Columbkille, St. Mulling or Mac Regol, who made their own entries into their bibles in good Irish, write and have bibles and gospels in the unknown tongue of Rome? And how account for St. Jerome's letter to Damasus, and many Hieronyman readings being found in their copies, if the great question of the independence of Ireland from Rome, turns on her admission or rejection of his version? Surely the whole reasoning on this subject is both misplaced and most futile.

We might urge another point. Whence comes it, that the liturgy of the Irish church was never in Irish, nor borrowed from any eastern form, but was the identical mass of the Roman Church, with its Canon, such as the Roman Church in the time of Pope Innocent I. considered as the production of St. Peter himself? This identity of liturgical usages is a much stronger argument in favour of the Roman origin of the Irish church, than such flimsy reasonings as are drawn from various readings in biblical MSS. will overthrow.

We must regret, that, in a splendid work like that before us, which treats of what might well be considered neutral ground, the editor should have allowed himself to be drawn into controversy, or let remarks escape him which are not correct, respecting catholic doctrines. Thus he more than once tells us that the Vulgate is held by catholics, and declared by the council of Trent to be *inspired*. However, as we are willing to attribute such remarks not to any bad feeling, but to the author's reliance on those

whom he supposed to know the subject, and as he has really given us a treat in his magnificent publication, which we know how duly to value, we will allow such inaccuracies to be counterbalanced by his acknowledgment, founded on his MSS., of the "veneration" and "high respect" paid to the B. Virgin "in the early Irish church." This alone will cut her off from community of feeling with the modern establishment of the country.

We conclude, once more expressing our high approbation of the artistic execution of the work before us, which reflects the highest credit on the establishment from which it has issued, as well as on its learned and careful author.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*A Grammar of the Irish Language, published for the use of the Senior Classes in the College of St. Columba.* By JOHN O'DONOVAN. Dublin, 1845.

THE first Irish Grammar, that of Father O'Mollay, was printed nearly two centuries ago, at the press of the College de Propaganda Fide in Rome: the most recent, now open upon our table, bears the name and arms of the Anglican Propagandist College of St. Columba. These facts contain a significant lesson on the importance, even in a religious point of view, of the study of the language.

We take the very earliest opportunity of recording our gratitude to Mr. O'Donovan, for this invaluable work. It bears evidence in every page of the hand, not alone of an Irish scholar, but of an accomplished philologist, and a master of the philosophy of language. Being ourselves, as regards our native language, among the *seri studiorum*, we are fully prepared to appreciate the advantage of a grammar, constructed, like Becker's German Grammar, or the Sanscrit Grammar of Bopp, on such principles, that it converts the mechanical drudgery of the study into a healthful and improving exercise of the mind.

In a very comprehensive, but concise Introduction, Mr. O'Donovan has contrived to introduce a summary of all that is important in O'Flaherty, Innes, O'Brien, Mr. Eligot,\* and O'Connor, on the question of the origin of the Irish alphabet, a compendious account of the principal grammars and grammatical dissertations published

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\* We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our opinion on the literary character of this eminent Irish scholar, to whom grievous injustice has been done in a recent popular biography. His essay, to which Mr. O'Donovan refers, would be in itself sufficient to establish his title to the character of profound and general scholarship.

up to the present time, and a very interesting dissertation upon the dialects of the Irish and its kindred languages, the Gaelic, the Manx, and the Welsh; and although he is necessarily extremely brief, nothing could possibly be more satisfactory—in truth, he has left but little to be supplied upon many of these topics.

Among the practical portions of the Grammar, we are particularly pleased with the Declensions, which, as every tyro knows, form the *pons asinorum* of the study. There is no end to the variety of systems which have been devised by the different grammarians, from Stewart, who reduced the number to two, up to Haliday, who makes it no less than seven. We have always thought that a very undue importance is attached to this point. There is no language possessing inflexions for declension at all—as Greek, Latin, Hebrew (to a certain extent), and even German—that is not equally irregular and unsatisfactory in this particular. Mr. O'Donovan's system, which makes few declensions, is simple and intelligible, and his rules are very complete and satisfactory.

On the verbs he is very full and methodical. His table of prepositions and prepositional adverbs is extremely useful; and there are a few practical sections on derivative words, which will facilitate the acquisition of the language for advanced students very much, and abridge the labour of using a dictionary.

He has added a chapter containing specimens of the language, from the seventh century to the present time; and his illustrations, we should add, are borrowed throughout from old and classic works, many of which are still in MS., and all, or nearly all, unused for the purpose of grammatical illustration.

II.—*Art Maguire, or the Broken Pledge.* By WILLIAM CARLETON, Author of “*Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.*” Dublin: 1845.

THE title of this little volume sufficiently indicates its purpose; and the name of the author is the best guarantee of the skill and success with which it is wrought out. In power and delicacy of touch, no painter of the Irish peasant ever equalled Mr. Carleton; and never did he exert this extraordinary faculty with a nobler aim than in the present effort. We leave the plot of this little tale unexplained; but, as a sample of the exquisite tenderness and truth of the sketches with which it abounds, we transcribe the following picture from the premature death-bed of the “Pledge-breaker,” who, in a paroxysm of drunkenness, has inflicted a deadly blow upon his darling child:

“‘Art,’ said his wife, wringing her hands, and sobbing as if her heart would break, ‘if you wish me to be firm, and to set our children an example of courage, now that it’s so much wanted, oh, don’t spake as you do—my heart cannot stand it.’”

“‘Well, no,’ said he, ‘I won’t; but when I think of what I *might* be this day, and of what I *am*—when I think of what *you* and *our children* might be—an’ when I see what you *are*—and all through my means—when I think of this, Margaret dear, an’ that I’m torn away from you and them in the very prime of life—but,’ he added, turning hastily from that view of his situation, ‘God is good an’ merciful, an’ that is my hope.’”

“‘Let it be so, Art, dear,’ replied Margaret; ‘as for us, God will take care of

us, and in him we will put our trust too; remember that he is the God and Father of the widow an' the orphan.'

"He here appeared to be getting very weak, but in a minute or two he rallied a little, and said, whilst his eye, which was now becoming heavy, sought about until it became fixed upon his son—'Margaret, bring *him* to me.'

"She took the boy by the hand, and led him over to the bedside.

"Put his hand in mine,' said he, 'put his blessed hand in mine.'

"She did so, and Art looked long and steadily upon the face of his child.

"Margaret,' said he, 'you know that durin' all my wild and sinful courses, I always wore the lock of hair you gave me, when we wor young, next my heart—my poor weak heart.'

"Margaret buried her face in her hands, and for some time could not reply.

"I don't wish, darlin', said he, 'to cause you sorrow—you will have too much of that; but I ax it as a favour—the last from my lips—that you will now cut off a lock of *his* hair—his fair hair—an' put it along with your own upon my heart; it's all I'll have of you both in the grave where I'll sleep; and Margaret, do it now—oh, do it soon.'

"Margaret, who always carried scissors hanging by her pocket, took them out, and cutting a long abundant lock of the boy's hair, she tenderly placed it where he wished, in a little three-cornered bit of black silk that was suspended from his neck, and lay upon his heart.

"Is it done?' said he.

"It is done,' she replied as well as she could.

"This, you know, is to lie on my heart,' said he, 'when I'm in my grave; you won't forget that.'

"No—oh, no, no; but, merciful God, support me! for Art, my husband, my life, I don't know how I'll part with you.'

"Well, may God for ever bless you, my darlin' wife, and support you and my orphans! Bring them here!'

"Now, forgive me all,' said he, 'forgive me all!'

"But, indeed, we cannot paint the tenderness and indescribable affliction of his wife and children whilst uttering their forgiveness of all his offences against them, as he himself termed it. In the meantime he kept his son close by him, nor would he suffer him to go one moment from his reach.

"Atty,' said he, in a low voice, which was rapidly sinking; 'Put his cheek over to mine,' he added to his wife, 'then raise my right arm an' put it about his neck;—Atty,' he proceeded, 'won't you give me one last word before I depart?'

"His wife observed that as he spoke a large tear trickled down his cheek. Now, the boy was never in the habit of speaking when he was spoken to, or of speaking at all, with the exception of the words we have already given. On this occasion, however, whether the matter was a coincidence or not, it is difficult to say, he said in a quiet low voice, as if imitating his father's—'Daddy, won't you come to bed for me, for *your own* Atty?'

"The reply was very low, but still quite audible.

"Yes, darlin', I—I will—I will for *you*, Atty.' The child said no more, neither did the father; and when the sorrowing wife, struck by the stillness which for a minute or two succeeded the words, went to remove the boy, she found that his father's spirit had gone to that world where, we firmly trust, his errors, and follies, and sins, have been forgiven. Whilst taking the boy away, she looked upon her husband's face, and there still lay the large tear of love and repentance: she stooped down—she kissed it—and it was no longer there."—P. 250.

III.—*Tales: Designed chiefly for the Young.* Translated from the German of CHRISTOPHER VON SCHMID, Canon of Augsburg. With Illustrations. Parts I—III. Dublin: 1845.

WE have already recorded our opinion of the original of these admirable tales; and we shall only, for the present, express our satisfaction at the progress of the English translation, which is issued in monthly parts. The third part is now upon our table. The first and second contain each several tales, but the third, we perceive, is entirely occupied with "The Flower-Basket," a story of

more varied interest, and more complicated plot, than any of its simple predecessors.

When we compare these, and the many other delightful books which are daily put into the hands of the young generation, with the hard and husky food of the young mind when ours was young, we are often tempted to regret that our lot had not been cast upon these happy days, rather than on the less genial ones upon which it was destined to fall.

IV.—*The Practice of Angling, particularly as regards Ireland.* By O'GORMAN, 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin: 1845.

THE streams, rivers, and lakes of Ireland, supply abundant opportunities for the exercise of the "gentle craft." That this exercise shall no longer be merely physical, but shall partake largely of the intellectual character, which the "brethren of the angle," from the classic Appian down to the no less classic Isaac Walton, have made it their boast to claim for their art, the author of these spirited and thoroughly professional volumes has done his best to secure. He is a genuine Irishman and a devoted lover of the sport; and in these days of reviving nationality, we regard his book—which is a thoroughly Irish one—as not the least remarkable among the signs of the times. It is a manual of "*The Piscatorial Resources of Ireland.*"

The first volume is general—full of most valuable professional lore, and abounding with solid practical instructions, which extend to all the minutiae of the craft—the rod, the wheel, the line, the casting-line, the hook, and the fly—in all its endless varieties. But it is interspersed with curious odds and ends of literature, anecdote, topography, and antiquities, which lighten and relieve its dryness, and make it readable for the merest tyro, and even for the uninitiated and uninterested literary loungeur. The second volume is still more generally interesting, and enters in still greater detail into the different localities in Ireland, and their capabilities in reference to the subject of the work. Some of the descriptions of scenery are not unworthy a place in a purely literary work on the beauties of the country; and the anecdotes, though occasionally a little overdone, never degenerate into that caricature of Irish vulgarity which has so long been the disgrace of our national or pseudo national literature.

As regards the *personnel* of the volume, it may gratify "the gentle brethren" at the other side of the water, to learn that their craft in Ireland has to boast the possession of some of our highest names. "O'Gorman," in his preface and occasional notes, does unbounded honour to the professional merits of Lord Howth, Sir Percy Nugent, the late Master of the Rolls; Master Henn and his distinguished brother Jonathan, (so highly distinguished in the late State Trials); and, though last not least, the Bishop of Tuam, who it seems, is a first-rate angler.

With such names as these to commend it, there are few who will



believe the art to be any longer that cold and cruel pursuit, which drew forth and merited for its votaries, the characteristic imprecation of one whose tongue was all-powerful to curse or to bless.

"The quaint old cruel coxcomb, in his gullet  
Should have a hook, with a small trout to pull it."

V.—*Martin Luther.*—*Extracts from the Works of Martin Luther, relative to the Catholic Church and its Dogmas.* Translated by WILLIAM NUGENT SKELLY, Esq. Dublin, London, and Derby: 1845.

THIS little volume is full of interest, and especially at a time of inquiry like the present. For although the opinions of an individual can seldom be supposed to carry with them conclusive evidence of their truth, yet there is a large section in these countries with whom the opinions of Luther must necessarily retain the weight which traditionally attaches to his name; even when the opinions run counter to their preconceived views, and seem to clash with his own well-known projects and prejudices. The extracts from his work here collected, are translated from a small German compilation which is extremely popular, and has received very extensive circulation. The translation is simple, clear, and as far as a brief examination warrants us in speaking, extremely faithful, and as the passages selected are all purely defensive, and entirely free from all tendency to recriminate or revile, they may be put into the hands of the most sensitive, without fear of revolting a single prejudice.

The compilation though small is extremely comprehensive, and embraces the opinions of this extraordinary man on nearly all the questions controverted between the churches. We have not tested the accuracy of the references; but as the page and volume are in most cases referred to, it is in the power of any sceptical reader to satisfy himself at any library.

VI.—*German University Education, or the Professors and Students of Germany.* By WALTER C. PERRY, of the University of Göttingen. London: 1845.

ANY information on this subject must prove interesting at the present moment. The work before us is filled principally with details of the internal constitution and government of the universities of Western Germany, and affords but little information on the topic more immediately before the public at the present moment—their moral influence. The system of mixed education now about to be introduced into our own country, has been on a more extensive scale established in those states for many years; and we should be anxious to obtain some satisfactory information as to its actual working. But such is looked for in vain in the volume of Mr. Perry. Perhaps the author, with his religious partiality, may not be looked on as an authority sufficiently trustworthy on the question above all others interesting and important to us. There is yet much that is both new and valuable to the English public scattered throughout his pages, and we regret that

we can do no more than bestow upon them a passing and hasty notice, and select a few passages that may give an idea of their contents. First, as to the professors.

"The Lecturers at a German university, are 1st. Professors in ordinary. 2nd. Professors extraordinary. 3rd. *Privatim docentes*. The Professors in ordinary are appointed by Royal Patent, and receive a salary from government, which varies according to their reputation, services, and length of standing, from about 600 to 2000 dollars, (£90. to £300.) but does not often rise above 1200 dollars, (£180.) The Professors extraordinary are named by the ministry, and have equal rights of lecturing and receiving fees with the Professors in ordinary, but have no stated salary. It is not, however, uncommon for them to receive grants from the minister, of not more than 300 dollars, (£45.) The *Privatim docens* has his '*licentia docendi*' from the faculty to which he belongs, and is only privileged to lecture on such subjects as he has previously signified to the Dean, on his first admission to the body of teachers. The fees of the scholars, and an occasional gratuity from his hearers are his only remuneration."

As the professor extraordinary is allowed to lecture on the same subjects as the ordinary one, and has, therefore, the power of drawing off the pupils of the latter, if he be a man of superior ability, the system must act as a great incentive to exertion; but we should think that this advantage is gained at the expense of that good understanding and esteem, that should ever subsist between the members of the same literary establishment, and must open a very wide field for bickering and jealousy. The lectures are delivered by the Professor from his written MS. and are taken down in writing by the students; and the latter are never subjected to any examination until they are leaving the university. Until then they are at perfect liberty to study as much or as little as they please.

"Where two distinct and independent theological faculties exist, (as at Bonn, Breslau, and other places), they enjoy equal rights and privileges, and on all public occasions take precedence in turn. The lectures in the Catholic faculty, generally embrace the following subjects. 1st. Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities. History of Heretical Sects. 2nd. Exegesis of Old and New Testaments, with introduction to the same. Biblical Criticism, Hermeneutics Biblical Archæology. 3rd. Dogmatical Theology. 4th. Morality. 5th. Canon Law. 6th. Practical Theology. The young Catholic who wishes to become a priest, must pass his course at the university. He must then enter an ecclesiastical seminary, in which he passes several years under the immediate superintendence of his directors, and learns the practical part of his profession. When he has remained sufficiently long in this institution, which is not unlike a monastery in its interior arrangements, he is appointed chaplain, then vicar, and finally parish priest."

"The theological student who desires to enter the Lutheran church, must first complete his three years' course at the university, and then announce himself for examination to the superintendent of his district. The superintendent gives notice of this application to the consistory, who propose to the candidate certain theological subjects, on which he is required to prepare separate treatises, viz. Two on the Exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, a Catechetical lecture, in which he must show his ability to give popular instruction, a sermon, and lastly a treatise on Ecclesiastical history. Should these be approved of, he is examined in the various branches of theological science. He is also called on during this '*viva voce*' examination, to write an extempore treatise on any subject proposed by the examiners; if he passes the examination creditably, he gets a '*licentia prædicandi*, but cannot administer the sacraments. As soon as he feels himself qualified to undertake the cure of souls, which is generally two or three years after his first examination, he announces himself for the second, which differs little from the first but is more severe. After this he may offer himself a candidate for any vacant pulpit in the Lutheran church of his country; the ministers of which are generally chosen and paid by the congregation. In some parishes, however, the living is in the gift of the patron or the State.

Before his induction, if a Lutheran, he must sign the Augsburg Confession and Apostolic and Nicene Creeds. If he belong to the 'Reformed Church,' he subscribes the formulary of Dortrecht."

These extracts will give our readers some idea of the practical information contained in the volume now before us, which is, we believe, the best hand book on the German universities available to the English public.

VII.—*The Blacksmith's Daughter. A Historical Novel.* By the Author of "Walter Clayton." 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1845.

WHEN we noticed, a few months ago, the novel of Walter Clayton, and expressed our confident hope that the author would, before long, earn for himself a high rank among the writers of historical fiction, we scarcely anticipated so speedy a realization of the prediction as will be found in the volumes now before us. *The Blacksmith's Daughter* is not undeserving a place among the very best historical tales in the language.

It is a narrative founded upon the abortive attempt of the Burghers of Ghent, in 1537, to resist the unconstitutional exactions of the Imperial Government, and to protect the hereditary immunities of their city. The actors are numerous, and selected with great spirit and boldness; the scenes are varied and stirring; and the sketches of all the leading characters of the day, Charles V. Francis I. and the Dauphin, and the chief ministers of both, are extremely vigorous and true, at least to the traditional representations regarding them in which we are wont to place reliance. The minor characters too, in whom, of course, the chief interest of the tale is placed, are admirably drawn. Some of the scenes, as the death of the Miser, Frousberg, are extremely powerful as regards dramatic effect; and others, for instance, the occupation of Ghent by the imperial troops, the festivities during the Emperor's visit to the court of Francis, may be taken as examples of the very highest order of that historical sketch which it has become the fashion to interweave with the tales of modern fiction.

We had marked several passages to be extracted, but the crowded state of our pages compels us to rest content with referring to the work, as more than justifying all that we have said of its character.

VIII.—*Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation; comprising the History of the Irish Brigade in the Service of France; with an Appendix of Official Papers relative to the Brigade, from the Archives of Paris.* By the late MATTHEW O'CONNOR, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Dublin: 1845.

This long-expected and most interesting work will deserve a more detailed notice than we can at present bestow upon it. We hope to return to it in our next number.

IX.—*Rody the Rover; or the Ribbonman.* By W. CARLETON, Esq. (Duffy's Library of Ireland.) Dublin: 1845.

A THIRD work within little more than six months, and in many

respects more vigorous than either of its predecessors! Mr. Carleton has more than regained the energy and rapidity in writing by which he used to be distinguished, and he has done a great deal to atone for the offences against good feeling and good taste into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed.

The little story above-named, is intended as a warning to the humbler classes of readers in Ireland, for whom it is chiefly intended, against the fatal facility with which they were wont to allow themselves to be led into unlawful associations. It is a powerful picture of the fatal consequences of such a step; and though the character of the Rover is too revolting not to give a certain degree of improbability to the tale, yet there is so much truth in the details of the story, that it cannot fail to produce a powerful and lasting effect.

X.—*Anthologia Germanica: German Anthology: a Series of Translations from the most Popular of the German Poets.* By JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN. 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin: 1845.

We are compelled to postpone till our next publication a lengthened notice of these charming volumes, which we had prepared for the present number. Meanwhile we cordially recommend it to all lovers of German literature, and to every one who can appreciate genuine poetry, no matter what may be its garb.

XI.—*Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family, &c.* By ANDREW ARCHIBALD PATON, Esq. Longmans: 1845.

THIS is an agreeable work, the production of a gentleman of cheerful disposition, and light heart, who travels through a country concerning which less is known to us, though in Europe, than we know of lands divided from us by the ocean. Servia is in an interesting position, just emerging, after a successful revolution, from quasi-barbarism into civilization, a domestic government, and social improvements. The country seems, certainly, in reading Mr. Paton, delightful to travel in, the scenery rich, wooded, and varied, the roads sufficiently easy yet fresh to British feet, the inhabitants in that happy state which makes them hospitable and kind to the stranger; while there is just a dash of danger from roving Haiducks, sufficient to give a little colour of romance and enterprize to the first attempts at exploring. The impression left on the mind, after perusing this volume, is certainly favourable, both to the people of whom it treats, and to the author who describes them.

XII.—1. *The Phonotypic Journal.* Vols. iv. v. Published by Isaac Pitman.

2. *The Alphabet of Nature.* By ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, B. A. London: Bagster.

3. *A Manual of Phonography; or Writing by Sound.* By ISAAC PITMAN. 7th Edition. 1845.

4. *A Plea for Phonotypy and Phonography.* By A. J. ELLIS. 1845.

IN addition to these works, we have many others on our table that relate to the same subject. Perhaps some readers may wish to know what the new art is to which they belong. Phonography, then, is the art of writing (as Phonotypy is of printing) words just as they sound. In English, every one knows, several vowels are pronounced in the same way, and one vowel is pronounced in various ways. Phonography would employ one sign for the same sound, whatever the letter by which it is commonly written; and would consequently employ different figures for one vowel, according as its sound changed. The same is to be said of consonants. Now this system must be considered in two forms: first, as applicable to stenography, or short-hand; and secondly, as extended to ordinary writing and printing. As to the first of these applications, there can be no doubt that it is an excellent and valuable discovery, and deserves all encouragement. We are not, therefore, surprised to see it so widely adopted. But the idea of changing the entire orthography of the language, introducing a new alphabet, and making the whole of our mother-tongue new to the eye, we must consider impracticable and by no means desirable. We are not at all convinced that a philosopher could make, by dint of study, as good a language as many savage nations have formed by dint of chattering; there is more philosophy in the grammar of some rude tribes, than in any theory of universal language. A language is gradually moulded and pulled and twisted into its actual form by a thousand of unseen, unheeded, undiscernable agencies working on it for centuries through different stages of culture; and it is a type, and a living one, of the condition, moral and social, of the people that use it. It will and must be what *use* makes it.

“Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.”

There is no other tribunal to which it can or will submit. Now orthography is one of the outward phases of language, but is scarcely more irregular than grammar. If we must reduce our writing to strict rule, why not our verbs and substantives? Why not say *teached* and *oxes*, as well as write *Jurnul*? If we are told, because *taught* and *oxen* are old forms, remnants of our primitive Saxon, and custom has familiarized the ear to their anomaly, we reply that *Journal* no less shows itself to belong to the French source of our commingled speech, and ought to be preserved as such, and that our eye and hand are quite used to read and write it without an effort. But, in truth, the history of the Spanish language will convince any one, that even where the orthography is more phonetic and regular than our own, the attempt of even Royal Academies will fail in removing anomalies or ambiguities of letters. We must own that we like a little picturesqueness about a language, and are not so far utilitarian that we would strike out every letter which has not a distinct sound, any more than we would cut down every shrub that does not bear fruit. Many a letter which has no vocal power, keeps its place by right of a sacred prescription, which may serve, if nothing

else, to identify our language with that of Chaucer, or trace back a word to an obsolete root : and these to us are uses.

However, though we sincerely do not wish phonography or phototypy to prevail over the English of our fathers—nor do we fear it—the works before us contain much curious investigation respecting the irregularities of our sibilant mother-tongue, which will interest every scholar, and places many crabbed points of our alphabet in a new and useful light.

XIII.—*Diary in France ; mainly on topics concerning Education and the Church.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. Rivingtons: 1845.

THIS is an interesting little volume, because Dr. Wordsworth has devoted his time in Paris mainly to conversing with religious characters, and examining educational institutions. Under the guidance of the excellent and most obliging, as well as learned M. Bonnetty, he visited Jesuits, Benedictines, and seculars, and they have certainly no reason to complain of the manner in which Dr. W. requites their kind reception of him. When he gives us an account of controversial interviews, the advantage is, of course, made to appear on his own side ; but more than once, we think, the position of an Anglican clergyman with a tottering church to support, looks anything but enviable beside the firm principle and clear objects of a Catholic.

As at the present moment there seems to be an attempt making to establish Protestant Sisters of Charity in England, and as, by way of encouragement, a similar institution in Paris has been alluded to, we would recommend a perusal of Dr. Wordsworth's visit to the "*Diaconesses des Eglises évangéliques de France*," or as they call themselves, the "*Sœurs de Charité protestantes*." The two distinctive marks of these *protestant* sisters are, "*point de vœux*," and "*point de séclusion* ;" no vows and no seclusion from the world. They are under two different ecclesiastical directions, Calvinist and Lutheran ; one of the sisters expounds Scripture to the others every evening ; and the anniversary of their foundation was observed as follows : first, a prayer ; secondly, a psalm ; and then *five* sermons consecutively by *five* different pastors ! There was no communion, as there is no altar—only a pulpit—in their chapel ! (p. 172.) God deliver these well-meaning creatures from their delusion, and bring them where alone they can give efficacy to their good desires !

XIV.—*Illustrations of the Law of Kindness.* By the REV. G. W. MONTGOMERY. Wiley and Putman. 1845.

THE title of this little book will at once speak its objects and its praise. It comes from America, where it has been much read and esteemed. At p. 24, will be found a beautiful account of the Sisters of Charity in Philadelphia during the cholera.

# THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1845.

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ART. I.—*The Military History of the Irish Nation, comprising a Memoir of the Irish Brigade, in the service of France.*  
By the late MATTHEW O'CONOR, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
8vo. Dublin: 1845.

THE want of some such work as this has long been felt in Ireland. While so many single regiments and individual warriors have had their glories told, the deeds of a gallant nation, displayed on the only field open in conscience or honour to her true-born sons and her genuine representatives, have remained either entirely uncelebrated, or little known, and spoken of with grudging and partial acknowledgment of obligation, even where most due. The Swiss, the Scotch, and the German, have borne mercenary arms as traders in blood, at the solicitation of every sovereign power, unurged by principle and impelled by no imperative call of duty; but the Irish, proscribed as aliens at home,\* reduced to desperation by the denial of all justice, and by the pressure of every device of tyrannous ingenuity, had only to choose between the most ignoble bondage in the land of their birth, or a foreign sphere of action, where, if not always requited in the just measure of their deserts, their energies, unparalyzed by oppression, lay not dormant or inert. Yet, of their consequent exploits, spread over the surface of Europe, no adequate or comprehensive record existed.

Mr. O'Conor undertook to supply this national desideratum, but death unfortunately intercepted the enterprize

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\* “ὡς τιν’ αἰμύτων μετανάστην.”—Iliad. ix. 644.

in its progressive course, and prevented its completion. The "*Military History*" is a posthumous publication, and, judging from its title and preface, does not seem to have passed through the hands of any competent literary friend before it went to press. Hence, while it contains a great deal that is extremely valuable, it is neither a complete work, nor, as might be anticipated in the circumstances under which it is published, free from inaccuracy. We shall endeavour, in the following pages, to supply some of its omissions, and thus convey to the reader, as far as may be possible within our prescribed limits, a summary view of the interesting subject which Mr. O'Conor proposed to illustrate.

His work does not extend further than the peace of Utrecht in 1713; nor does it include, as the larger promise of the title would imply, the martial feats of the Irish, beyond their engagement to France, with the exception of a short chapter appropriated to the contest with Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century, and a rapid outline, in three succeeding sections, of various campaigns in the service of Spain. Little importance, however, is attached in act or relation to these last; but the long struggle for independence against Elizabeth's galling yoke, still bitterly remembered, and the frequent theme of song in the country, was no unfitting introduction to the author's main view; nor does he fail to impart a corresponding tone of animation to the recital. As a fair sample of the general execution of the work, the following extract will be sufficiently illustrative of the writer, and of the two most prominent characters, English and Irish, in this national contention.

"Since the fall of Edward Bruce at Dundalk, no chieftain had arisen, round whose standard the Irish could rally with so much confidence and unanimity, as now seemed to attend the splendid career of O'Neal. But these bright prospects were soon dissipated; and shades descended on the opening scene of victory and independence. Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy, was appointed Chief Governor. Unaccustomed to the perils of war, and delighting in literature and retirement, this nobleman's arrival in Ireland excited little alarm; but the vigour of his mind, his capacity and courage, soon appeared in his measures, and admonished the Earl of Tyrone, that a statesman now directed the public councils, who could neither be approached by flattery, nor misled by artifice; that a soldier wielded the sword of state, who had skill to plan, and



resolution to accomplish the suppression of the most enterprising efforts of Irish disaffection."\*

Mountjoy was eventually successful; but the country enjoyed no quiet till after the Queen's demise. This able and unscrupulous sovereign—the Virgin Queen *by anti-phraise*—condescended (far more from policy than nature, for under her reign not less than 17,600 executions are numbered,)† to court, and, indeed, generally won the favour of her English subjects. For them she could veil and temper the iron hand of despotism with a velvet glove; while Ireland, swayed with all the innate ferocity of her paternal blood, and the object of her deepest hate, (if we except perhaps her implacable foe, Philip of Spain—a most congenial character, though less disguised in hypocrisy, popular, like her, with his own subjects—and her victim, the beauteous Mary of Scotland, too beauteous for female rivalry,) was made to feel its deadliest pressure. Calumny, contempt, and wholesale murder of the Irish people, were ever welcome to her, as the writings of the day will evince. ‡

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\* In the transit of O'Neal to join his allies in the south, an anecdote characteristic personally of the chieftain, and demonstrative of the still imperfect fusion of the Irish and English race, here omitted, is related in Smith's History of Cork, (vol. i. p. 171.) "The barony of Barrets, or Barret's-country, as it is usually termed, takes its name from the ancient English family called Barret, of whom it is said that O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone, (anno 1600,) on his progress to Kinsale to assist the Spaniards, asked who lived in that castle, pointing to Ballincolig; and being told one Barret, who was a good Catholic, and his family possessed of that estate above four hundred years, O'Neal swore in Irish, 'No matter, I hate the English churl, as if he came but yesterday.'" Yet this alienation of race and feeling, prevalent as it must have been in the North, did not extend to Munster; for the Fitzgeralds, the Roches, the De Courcys, Fitz-Maurices, Barrys, &c., descendants of the first invaders, with the Burkes, the Birminghams, and others of Connaught, coalesced and extensively intermarried with the highest Milesian, or indigenous families, so as to incur the reproach of being "Ipsis Hibernis, Hiberniores," in English consideration.

† See "Parliamentary Debates," by Sir Henry Cavendish, under-date of 27th November, 1770, where it is likewise affirmed, and not contradicted, that under Henry VIII. the executions by the axe or halter amounted to 72,000 on legal condemnation, although the statute-book only contained fourteen or fifteen capital offences, which, under George III. exceeded one hundred and fifty. This constant effusion of blood made Voltaire say that the History of England should be written by the executioner. Lord Beaumont has shown how numerous the still unrepealed penal laws are, but can anything be more disgraceful than those which proscribe the Jesuits, as a body, in France?

‡ Thus, George Tuberville, in his "Tragical Tales," first printed in 1587, chose even an epitaph for the utterance, gratifying, he well knew, to Elizabeth, of these feelings—

"When rascall Irish hapned to rebel,  
(Who seld, we see, doe long continue true,)   
Unto the Lord of Essex lotte it fell  
To have the lotte these outlawes to subdue."

*Epitaph on Henry Sydenham and Giles Bampffield.*

Nor does Spenser, though long connected with Ireland, appear more favourably

Our author has left untouched altogether the important period of Charles the First's reign, including the resistance of Ireland to the tyranny of the English Parliament and Cromwell, or as it is called in the perverse application of the word, *the Irish Rebellion*, when, in fact, the Irish fought for their king and country. Why this period should have been overleaped, in order to reach prematurely a later one, we have now no means of ascertaining, nor shall we refer to it, except to state a little circumstance unnoticed, we believe, by any of its historians. St. Vincent de Paul, the institutor of the Sisters of Charity, and promoter of various other beneficent associations, struck with the sufferings of Catholic Ireland, urged Richelieu to come to its relief. "Non content," says his biographer, "de recueillir et de sustenter les émigrés des royaumes Britanniques, il demanda au Cardinal Richelieu qu'il secourût les Catholiques d'Irlande, et offrit cent mille écus (£30,000 of present currency,) pour soudoyer les troupes destinées à

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disposed towards its inhabitants, as numerous passages in his "View of Ireland," first published by Sir James Ware in 1633, sufficiently prove. Shakspeare, however, does not studiously revile the nation. In the "Comedy of Errors," words of no decorous import, (Act iii. sc. 2,) but with no depreciatory application to the people, are indeed ascribed to Dromio; and Ford, in the "Merry Wives of Windsor" (Act ii. sc. 2.) is made to say, "that he would rather trust an Irishman with his aqua-vitæ bottle, than his own wife with herself." We have here nothing to complain of; while we may exult in the reformed habits and general temperance of the present day; nor in the frequent reference to the Irish *rebels*, as they are denominated in Richard the Second, is the term accompanied by any epithet of exprobation. Of all the English contemporary authors, however, Sir John Davis shows most sympathy for the sufferings, and least prejudice of judgment in characterizing the nation, which his office of Attorney-General enabled him fully to appreciate.

From the earliest ages Ireland has been the subject of the most odious misrepresentations. Strabo, in his fourth and eleventh books, classes her inhabitants with the Messagetes and others, who considered it a duty to eat their dead parents, as according to Herodotus the Indian tribe, whom he names Kallatians, equally did, ("ὡς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καταθίουσι, ἕκαστος."—Thalia 38.) And the same Greek geographer (lib. iv.) also accuses them of habitual incest, which, however, we find Cæsar similarly assert of the Britons. "Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, et parentes cum liberis." (De Bello Gallico, lib. v. 14.) Nor is Solinus more favourable towards ancient Ireland; but coming to our own times, a Professor of Natural History at Mannheim, Doctor Scultens, in a letter to Count Sternberg, forming the narrative of Botanical Travels through England, thus expresses what he was told of Ireland. The translation from the original German will be found literal, and the date is so recent as 1830. "I have frequently inquired of the English, how it happened that the botany of so large an island was not more known to them than that of Greenland or Iceland. To which the only reply I could obtain was, that Ireland was a country of barbarians, and that a traveller was less secure on her western coast than amidst the most untutored savages." Still later, Professor Leo, of the University of Bonn, in his "Manual of Universal History," asserts, as he heard, that the Irish were "only impelled by mere brutal instinct—thierischen triebes."—(See Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1844.)

les aider.”\* But the Cardinal declined the recommendation and offer. It is really surprising how seldom, comparatively to its obvious policy, the most vulnerable quarter of the British Empire, vulnerable from constant misrule, has attracted hostile aggression or seduction.

“La mala signoria che sempre accora,  
Li popoli soggetti.”—*Dante-Paradiso*, viii. 73.

Minor attempts, such as Thurot's; (François, originally a surgeon,) and Humbert's (who afterwards fell a victim to the climate of St. Domingo,) failed from the inadequacy of the means to the object—the former in January, 1760, the latter in August, 1798; and the only expedition of commensurate power, that commanded by Hoche in 1796, like the Spanish Armada, was defeated by the elements. M. Thiers, in his *History of the French Revolution*, justly wonders that Napoleon overlooked, in his multifarious engines of attack on England, this first and most obvious one, or, at least, that no attempt was made under the imperial sway.†

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\* (Vie de St. François de Paul, par Pierre Collet, tom. ii.) It was at this pregnant conjuncture, too, that when the papal commissioners Rinuccini, Ormond, Preston, Owen Roe O'Neal, &c., opposed with various views, the parliamentary troops, the Jesuit Cornelius O'Mahony, published in 1645 his “*Disquisitio Apologetica de Jure Regni Hiberniæ, pro Catholicis Hibernis, adversus Hæreticos Anglos. Accessit ejusdem auctoris ad eosdem Catholicos exhortatio.*” In this volume, which bears the impress, probably fictitious, of Frankfort in 4to. the author boldly recommends the election of a native king, “*Eligite Regem Vernaculum;*” but the Irish combatants were too divided in object, feeling, and interest, to act in concert for that, or indeed any purpose, and consequently, were sacrificed to the fell vengeance of the parliament and Cromwell. Not more than one copy, we believe, exists of the original edition of the volume, which is in the Dublin University Library; but in 1819 it was republished, limited, however, to 100 copies. (See also Cox's *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 195.)

† He adverts to Ireland on several occasions in his *History*, as the constant aim of the Directory, particularly in the seventh volume, pages 328, 343, 344; and in the eighth, page 486, he states that Hoche, who commanded the expedition above alluded to, had it in contemplation to erect Ireland into a republic, similar to those ephemeral governments in Italy, then simultaneously pullulating over the continent. “*Une république nouvelle s'élevait en Italie, et allait y devenir le foyer de la liberté. Hoche croyait beau et possible d'en élever une pareille en Irlande, à côté de l'aristocratie Anglaise.*” And he concludes the account of Hoche's abortive enterprise—“*Ainsi finit cette expédition qui jeta une grande alarme en Irlande, et qui révéla son point vulnérable.*” This work, published first in 1826, when the author was only twenty-eight years of age, (1798—1826,) betrays the most malignant spirit against England, to which truth is constantly sacrificed; nor, though modified in expression, after a ripening interval of near twenty years, does the feeling appear much softened, in his *History of the “Consulate and Empire,”* now in progress of publication. He cannot forgive the conqueror of Napoleon, the god of his idolatry; for so the fallen emperor appears. Some faults, even in the second edition of the earlier composition, are inexcusable. These it would transgress our bounds to detail, while, like Mr. Alison's, his military details and descriptions are singularly and

The services of the Irish troops in the pay of Spain, desultory and transient as they appear, are not of an importance to demand special attention; but some of the associated or incidental statements require correction. At page 70, and year 1653, the Cardinals Mazarin and Turenne are represented as witnesses of the siege of Bois-le-duc, which, as regards the former, may possibly be true, though we have some reasons to doubt it; but in respect to the latter is certainly inaccurate, for no Cardinal of the name ever existed. Yet it is shortly after reproduced, which removes the blame of error from the press to the pen. The family of Turenne contributed, indeed, *princes* to the Church, as Cardinals are distinguished for "*Principibus prestant, et Regibus æquiparantur*," but always under the title of *Bouillon*, a duchy derived from the marriage of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Turenne's father, in 1591, with Charlotte de la Mark, though the great soldier was the fruit of a second wedlock, his mother being Elizabeth, daughter of William the Silent, founder of the Dutch house of Nassau and of the Stadtholderate. His family had been Calvinists till about that period; but he did not become a Catholic until 1668, under the instruction of Bossuet.\* In reference to this siege of Bois-le-duc, and the attending circumstances, the historian Thuanus (Le Président de Thou) is quoted; but he died in 1617, when he had not carried his annals further than 1607; nor did his only continuator, Nicholas Rigault, proceed beyond the death of Henry IV. in 1610. The quotation is consequently illusive; as are several anterior ones from O'Sullivan Beare's *Historia Catholica*, or *Bellum Quindecim Annorum*, and from Peter Lombard, whose works, printed and lost abroad, while prohibited at home, like other most rare volumes, are in the possession certainly of very few, were probably derived at second hand from McGeoghegan, so marked and uniform is their accordance. The family

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technically animated and correct, inferior only to the unrivalled delineations of General Napier, though, like Mr. Alison, a civilian. In the Scotch historian's elaborate work, we had more than once occasion to mark some errors, such as his reliance on the *Memoirs* of Fouché as authentic, while he should have known that the publisher or printer, Lerouge, had an action brought against him for the counterfeit, and was fined; when he obtained damages for the fraud from Alphonse de Beauchamp, who sold the composition as genuine. So long since as the month of March, 1838, and again at a later date, we warned Mr. Alison of the forgery, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The fact has *since* been pointedly urged by the *Quarterly Review*, and with great severity in the recent number, (151.)

\* See St. Simon's *Mémoires*, tome v. p. 316, and Cardinal de Beausset's *Life of Bossuet*, tome i. p. 112.

library, collected chiefly by the excellent and learned Charles O'Conor, no doubt, contained these books; but it had been disposed of to the Marquis of Buckingham by his son and namesake, known as Columbanus. M. O'Conor, however, may have consulted them in the University Library of Dublin.

Again, in allusion to Turenne's rival and antagonist (at page 91,) Montecucculli, (Raimondo di,) that imperial commander is represented as trained to war in the schools of Farnese and Spinola, while the former's death, in 1592, was prior to Montecucculli's birth, in 1608, by sixteen years; and, though not thus necessarily precluded from the lessons of the other great master of the art, for Spinola survived till 1630, it does not appear that Montecucculli (the proper autography) ever served under that adversary of Maurice of Nassau.\*

The battle of the Boyne, which decided the fate of Ireland, by the forcible transfer of the crown from the monarch of her choice to the husband of his unnatural daughter, in 1690, was one of the most momentous events of contemporaneous, perhaps of modern history. Without, however, dwelling on its consequences otherwise than as associated with the formation of the Irish brigade in the service of France, we will not withhold from the reader our author's spirited exposition of the chief cause of its loss, in the impaired energies and betrayed pusillanimity of James, on that memorable day, which made Sarsfield, according to Mr. O'Conor, (page 226,) in answer to some disparaging remarks on Irish bravery, say, "Exchange but kings, and we will fight you over again." These exculpatory words are, however, more generally ascribed to Teige O'Regan. Our historian thus concludes, at page 115, his description of the conflict, preceded, we must observe, by an error at its outset, where the 30th of July instead of June, is represented as the eve of the engagement, in page 105.

"James beheld from the hill of Donore, his left wing outflanked, his centre broken, his right inactive. The spirit of his youth was frozen; the elasticity which gives nerve to enterprise was relaxed;

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\* Many faults of the press may here likewise be noted, as indeed throughout the entire of the volume, particularly in the French and Latin citations, at pages 154, 196, 207—212, &c.; and altogether the book, while of very creditable typographical execution, displays to an inexcusable degree, either negligence, or, we are compelled to say, incompetency on the part of the editor.

old age and the impression made by unwarlike advisers had chilled those feelings which, in his earlier years, impelled him to encounter the dangers of the field. The hero, who in Flanders excited the admiration of Turenne, sunk into the coward on the banks of the Boyne, and declined leading the charges of his own horse, when he might have restored the battle, and prevented an inglorious retreat. Panick-struck, and guided by counsels suggested by selfishness and fear, he abandoned an army that was beaten, not broken; that yielded to superiority of numbers and generalship, but had still resources and determination to prolong the contest indefinitely. Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Youghal, and the line of the Shannon, all of which were in the hands of the Irish, presented obstacles to William's success, that should have inspired James with confidence in maintaining the contest; but Lausun, sensible of his own incapacity in camps, but conscious of his admirable talents for courts, was eager to quit a country where he could reap no harvest of glory, and where he had no field to exercise those arts, and practise those intrigues, which had raised him to the pinnacle of favour at Versailles. He therefore advised James to seek safety in flight, to return to France, and thus escape being made prisoner by William. He would give his right hand to have accompanied him, but his duty commanded him to guide the retreat of the French troops, or perish with them. This ill-judged counsel was seconded by Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. Talbot was brave in danger, pusillanimous in disaster. In the rout of the Boyne he viewed the cause of James as hopeless, that of William as triumphant. He had estates and dignities to preserve, and only in an accommodation could he see security for them. If James remained, the contest would be prolonged beyond the hope of an accommodation. He therefore sent his chaplain to him to press his flight to France, and to work on his fears of falling into the hands of William. James reached Dublin on that same day; and, conscious that his flight would be constructed into cowardice, he sought to shelter his fame, not only under the cover of the suggestions of his officers, but likewise under that of the advice of his privy council."

In connection with this period and catastrophe we have again to point out a few inaccuracies. The French commander, Lauzun, (so it should be written,) is asserted (page 106) to have aspired to the hand of the king, Louis the fourteenth's, sister. Now that sovereign never had a sister, and the lady, whose affections this *cadet de Gascogne*, as he was called, (Antonin Nompar de Caumont) had gained, was the cousin-german of Louis, daughter of his father's only brother, the weak and versatile Gaston, Duke of Orleans, who died in 1660, leaving this only child, "La

Grande Mademoiselle," as she was distinguished, and duchess of Montpensier in right of her mother, Marie de Bourbon, whose inherited estates made her the richest heiress in Europe, as, indeed, she was one of the most remarkable characters in the court of Louis. Her own memoirs are curious, but not explicit on this circumstance; and we only know that the marriage, at first assented to, was afterwards interdicted, and that Lauzun suffered a long imprisonment for his bold aspiration. Subsequently again, on his return to France after his Irish expedition, "he would," Mr. O'Connor adds, "have been sent to the Bastile, only for the interference of the Queen;" but no queen was then, in 1691, living; the royal consort, Maria Teresa of Spain, died in 1683, and was never succeeded on the throne. A marriage, it is now little doubted, did take place in 1685, between the "Grand Monarque" and the burlesque poet Scarron's widow, Madame de Maintenon, but was never acknowledged, nor even just then believed, insomuch that, from the absence of all official record of the fact, Napoleon was not disposed to credit it. In either case there was no Queen. Reverting cursorily to the princess, erroneously named the king's sister, we may observe, that most of her great estates are now, through channels which it would occupy too much space to detail, in possession of the *Orleans* dynasty (not *hers*) on the French throne; and thence flow the titles of Aumale, Joinville, Montpensier, and Nemours, though we are not sure of the last.

After the conflict of the Boyne, Ireland became divided into dissentient parties, and adverse councils. "The natives, those of Milesian race, the O'Neals, McGuires, McMahons, &c. with the Irish bishops, and discontented officers, the Sarsfields, Luttrells, and Purcells, desired a separation from England, and continuance of the war, supported, affirms M. O'Connor, by the common soldiers, enthusiasts in the cause of their country and religion. Lord Tyrconnell headed the peace party, sustained by the Hamiltons, Talbots, Nugents, Dillons, Burkes, Rices, Butlers, Plowdens, Sheldons, all of English descent, who preferred William, as King of Great Britain and Ireland, to James as King of Ireland only, and, in despair of reinstating the latter on his ancestral throne, sought to preserve their possessions by accommodation." This antagonism of parties, and array of the original against the

superinduced races, are similarly presented in the nuncio Rinuccini's memoir of his mission to Ireland in 1642. But, proceeds our author, "Nor was James adverse to a settlement. He hated the native Irish, because he had, at the restoration, plundered them of 150,000 acres, which he appropriated to himself as his private patrimony. He had reaped the harvest of their valour in his exile: he repaid them by decrying their courage at the battle of Dunkirk. He saw them shedding their blood at the battle of the Boyne in his cause; he maligned them to the French nation as cowards. He had called into action the energies of Ireland with the sole view of regaining the throne of Great Britain, and when he found his chances of success in that direction hopeless, he abandoned his ill-requited adherents to the scourge of conquest and the horrors of military devastation."

Yet, though this infatuated and ungrateful prince thus consulted his own safety or ease, and abandoned a people so ardently devoted to him, but who, from that time, have ever associated his name with an epithet of ineffable contempt, the country was by no means reduced to submission to the conqueror. Several cities and strong places opposed a more or less strenuous resistance to his arms. Limerick, in particular, underwent two sieges, successfully repelling his first attempt in 1690, of which our author says,

"Never was a town better attacked or defended. During the siege nothing was untried that the art of war, the science of great generals, and the valour of veteran soldiers could put into execution to carry it; the Irish omitted nothing that constancy and courage could effect, to defend it. But the general assault terminated in the utter discomfiture of William."

"In the interval of the two sieges," adds Mr. O'Connor, from the winter of 1690, to June, 1691,

"Universal despondency prevailed, as the promised French succours failed to arrive, except in Galway, where all thought of the approaching campaign was buried in a succession of revelries, balls, and banquets. The ladies, famed for their beauty, accomplishments and address, even in the holy time of Lent, when their love of pleasure had been usually under the control of penance and prayer, did not relax their festivities."

But the renewed attack on Limerick exhibited a very different picture. Noble as the defence was, participated, too, in all its trials and perils by the women, the city was



doomed to fall; while the terms of capitulation, though generally attesting the bravery of the garrison, still, in the second article, "consigned," in the words of our author, "many illustrious Irishmen to poverty and perpetual exile. The capacity and courage of some were crowned with fortune in foreign service, but many others pined in misery, aggravated by the recollection of former opulence, and humbled by the indifference and contempt which invariably follow the fallen gentleman." This observation, our own experience, as applied equally to the descendants of these Irish victims to their principles, and to the French emigrants from 1790 to 1814, fully confirms. To the latter, too, whom we had known in their prosperous days, incredulous to the extent of Irish fallen positions, we often found it necessary to recall this unbelief and its consequences, when exemplified in their own adverse fate.

"The names of a few," subjoins Mr. O'Connor, "whose estates were thus sacrificed through the incapacity of the Irish Commissioners, will excite the sympathy of the reader, even after a lapse of one hundred and fifty years. Richard, Duke of Tyrconnel; his nephew, Richard, Earl of Tyrconnel; Donough, Earl of Clancarty; Lords Clare, Galway, Galmoy, Enniskillen, Slane, Lucan, Kilmallock, Mount Cashell, Brittas; Sir William Talbot; Sir Neal O'Neal; Sir John Fitzgerald; Sir Patrick Trant; Sir Richard Nagle; Sir Luke Dowdal; Sir Terence Dermott; James Lally, of Tullanadaly; Richard Fagan, of Feltrim; Nicholas D'Arcy, of Platten; besides others of less note: the Goolds, Galways, Murroghs and Coppingers of Cork; the Chevers of Drogheda; the Savages of Down; the O'Haras of Antrim; the Bagots of Carlow; the Barretts of Cork; the O'Flynn's and O'Connors of Roscommon; the Nugents of Dardistown; the O'Garas of Coolavin. They had committed no offence, were guiltless of treason or rebellion; they had fought for their legitimate King, and now suffered the penalties of treason, because they had not recognized the authority of an English Convention, to substitute a foreign invader for him, whom their principles taught them to regard as the lawful sovereign of the British Islands."—*pp.* 177, 178.

The civil conditions of this capitulation, which secured various advantages to the Catholics, it is too well known, were shamefully violated. History cannot offer a more disgraceful instance of ill-faith; for the penal laws, in place of their pledged relaxation, were almost immediately executed and extended. The military stipulations, more in direct connection with the author's subject, are given

at full length, with the consequent removal of the garrison, and transfer of their services to France, where their regimental organization is minutely detailed. A short view of the position of the French monarch's affairs at the time then follows, which, however, challenges some animadversion. At page 200, it is asserted, "That, by the treaty of Nimeguen, the territory of Alsace had been ceded to France, in right of which Louis set up numerous claims, leading to a series of aggressions. In the last of these, the death of the Elector of Cologne furnished a pretext, and thence originated the formidable league, against which Louis was contending, when the expatriated Irish entered his service. The Pope and Emperor, with whom the nomination legitimately lay, bestowed the vacant Electorate on one of the Princes of Bavaria, while Louis insisted on intruding his nephew, the Cardinal Furstemberg, and on the refusal of the Papal See to accede to this violent usurpation, seized on Avignon."

We must first observe, that it was by the treaty of Munster in 1648, that Alsace, at least the greater portion of the province, including the Lower Alsace in full, was ceded to France, with ten towns transferred from the Imperial to the French jurisdiction, or seignioralty, and leave to garrison Philipsbourg. The treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, confirmed this cession of fifty years' pre-existence, with some few additions; for few remained unpossessed by Louis; but in 1681, the surrender of Strasburg made him master of the whole province. And secondly, with regard to the Electoral Archbishop of Cologne, the statement is almost literally borrowed from Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* chapter xiv. with, however, a strange misconstruction of the sense; for the Cardinal de Furstenberg is there properly called the *creature*, not the *nephew* of the monarch, to whom, in truth, he was in no sense related: "Le Pape, Innocent XI, et l'Empereur," says Voltaire, "persuadés que c'était presque la même chose de laisser Furstenberg sur ce trône électoral, et d'y mettre Louis XIV, s'unirent pour donner cette principauté au jeune Clément de Bavière frère du dernier mort. (Octobre, 1688.) Le roi se vengea du pape en lui ôtant Avignon, et prépara la guerre à l'Empereur." Louis had only one nephew, who became Regent after his death—the son

of Philip, Duke of Orleans, from whom descends the reigning dynasty of France.\*

In 1701, the memorable "War of the Spanish Succession," or contest between the Archduke Charles of Austria, and Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. for that magnificent inheritance, interrupted, during a dozen years, the repose of Europe. As the issue of Philip the Fourth of Spain's eldest daughter, the French prince's claim was superior; for the Salic exclusion from the throne then extended not to that kingdom; but Louis, on his marriage with the Infanta, in 1660, had formally renounced that right for himself and successors, although so conscious was the Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, of the eventual inefficacy of this renunciation that, on affixing his signature to the compact, he observed to Mazarin, "Esto es una patarata!"—"This is all a humbug!"—and so it proved. The protagonists on the adverse fields, were the Prince Eugene of Savoy, and our Marlborough, for Austria; and Catinat, Vendôme, and Villars for France.

A parallel between Eugene and Vendôme, occupies a paragraph in page 260 of Mr. O'Connor's volume, which appears entitled to notice, and is thus expressed: "Eugene, as a military character, was all virtue; a single vice does not stain him, as a warrior, in the pages of the historians of his age. In one respect, Vendôme and the Prince approached each other. They were both descended from houses equally illustrious. The Princes of Maurun† and Bourbon exhibited constellations of glory for eight hundred years." Vendôme, our author had previously observed, inherited the intre-

\* See also Mémoires de Madame La Fayette, page 65.

† The founder of the House of Savoy was Beroldo, or Bartholdo, Count of Maurienne, or Morienne, (not Maurun,) a district of the duchy, who lived at the end of the tenth century, but whose birth or country are unknown. (See Mémoires Historiques sur la Maison Royale de Savoie, par M. de Bauregard, tome i. 1816, 8vo.) He was, consequently, contemporaneous with the institutor of the House of Bourbon, Hugh Capet, whose possession of the French crown dates from 987. This latter is represented by historians in general, as of the noblest parentage, while Dante makes him acknowledge himself the son of a butcher:

"Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciapetta:  
Di me son nati i Filippi Luisi;  
Per cui novellamente è Francia retta.  
Figliuol fui d'un beccaio di Parisi, &c."

*Purgatorio*, Canto xx. 49—52.

The present King of the French is his thirty-third successor; and an exactly equal number of rulers have, in the same interval, governed Savoy. Well do we remember when to call Louis XVI. or his unfortunate child, otherwise than by the name of their patriarch, Capet, was of the greatest danger, probably fatal.

pidity of his grandfather, Henry IV; but it should be added, that his descent was illegitimate; and though the eulogy describes him as divested of pride, and uninfluenced by hatred or revenge, as well as chargeable solely with the foibles of prodigality and indulgence to the vices of others, yet the stern voice of history too loudly proclaims his own addiction to the most infamous depravity. His military talents are estimated by Napoleon, far above those of Catinat, a much better man in every other sense; but Mr. O'Connor is not, we think, quite just in his appreciation of Marlborough, who, according to him, never encountered genius or science in opposed array. (See page 318.) Now we may ask, was Villars deficient in genius or science? and yet over him Marlborough triumphed at Malplaquet; while subsequently at Denain, Villars was the conqueror even of Eugene. The battle of Malplaquet, in our author's assertion, is called by the French, of Blaregnies—surely not.\*

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\* The name of Villars, we must remark, is almost always miswritten Villars by Mr. O'Connor or the printer; and the martial term, *tête de pont*, uniformly, in equal error, is transformed into *tête du pont*; nor can we believe, as affirmed at page 225, that in 1694, the Irish troops in France amounted to the number of thirty thousand. We must likewise point out the bad taste of our author's concluding sentence in describing the conflict of Schellemburg, (page 283.) "No other struggle during the war was so bloody. *Hell itself could hardly exhibit a scene more horrible.*" The same censure applies to the sanguinary engagement of the French and Imperialists, on the banks of the Adda, in 1705.

"Norwegians, Swedes, Irish, German, Slavonians, &c., were mixed up in this frightful affray. Thousands of voices roaring in different languages and dialects; 30,000 tubes pouring forth fire and death, and 10,000 bayonets crossing and clanking against each other in the work of butchery, exhibited a scene more horrible and destructive than the conflict of the elements, or the bursting of a volcano from the bowels of the earth."—Page 305.

In a poetic epistle to Frederic of Prussia from Voltaire, a similar expression occurs, though if allowable in verse, it certainly little suits the diction of prose. Voltaire's encomiastic lines to the young monarch are some of his worst. They bear date the 20th of April, 1741.

"Et quoique vous sachiez tout penser et tout faire,  
Songez que les boulets ne vous respectent guère;  
Et qu'un plomb dans un tube entassé par des sots,  
Peut casser d'un seul coup la tête d'un héros."

But the reigning thought of these lines is an obvious plagiarism of Voiture's address to the Grand Condé, then Duc d'Enghien, in 1643, after the victory of Rocroi, which in action and enduring effect, is so powerfully described in Bossuet's Funeral Oration of that prince. Voiture's warning was thus expressed:

"Que d'une force sans seconde  
La mort sait ses traits élancer,  
Et qu'un peu de plomb peut casser  
La plus belle tête du monde."

Few have been greater plagiarists than Voltaire, as our memory could easily enable us to demonstrate; and often too has the larceny been committed on Shakspeare, whom he translated, as M. Villemain justly observes, in order to

Immediately after, Mr. O'Connor introduces, on this occasion, a personal circumstance.

"Persecution drove the unfortunate Irish from the banks of the Shannon to those of the Adda. Some of the ancestors of the writer of these pages, fell there, *victims of their adherence to their religion, King and country.* The inheritor of their wrongs, (the Italics are the author's,) he visited this spot after a lapse of one hundred and thirty years, (in 1835,) his heart sickened, and his sympathies were excited to tears, on viewing the *last scene of their sufferings.*"

Such feelings as these were natural, and, in general principle, creditable; as also is Mr. O'Connor's reprobation of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, at page 295. But assuredly he is little justified in representing it, as a "proceeding even more oppressive than the penal code of Ireland." Its generating evils are then enumerated, not one of which, however, grievous as they are acknowledged, were the persecuted Catholics of Ireland exempt from, with aggravated infliction too, and longer endurance. Had Mr. Scully's Statement of the Penal Laws, Mr. Burke's impressive picture of their horrors, or Mr. Mac Culloch's unbiassed recapitulation of the disgraceful, the inhuman Code, never met our author's eye? We are not unacquainted with the just complaints of the Huguenots; for in our recollection, though greatly mitigated, many grounds of suffering still remained unabrogated; but while Europe rung with these too-well founded complaints, the far more galling severities imposed by the laws of Ireland on the majority of her inhabitants were imperfectly known, and comparatively little censured. Burke (Tracts on the Popery Laws) emphatically observes that, "a law against the majority of the people is against the people itself: it is not particular injustice, but general oppression.....a national calamity." And again, in reference to the revoked edict of Nantes, he says, "But after all, is it not most evident that this act of injustice, which let loose on that monarch (Louis XIV.) such a torrent of invectives and reproach, and which threw such a cloud

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traduce "Traditore e traditore," is here perfectly appropriate. The very unmerited reputation of Voiture is sufficient evidence of the predominant bad taste of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, where he reigned as chief. Pelisson, in his History of the French Academy, which he (Voiture) contributed to form, represents him as of foolish aspect, "le visage niais." (Hist. de l'Académie, p. 301.)

over all the splendour of a most illustrious reign, falls far short of the case of Ireland? The privileges which the Protestants of France enjoyed antecedent to the revocation, were far superior to those which the Roman Catholics of Ireland ever aspired to under a contrary establishment." Yet, even viewing the persecution as commensurate in degree, it should not be overlooked that the victims in France formed a very small portion of the nation; whereas those of Ireland constituted the bulk of the people—the nation itself, in Burke's words. The principle of tolerance, until lately, was recognized in Europe, quite as little in Protestant as in Catholic States; although, in weighing the distinctive motives and origin of a system, which each ascribed to divine command, "*Compelle intrare*," or, "*Compel them to come in*," as in St. Luke xiv. 23, we may not forget that the Catholics were possessors, their adversaries aggressors and invaders, with no legitimate claim whatsoever to pre-occupied ground. The laws peremptorily forbade the intrusive creed; but no sooner were their violators, after long suffering under, and exclaiming against them, in power, than they were fondly adopted, and rigorously executed. "*Persecution*," says Mr. Hallam, (*Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 128,) is the deadly original sin of the reformed churches, that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause, in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive."

But without engaging further in a subject which has perhaps too long detained us, though, as a great writer observes, a single error may occupy a volume in its necessary refutation, we will now revert to Mr. O'Connor's narrative. The various services of the Irish, during the war for the succession of Spain, are told in appropriate, often too in glowing language, which, in phrase or purpose, seldom demands critical stricture. At page 297, however, the etymology of the term *Camisard*, by which the persecuted fanatics of the Cevennes were designated, is erroneous. Its obvious origin was *camise*, the *patois* for shirt, with which, to facilitate mutual recognition, they covered themselves, as the Irish insurgents, thence called *White-boys*, did during the past century. Again, in Du Cange's "*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*," *Camisa* will be found in the same sense.

The regiments of Burke, Dillon, and Berwick are stated, at page 250, to have served under "*Marshal de Berons*, a

misnomer for *Bezons*, as Monnedel (page 377,) for Montrevel.

The elevation of various Irishmen in this narrative, to high military degrees, will occur; but one only to that of Marshal—Lord Clare, who in 1741, on the demise of Henry O'Brien, the last *direct* Earl, assumed the title, and became Marshal Thomond. The bravery of his regiment is thus celebrated by Voltaire in his poem on the Battle of Fontenoy, in May 1745—one of the weakest of his productions—

“Clare avec l'Irlandais, qu'animent nos exemples,  
Venge ses rois trahis, sa patrie et ses temples”—

a rather subdued praise, when it is undeniable that the Irish decided the battle of the day. Clare's regiment afterwards became *Walsh's*, from the colonel proprietor of that name, the son of a merchant at Nantes, as we learn from Lord Mahon's History, vol. iii. p. 339. Marshal Thomond died the 9th September, 1761; but his two sons never married, and the daughter was united to the Duke of Choiseul il-Praslin. Ireland only furnished one more marshal to France, our great Duke; but the last revolution deprived him of the title. It is, however, well known that the Marshal's staff was destined for Count O'Connell, by Charles X. whose life he had saved in 1782, and only stopped in execution by that sovereign's dethronement. No one could be worthier of that, or any elevation. Two Englishmen have also attained that rank, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in Henry the Fifth's wars, and the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James II. by Marlborough's sister. His victory in 1707, at Almanza, over Ruvigny, a protestant refugee, secured the throne of Spain, the object, in fact, of the contest, for the house of Bourbon. The circumstance of the French being led by an Englishman in exile, while a Huguenot commanded the English, is singular; but we are assured by Saint Simon (tome i. p. 452,) that Ruvigny and Schomberg, had been promised full immunity from the penal consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, if they remained in France, a seductive offer which they nobly rejected, rather than abandon their persecuted brethren. Alas, that “*Si sic omnia*” is so true of Louis! Relative to him, we must, however, rectify a mis-statement, at page 197, where, under the year 1691, “mistresses are said to

direct his councils, and too often minions without merit headed his armies." There may be some truth in this latter assertion, but there is none in the former. He *then* had no mistresses; for Madame de Maintenon, as we have seen, was his wife; and history does not reproach him with a persevering tenor of profligacy, like his successor, to this period. Nor at the age of fifty-three (1638—1691,) was it necessary to suppose, that "the vigour and wisdom of his youth were impaired by the imbecility of declining years." Our author, called to the bar in 1817, was fast approaching, or had reached, the same age, when he *unconsciously* indited these lines; for he surely did not intend to pass a sentence of imbecility on himself; but he, in truth, forgot to calculate the monarch's years.

In the general events of the War of Succession, as connected with our brigade, nothing more glorious to our arms occurred than Mahony's repulse of Eugene at Cremona, in 1702. \* The exploit is vividly related; but in its main circumstances and issue, it must be too fondly impressed on our Irish reader's memory to require repetition. It is likewise honourably acknowledged by the French writers. The Duke of Saint Simon appropriates more than one paragraph of his *Mémoires*, the most interesting probably that exist of that species of historical composition, to the praise of our countryman, whose death he announces under the year 1714, (tome xi. p. 122,) and thus adds—"Mahoni Irlandais, lieutenant-général, avait beaucoup d'esprit, d'honneur et de talens: il s'était fort distingué à la guerre, surtout à la journée de Crémone, dont il apporta la nouvelle au roi: il mourut en Espagne, où il avait acquis des biens. Il avait épousé la sœur de la duchesse de Berwick, veuve et mère des Comtes (Viscomtes) de Clare; et le duc de Berwick vivait avec lui avec beaucoup d'estime et d'amitié. Il laissa des enfans qui sont aussi devenus officiers généraux avec distinction." The Président Hénault also renders him justice, under the years 1707, 1708, &c.

Our author's direct history closes at the termination of the Spanish war,\* when he passes, in rapid glance, over

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\* In an article of this Review, Number lvi, reference is passingly made to Mr. Borrow's "Bible in Spain;" but it might have been added, that this eccentric traveller had given a most undue title to his book; for it dwelt little comparatively on the sacred volume, nor did he succeed in making a single permanent convert to his version of its doctrine. So we are assured by two recent



the subsequent Irish feats at Raucoux, Lofelt, and Fontenoy.

"In the details of these glorious days, (he subjoins,) we cannot now enter; but they sustain the character, which, against the malice of Voltaire, and the ignorance of some nearer home, I have shown to be due to the Irish soldiery. They look worthily beside the memories of Blackwater, Benburb, Limerick, Ramillies, and Almanza: and they justify the motto on the parting flag presented to The Irish Brigade, by the Bourbons—

‘1692—1792,  
Semper et ubique fideles.’”

The above indignant allusions to Voltaire will be elucidated by a reference to the opening paragraph of this work, viz.

"A French writer, whose cursory remark has grown into a sort of historical apophthegm, observes, that the Irish, who show themselves the bravest soldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved shamefully at home."

On which Mr. O'Conor animadverts—

"Had the lively M. Voltaire condescended to read the annals of an obscure people, shut out by distance and insularity from European history, he probably would not have indulged in this disparaging contrast; for he would have found Irish valour the same at Clontarf, at the Blackwater, and at Aughrim, as at Luzara, Cassano,

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writers of high authority, Don Jaime Balbes, in his publication "*Del Catholicismo comparado con Protestantismo*;" and by Don Jose Ramo, bishop of the Canaries, in his "*Ensayo sobre la Independanza de la Iglesia de España*," (1843 8vo.) And indeed, an equal inference would be authorized from the missionary's habits, associations, and character, perfectly suited to an intercourse—that of his predilection—with the Gitanos of Spain, but utterly unfitted for the diffusion of religious truths. The production should, consequently, be rather classed with the compositions of Le Sage of Aleman, of Scarron, or of the singular volume, "*La Pícarra Justina*," the female counterpart of Aleman's "*Guzmon d'Alfarache*," as Fielding's Joseph Andrews was the parody of Richardson's Pamela; nor will it lose much in comparison with these works of consonant character. A short space dedicated to the comparative estimate of the rival claims of France and Spain to the birth or nationality of Gil Blas, that genuine picture of human life, might be made interesting. The pretensions of Spain are supported by the ex-Jesuit, Padre Isla, author of the humorous "*Vida de Fray Gerundio*," (Madrid, 1758,) in his "*Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana, robadas à España, y restituidas a su Patria, y sua lingua nativa*," printed at Madrid in 1797, 8vo.; and by Llorente, the compiler of the "*History of the Inquisition*," (in the fourth and last volume of which he acknowledges his exaggeration of the victims,) in his "*Observaciones Criticas, &c.*" Madrid, 1822, 8vo. The best plea for the French paternity is the Preface by M. François de Neufchâteau, to his edition of Gil Blas, 1825, 3 vols. 8vo. The Essay had originally been read before the French Academy on the 7th July, 1818. But this is not the proper place, nor would our prescribed bounds allow us to engage in the subject. Guzman de Alfarache, however inferior to, is yet considered the prototype of, Don Quixote.

and Fontenoy ; the same at Dunbay and Limerick, as at Guillestre, Embrun and Cremona."

But we may inquire, where were these national annals to be found? When Voltaire thus impeached the Irish mind and heart on their native soil, what readable historian could he have access to, who was not impressed with, or at least did not give utterance to a similar opinion? The fact is, that Voltaire, with all other continental authors, derived their knowledge of Irish affairs from English historians, and rested their judgment on general results, which have almost uniformly exhibited the English in our respective contests, as eventually triumphant. We had no historians of established fame or influence to counteract English misrepresentations, or in any way to attract attention. Could we recommend Keating, O'Flaherty, or our personal friend O'Halloran, (all confined to our remote annals,) who unsiftingly and indiscriminately adopted every traditional fable, or their own imaginative suggestions, as the ground of history. Leland's work had not then appeared, nor indeed O'Halloran's; but though, with due allowance for his profession and associations, we consider Leland entitled to no small commendation, we should not be much disposed to refer a foreigner to him for our national character or achievements. Yet the cloud that has obscured, or the malevolence that has defamed our name and acts, we may feel assured, are destined to be quickly dispelled; and the deep interest attached to our concerns in the present day, will necessarily lead to farther inquiry into the past, proving our right to far higher repute, and assigning to our country its proper station in the great European family. Our comparative failure at home thus reproached to us, is traceable, as far as we may admit it, to our disunion; the fertile source of national unhappiness, wherever the fatal seed is implanted, and impregnates any devoted land with its blighting germ.

Two or three concluding pages of this history rapidly mention a few illustrious Irish names—Marshals Browne and Lacy, &c. appropriately crowning this commemoration of Ireland's glorious sons, with a tribute to her greatest warrior. "Nor need England," our author proudly adds, "complain of the services of Ireland to her enemies. Throughout the last war, from Assaye to Vittoria, from Vimiera to Waterloo, the Irish battalions

maintained their fame and her flag; and high in service and renown, above all the generals who ever drew sword in her name, was the Irishman ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

An appendix containing a "Memoir concerning the Irish troops, from their arrival in France till the present time," copied from an official document furnished by the Duke of Feltre, (Clarke), Minister of War to Colonel de Montmorency, Morres,\* (Hervé), on the first of September 1813, terminates the volume. This report of the state and organization of the respective regiments of the Brigade, as successively modified by the French government, descends only to 1750. It is curious and instructive for its object, but limited in general interest. The work which Mr. O'Connor must have found most communicative of necessary information, and which he consequently most copiously quotes, is the Marquis de Quiney's "*Histoire Militaire du Règne de Louis le Grand.*"—Paris, 1726—in eight volumes 4to. It may be interesting to continue the narrative to a later period; and as the subject is one on which absolutely nothing is gathered from printed sources, the writer may be permitted, without the imputation of egotism, to draw upon his own personal recollections.

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\* Colonel de Montmorency, whom we had the pleasure of personally knowing, was of the Irish branch of that illustrious family, of which branch the head is the Viscount Francfort de Montmorency. On being informed that the Duke of that name in France, had expressed himself rather slightly of the Colonel's pretensions to a congenital origin, he offered to produce the sustaining proofs, as indeed he did to ourselves and to *our* conviction; but the Duke declined the proposal, when our over-sensitive friend dispatched an Irish officer, Captain O'Byrne, who had been in the French service, (and our informant of the circumstance,) to demand recognition, or *satisfaction*. The nobleman, though surprised at the peremptory alternative, hesitated not to accept the pacific one, and, like Sganarelle in Molière's "*Mariage Forcé*," rationally acquiescing in the transfusion of a little foreign blood into the family veins, rather than spill his own, professed himself honoured by the newly-discovered consanguinity, nor will this seion disparage the parent stock to which, after so long a severance, it has been reunited. The Montmorencys are the acknowledged heads of the French nobility, and reckon in their lineage six Constables, eleven Marshals, and four Admirals of France; but their assumption of the title of "*Premier Baron Chrétien*," is wholly unfounded. "*Ce jeu de mots*," says St. Simon, (tome i. p. 257,) "*leur a fort servi à abuser le monde, et à se faire passer pour premiers barons du royaume.*" They certainly are not the *first* of Christendom. The reference to Molière in the above, induces us to correct an error of the article devoted to him, in a recent Edinburgh Review, No. 165, at page 171, where we find it asserted "*that actresses in Molière's time retained the title of Mademoiselle, as well after as before marriage.*" So certainly the great dramatist's worthless wife and widow was uniformly named, not, however, because she was an actress, but because she *was not noble*. Bayle's letters are all addressed to his mother, surely no actress, as Mademoiselle Bayle. Other proofs we could equally adduce; but the fact is certain, while, like our masculine title of *Esquire*, that of *Madame* is indiscriminately lavished at present.

For some years previous to the French Revolution, few of the privates comprising the Brigade were Irish, as we had occasion to observe at the time. There was imminent danger in recruiting them,\* and little success in the attempt, as for some years, the penal laws while still even unrepealed, were no longer in rigorous execution; and the gentlemen who sent their children and urged their tenants or dependants to solicit foreign service, were either indifferent, or averse to its further pursuit. Liege, the banks of the Rhine, Piedmont, and, in short, every Catholic country contributed to fill up the subordinate ranks; certainly not with the flower of each people, who are seldom found in such positions; but the officers, though by no means emulously pressing forward as before, continued always respectable in connection and conduct, while it could hardly escape observation, that their original English, and acquired French language—the one of deepest brogue—the other of high polish—exhibited a contrast of no favourable inference to their home education or society. Their families, in fact, however ancient, had by successive spoliations, been reduced to comparative poverty; and even had they been able to afford the cost, the laws precluded them from the benefits of early cultivation. Up to the American war, the expectant officers continued more or less numerous; but though so far removed from the formation of the Brigade as 1740, almost fifty years, a near relative of our illustrious† Liberator, Captain Maurice O'Connell, whose company the writer enjoyed as a welcome guest for some years, assured him that in offering himself at that time under the best recommendations of birth and connections for an officer's commission, he found seventeen similarly aspiring *Cadets* preceding him, and had consequently to wait until his turn in rotation came

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\* In 1749, Denis Dunn was executed at Cork for this enlistment, as were Thomas Herlihy and Denis McCarthy in 1751, although England was then at peace with France. The recruits were called *Wild Geese*.

† Livy's eulogy of the elder Cato, so well, in many particulars, suits Mr. O'Connell, that the correspondence of character can hardly fail to strike the reader. "Si jus consules, peritissimus; si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus. Orationes et pro se multæ et pro aliis et in alios; nam non solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo, fatigavit inimicos. Similitates nimio plures et exercuerant eum, et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris utrum magis eum presserit nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem." (Lib. xxxix. cap. 40.) With Pericles, too, as described by Thucydides, various points of assimilation may be traced, more especially in the unexampled extent and endurance of their popular influence—the tribute to and acknowledgment of their superior capacity. "Ἐρίζητο τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρός ἀρχή." (Liber ii. § 65.)

round, which exactly occupied an equal number of years ; so much, in the phrase of political economists, did the supply overpass the demand. At that period too, contemporaneous with the battles of Dettingen\* and Fontenoy, where Captain O'Connell successively fought, the Irish was so generally spoken in the regiments, that Mr. Richard Henessy, who entered the service at the same time, and whom Edmond Burke, his friend and cousin, in a letter to his (Burke's) uncle Mr. Nagle, dated the 14th October 1765, familiarly calls Dick Henessy, (see Prior's *Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 139.) affirmed to us, that it was there he learned the language. And we perfectly remember, that on an unexpected meeting of these old brothers in arms after a long separation, their effusion of joy was impulsively expressed in the racy heartiness of the Irish idiom. Mr. Henessy's son James, more on a level of years with ourselves, and our friend from early youth, had also entered the Brigade as an "Enfant du Regiment," but soon exchanged the military for a commercial pursuit, and established a distillery with his father and a Mr. Turner at Cognac, in the department of the "Charente Inférieure," which he represented on the restoration of the Bourbons in the Chamber of Deputies, and continued to do so until a short time before his death, which occurred recently. He entered the legislative body, he told us, as a conservative or decided royalist ; but the indiscretions of the Polignac ministry, made a necessary proselyte of him to more liberal principles, and he formed one of the 221, whom the ill-advised "Ordonnances" called to Paris in 1830, when we had frequent interviews with him on the occurring events ; for we happened to be witness of the *two* Revolutions, though separated by an interval of forty-one years, 1789—1830.

With few exceptions, the officers emigrated in 1791, or the following year, as did most of the French nobility, and were subsequently formed into distinct regiments, in the pay of England, but disbanded after a short service. Of those whose concurrence in the principles of the Revolution induced them to remain in France, the two Dillons, Theobald and Arthur, fell victims, the former to the fury of his own soldiers, the 28th of April, 1792, and the latter

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\* This was, and we trust will be, the last occasion on which the royal Standard of England, attesting the sovereign's presence, was unfurled, now above a century past. (1743.)

to Robespierre's sanguinary rule, the 24th of April, 1794, when, from an accidental association of circumstances, *we* had a providential escape from the same doom. His daughter married General Bertand, whom she accompanied to St. Helena in attendance on Napoleon. The Duke of Feltre (Henry James William Clarke) who filled various high positions under the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, and Restoration, chiefly as Minister of War, was born at Landrecies (Département du Nord), the 17th October, 1765, of Irish, but not direct descent. The interest of his uncle Colonel Shee, father of the present Count D'Alton-Shee, peer of France, procured him an ensigncy in the regiment of Berwick; and the protection of the Duke of Orleans (Egalité) rapidly advanced his successive promotions, which Carnot continued to facilitate. But on attaining the rank of General of Division at the close of 1795, he embraced the diplomatic career, in which his course is traced by history. Although his parents were rather in obscure condition, his pretensions to the noblest ancestry were fondly cherished. The name of Clarke, he said, derived maternally, (his real patronymic being Woodchurch,) was adopted by choice, though both, in his representation, ascended high—the latter beyond, the former to, the Conquest. He even claimed a Plantagenet consanguinity, which made Napoleon in derision address him, "*Vous ne m'aviez parlé de vos droits au trône d'Angleterre; il faut les révéndiquer, et nous lier d'alliance.*" But, apart from this weakness, he possessed considerable talents, and unimpeached integrity, of which the very moderate inheritance he left his children is sufficient evidence.

Of Mac Donald (Stephen James Joseph), though not of Irish parentage, the Brigade is also entitled to boast. Born at Sedan—the birth-place, too, of Turenne—the 17th of November, 1765, after a short essay of the profession in the Légion de Maillevois, which was ineffectually employed to oppose the Prussians and Orange party of Holland, countenanced by England, in 1785, he entered Dillon's Regiment; and we well recollect that the late Colonel Fitz-Simon (James), in a conversation on the relative fates of the officers who had abandoned or adhered to France, after the dissolution of the Brigade there, showed us the "*Etat Militaire*," or Army List of that kingdom for 1788, where his name appeared considerably above Mac

Donald's, and naturally dwelt on his own then comparatively inferior condition. This feeling was warranted by their respective positions, and derived a confirmed assurance of truth from the answer given to Charles X. by Macdonald, when questioned why he had not accompanied his fellow officers in emigration. "Sire, c'est parceque j'étais amoureux; et je m'en applaudis beaucoup, car c'est à cela que je dois l'honneur d'être à table à côté de Votre Majesté; car si j'avais émigré, j'aurais probablement vécu dans la misère, et j'y serais encore."\* This circumstance of Mac Donald's seat at the royal board, after having attained the rank of Duke (of Tarentum) and Marshal, reminds us of something similar in regard to our own illustrious Duke. Dining, we are told, at the old Queen Charlotte's table, on his return from the Peninsular Campaigns, he happened to be placed next to the Duke of Clarence, the future William the Fourth, who observed to his mother, "that, on entering the port of Cork, while in the naval profession in 1787, an escort of honour awaited to conduct him to the city, commanded by a young lieutenant whom he had not since seen till that moment, when he was seated beside himself, a royal guest, invested with all the honours which merit could earn or power bestow." Mac Donald, it is well known, on Sir Walter Scott's arrival at Paris, in search of authentic information for his *Life of Bonaparte*, had invited a special company to meet the great novelist, then aspiring to a higher sphere of composition, in order to elucidate every fact or doubt which Scott might require to have explained; but not a question was asked, or inquiry hinted; and the resulting imperfection of the work was not ill expressed by the French judgment of it: "That it was the worst *novel* Scott had ever written." They would not dignify it with the character of history. Mac Donald died the 24th of September, 1840, leaving children by three successive wives. He was a very handsome man, and of a most prepossessing countenance. Long estranged from him, as the adherent of Moreau, Napoleon finally made him reparation, and did him justice, and after abdicating the imperial throne in

\* The lady who inspired this early passion and became his first wife, was the daughter of a rich Parisian named Jacob, by whom he had two daughters, nobly married. The second wife was the widow of General Joubert, killed at the battle of Novi against Suwarrow, in July 1799—the mother also of a daughter; but by his third consort, a Mademoiselle Bourgoing, he had a son, to whom Charles X. and the Duchess of Angoulême stood sponsors in 1820.

1814, at Fontainebleau, presented him as a token of regard with a sabre, formerly wielded by Murad Bey, and worn by himself at Marengo. Previously, too, though in no great personal or court favour, Mac Donald had been invested with various offices of trust and command—a forced avowal of his abilities.

Numerous, indeed, are the other claimants to commemoration in every stage of the Brigade's existence; and truly did Marshal Thomond reply to Louis XV., who complained of the trouble given him by the Marshal's countrymen: "Sire, that also is a complaint generally made of us by your Majesty's enemies;" for never was a sovereign more nobly served. But, unless we were to undertake a continuation of Mr. O'Connor's work, or, at least, prepare a new edition of it, we could hardly comprise the full number, or avoid the exclusion of many a fair candidate for fame. The writer's knowledge of some of the most distinguished—such as O'Moran, O'Meara, Sir Nicholas Trant, Count Walsh, General Conway, &c., whom he well recollects when in the corps, and above all, General O'Connell, the liberator's uncle—whose frame of mind commanded the esteem, as the amiableness of his manners won the love of all who approached him—would probably render the task easier to him than to most others. Emboldened by these peculiar advantages, anxious that the immortal body should not lose the weight of his testimony, such as it might be estimated, and impressed with the necessity of concentrating the lustre, the diffusion of which must impair its effect, he did, in early life, contemplate something similar to Mr. O'Connor's enterprise; but various obstacles arrested his project and prevented its realization.

Many and gallant have been the individual exploits for which the Brigade may claim additional credit; but outside of that nursery of martial spirit, to which he owed not his tuition, we cannot, in the crowd of those who have reflected honour on their country, refuse a special homage to a native soldier of Ireland, Charles Jennings, better known as General Kilmaine. Conducted to France when not more than fifteen, in 1765, by his father, a resident of Dublin, the youth's birth-place, he entered Lauzun's (afterwards Biron's) regiment as a private hussard, followed his Colonel, Biron, to America during the war of independence, and there embraced the principles so soon after-



wards proclaimed in France — where we recollect him, before the Revolution, in the royal uniform of the day, which was white. Advanced to a captain's commission in 1791, he prevented the emigration of Biron's hussards, when the officers of other regiments collectively abandoned the revolutionary standard, and, being rapidly promoted, distinguished himself at Jemmapes, and on numerous other occasions. On the death of Dampierre at the siege of Condé, and the imprisonment of Custine, he commanded their deserted army, which he saved from destruction by a masterly retreat before the Duke of York and the Prince of Cobourg (great uncle of our Queen and her consort), then at the head of 80,000 men, while those under his charge did not exceed 30,000. For this eminent service, however, he was requited by nearly a year's confinement, which only ended on Robespierre's overthrow; while so many other early generals of the Republic had fallen victims to that tyrant's thirst of blood—as Custine, Houchard, and Kilmaine's first patron, the Duke of Biron, who, at his execution the 31st of December, 1793, emphatically exclaimed, “*Je meurs puni d'avoir été infidèle à mon Dieu, à mon roi, et à mon nom.*” Madame du Barri, the *unnoble* favourite of Louis XV., as Nell Gwyn was of our voluptuous Charles, underwent the same fate on that day, and was almost the only woman who betrayed any weakness, or recoiled from the stroke of death at that dread era; for we can assert, from our own observation, that the female victims almost uniformly submitted to their doom with courage not surpassed by the bravest of men. Kilmaine, who, we understood, had some pretensions to that noble title, on his liberation served under Pichegru, at the invasion and conquest of Holland; and, shortly after, under Bonaparte in the renowned Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1797. Few of the great soldier's lieutenants are oftener mentioned with praise in the reports from the victorious general, who, during his exile at St. Helena, is stated by Montholon and Gourgaud, in their “*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon,*” (1823-25), to have described Kilmaine as “*un excellent officier de cavalerie: il avait du sang froid, du coup d'œil, et une tête saine: il rendit des services importants à l'armée, dont il eût été un des principaux généraux sans la faiblesse de sa santé.*” Other demonstrative proofs of his talents could be easily produced; but

after being appointed to the army of Helvetia, in 1799, he was obliged to transfer the command to Massena, who then saved France by his defeat of Suwarrow and Krasnow, in the September and October of that year, just as Bonaparte, escaping from Egypt, was approaching the French shores; and ere that year had closed, Jennings, or Kilmaine, died the 15th of December. Had he lived, a brilliant career, we may be confident, awaited him, under the future ruler of his adopted country. The praise of the first of modern captains—for so the world will still consider Napoleon, notwithstanding Colonel Mitchell's depreciation, in his *Life of Wallenstein*, and his late work, the "*Fall of Napoleon*"—sufficiently establishes our countryman's military value. There are some fixed and settled reputations not easily shaken; nor is it very discreet or modest in men of infinitely subordinate fame to attempt it;—as Lord Chesterfield says of those who would now maintain that Homer and Virgil were no poets, "they come too late with their discovery."\*\*

We may shortly here advert to Marshal Bugeaud's connection with Ireland, of which his mother with her numerous brothers and sisters were natives. She was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Sutton, who removed from Wexford, where all sources of honourable advancement were closed on him, to France, where his birth and merit placed him at once in a corresponding rank, and Louis XV. conferred on him the title of Count. Of his three sons, two served in the Irish Brigade—one as Colonel, the other as Major; but the youngest perished with La Peyrouse in command of one of the ill-fated exploratory frigates. The Marshal's two elder brothers, Patrick and Ambrose, emigrated with the Brigade, of which they were officers in the British pay, under their maternal name of Sutton; but the Marshal, then a child, could not accom-

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\* The Colonel confidently asserts Napoleon's "insignificance of talents;" and represents the mighty conqueror as "the weak and vain toy of fortune," at page 273 of his *Biography of Wallenstein*, whose words on the danger or absurdity of running counter to rationally and generally adopted opinions, we will repeat to this presumptuous appreciator of one of the greatest—would we could add, best—of men!

".....Du willst die Macht,  
Die ruhig, sicher thronende erschüttern.  
Die in verjährt geheiligtem Besitz,  
In der gewohnheit festgegründet ruht,  
Die an der Völker frommen Kinderglauben,  
Mit tausend Zähen Wurzeln sich befestigt."

*Wallenstein's Tod-Vierter Auftritt Erster Aufzug.*

pany them. They returned to France in 1801, and he entered the imperial army of Napoleon in 1804. His subsequent career will be the theme of history. The family is a very ancient one of Périgord, or "Département de la Dordogne," where their father was Marquis de la Piconnerie.\*

We may mention one other name, Major Mac Elligat. It was gratifying to us to hear from Lafayette the distinction he drew between the humane and generous conduct of this officer towards him, and the harsh restrictions he had to endure from the Austrian officers, under whose charge he was successively placed at Olmütz. There his wife, after a long imprisonment of herself, and the execution, during the reign of terror, of her grandmother, the Duchess of Noailles, of her mother, the Duchess of Ayen, and of her sister! succeeded in joining him with their two daughters. He was far more distinguished for consistency of principle than for capacity adequate to the situations to which he was occasionally raised. Napoleon, as related in Gourgaud's *Mémoires*, called him a simpleton—"un niais, nullement taillé pour les rôles qu'il avait voulu jouer."

We must not, however, too far pursue our fond course; for were we to compass, to any commensurate extent, the series of actions in which the proscribed sons of Ireland have gathered their laurels, and signalized the characteristic valour of their country, the recital would occupy many a volume. Exclusively of their principal theatre, on which Mr. O'Connor has expended his labours, and yet without exhausting the subject, we should have to include in our comprehensive sphere of narrative, the recorded achievements in Spain, of the O'Donnells, O'Farrels, O'Sullivans, O'Reillys, McCarthys, &c, &c, and, in the Sardinian and Neapolitan pay, of the Carews, (of the devotedness of one of whom Boswell, in his *Tour to Corsica*, relates a most striking instance from the communication of Paoli;) of the Roches, whose bravery is celebrated by Castruccio Buonamici, in his "*Commentarii de Bello Italico*," of most classical latinity (Lugd. Batav. 1750, 2 vol. 8vo.) of the Mac Mahons, &c.; and in Germany, of the Lacys, Nugents, Taaffes, Harrolds; and above all, of the Brownes; for, in military genius,

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\* See the *Literary Gazette*, No. 1463, where we entered into further details, founded on a long and friendly intercourse.

we believe that Field Marshal Ulysses Maximilian Browne may claim the highest place in foreign Irish annals; and, as such, he may for a moment arrest our attention. Born of Irish parents at Basil, the 23d of October, 1705, he was very early sent to Limerick, the seat of his ancestors, and there educated under the Rev. Mr. Cashin. Having entered the imperial service, his first active campaign was in 1737 against the Turks, and in reward for his distinguished conduct on that occasion, as well as at the battles of Parma and Guastalla, where his relative, Colonel George Browne, met his death, in Italy, was named Field Marshal in 1739. During the subsequent war for the possession of Silesia, between the Empress, Queen Maria Teresa, and her unprincipled assailant, Frederick, Browne was his ablest opponent; though neither then, nor in the ensuing Seven Years' war, is Mr. O'Conor quite warranted in calling him, at page 368, the "Conqueror of Frederick," who did him more justice, however, than he rendered his real conqueror, in many a conflict, Marshal Daun. Just so we find Napoleon fair, often generous, in estimating those who could boast of no victory over him, while only in anxious search of any errings imputable to his victor. In his history of the Seven Years' war, Frederick describes Browne's march into Saxony after the battle of Lowositz, as a master-piece of military science, "*digne des plus grands capitaines anciens ou modernes*," to use his own emphatic phrase. But nearly at the opening of that memorable period of Frederick's long balanced fate and final triumph, at the battle of Prague, the 6th of May 1757, by far the greatest encounter between them, (though the repulse of the Prussians from Bohemia had shortly before won for Browne the insignia of the Golden Fleece,) a wound, which proved mortal on the 24th of June, deprived the army of his directing eye and counsel, and himself of a promised victory.\* During the short interval of peace after the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, or about the year 1753, Browne paid a visit to Limerick, when, walking round the then encircling walls of the city with the father of the present writer, they were both arrested, and only released by the influence of the future lords, Lisle and Pery: such

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\* See, "*Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, von J. B. Archenholz," page 53. *Erster Theil*, ed Berlin, 1830, 8vo.

was, at that time, the fear entertained of military strangers, or catholic residents. Had Browne borne arms for France, the consequences to these gentlemen would have been of severer visitation ; but George the Second, as a German Prince, had an inherited reverence for the imperial crown, and we have in the possession of our family a license for one of its members, with that sovereign's sign manual, to pursue the profession interdicted him at home, under the Empress Queen's banners, but with a special prohibition to engage in the service of France, although just then at peace with that rival power.

But it is time to close this desultory criticism. In the last page of his history, Mr. O'Conor introduces the name of General Montgomery, a native of Donegal, as second only to Washington in martial fame during the American war of Independence. We were not aware that he stood in such high estimation, but are gratified to find it asserted. In 1793, his widow and son had fixed their residence at Toulouse. The latter did not appear to partake very largely of his father's capacity, or spirit, while his wife was a most amiable and accomplished lady. She was the natural daughter of a gentleman then well known in England, as "Black Pigot," from his complexion. He educated her on Rousseau's principles ; for he was a most singular being, quite of a congenial mind with the author of the *Emilius* ; but she had the good sense to adopt what was practically useful, and to discard what was eccentric in the Genevese philosopher's system, as she advanced in maturer life. Her mother-in-law, though of an inferior stamp of intellect, made her conversation peculiarly interesting by the variety of anecdotes she was enabled to relate of Washington, whose alternations of popular favour, just then in rapid decline with the dominant or democratic party, presented a striking proof of its proverbial instability.\*

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\* On this subject we may be allowed to repeat a personal anecdote. The citizens of the United States never fail, it is known, to celebrate the 4th of July, the anniversary of their declared independence of the British crown. In 1796 we assisted, by special invitation, at Bordeaux to commemorate the day, when after a few early toasts, a *round of rascals* was proposed, not then an unwonted practice ; and at their head, with curses loud and deep, was pronounced the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON ! A French general and ourselves were the only alien guests. He made some observation expressive of surprise, which was answered by the Chairman in terms of insult, fortunately not sufficiently understood to cause the usual consequences, which we averted by a very softened interpretation of the words. We had ourselves declined the toast, but unnoticed. The Chair-

ART. II.—*Anthologia Germanica—German Anthology; a Series of Translations, from the most Popular of the German Poets.*  
By JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN, post 8vo. 2 vols. Dublin: 1845.

POETICAL translations from the foreign languages, especially the German, have multiplied so rapidly of late years, that the English reader is often bewildered in attempting to make a selection. There are at least a dozen English versions of Goethe's *Faust*; nearly twice the number of Schiller's *Song of the Bell*; and even the less remarkable poems of both authors have been, in most instances, repeatedly translated. Still the rage for translation seems to have been confined to these and a few other poets; while the public has been left in comparative ignorance of a host of other writers equally original, little less gifted, and, if less prolific, certainly not less necessary for a proper estimate of the national literature of Germany.

The volumes now before us will introduce the reader to many poets who are comparatively unknown, but whose acquaintance notwithstanding, will, we make no doubt, prove little less agreeable than that of the old and traditional representatives of German literature. The translations, with one single exception, are reprinted from a series of papers in the *Dublin University Magazine*.

man, a Mr. Russell, was subsequently employed in various diplomatic missions, and in after life must have reflected with shame and horror on the frantic excess of such party spirit. So signal an instance of its delirious influence is, and must remain, without parallel; for where could the baneful passion find such a victim or batten on such a prey!—But

“He who surpasses or subdues mankind,  
Must look down on the hate of those below.

\* \* \* \* \*

Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow  
Contending tempests on his naked head;  
And thus reward the toils, which to these summits lead.”

*Childe Harold.* Canto iii. 45.

For the direful rivalry of the contending factions of that day in America, Washington's Life by Jarred Sparke, vol. ii. p. 49, should be read. But, to the versatility of popular feeling, the never-failing animadversion of historians, may be opposed. Machiavelli's observations on the text of Livy, “*Hæc natura multitudinis est, aut humiliter servit aut superbe dominatur.*” (lib. xxiv. cap. 25,) which transfer the blame, in a higher degree, to the rulers. “*Dico adunque, come di quel difetto, di che accusano gli scrittori la moltitudine, se ne possono accusare tutti gli huomini, particolarmente, et massimamente i principi; perche ciascuno, che non sia regolato dalle leggi, farebbe quelli medesimi errori, che la moltitudine sciolta.*” (Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio, lib. ii. cap. 58.)

But the intervals of publication were distant and irregular ; the papers were scattered through nearly twenty volumes of this periodical, and the author has done good service to the public in reprinting them in this neat and convenient form, in which they assume, for all practical purposes, the character of a new and independent work. Indeed, we have no hesitation in saying, that the *German Anthology* is destined to take its place in the very highest rank of poetical translations. Mr. Mangan's mind is precisely of that plastic character which is indispensable for spirited and truthful translations. He possesses, in a high degree, the art of thoroughly divesting himself, in his capacity of translator, of every individuality of thought and of manner, and becoming, so to speak, the mere instrument of the author whom he translates. The moment he takes up the pen, he forgets himself altogether ; or rather he, as it were, converts himself into his original thinking and writing in a new language ; so that not alone the thought, but the words, the form, the style, the manner, the very metre, are faithfully rendered back. With him translation is a mere process of fusion ; but the metal is recast in precisely the same mould, and preserves not alone the substance, but the most minute and delicate peculiarities of form which characterised its original structure.

And this faculty is still more extraordinary when exercised, as here, upon an almost endless variety of subjects. That a translator, by long study and fervent admiration of a single author, or even of several authors belonging to the same school and resembling each other in the general character of their compositions, should become thoroughly familiar with that character, and as it were, come to form his thoughts habitually in the same mould, is natural enough, and can be easily understood by any one who has at all studied the art of composition. But Mr. Mangan has tried his hand on more than forty different models, and appears equally at home with all. With that strange faculty of which naturalists tell, his pen seems to take its colour from the food it feeds upon—it is pious and didactic with Hölty or Klopstock—humorous and burlesque with Dunkel—it plunges into the depths of mysticism with De la Motte Fouqué—and laughs at the world with Kotzebue or Bürger. The writer is a complete literary Proteus. He appears to be equally in his element among the fairy

tales of Schnetzler, and the philosophic reveries of Schiller or Goethe; and after throwing his whole soul into one of the fiery philippics of Freiligrath or Kerner, can return to dream over the melancholy sentimentalism of Tieck, or Simrock, or Rückert, as though he had lived his life long in those dreamy halls,

“Where melancholy music ceaseless swells.”

Indeed, we have seldom, perhaps never, met any writer who possesses in a higher degree that mastery over the varieties of metre and the proprieties of poetical phraseology, which supplies, as it were, the mechanical tools of the poet. The reader of Anster's *Faust*, for example, cannot fail to be struck with the evidence of this power which is displayed in that wonderful poem. But if he turn to the original, he will find that this luxuriance and versatility is for the most part Dr. Anster's own—the sparkling and bubbling up of the well-spring of genuine poetry, which refuses to be confined within artificial boundaries. Though his own versification is extremely varied, he seldom follows the variety of the original. But it is not so with the author of the *Anthology*. To him it appears a matter of complete indifference into what form of metre he may throw his thoughts; and the great charm of his versification is, that throughout all its varieties it preserves its freedom, its liveliness, and above all, its perfect propriety.

We have often, therefore, been tempted to regret, that a writer possessing a faculty so rare among the poets of this country—one too which lends such a charm to the lighter pieces of our German neighbours—should not have done something in the line of original English poetry, if it were only to prove that the language is not unsusceptible of similar varieties of poetical structure. But we are inclined, on reflection, to doubt whether this extraordinary power of imitation is compatible with great originality of poetical genius. The vine-branch can climb the rock, or creep along the plain—its tendrils will follow the upright course of the poplar, or twine among the twisted branches of the mulberry; but by itself it is helpless and intractable—and perhaps the mind which habituates itself to borrow inspiration from another, and moulds itself into the fashion of another's thought, is only following therein a hidden instinct, which warns it that it was not destined to labour



alone, and is not possessed of resources for great original conceptions.

The Anthology, as we have said, comprises samples of above forty German authors, the greater number of whom flourished within the present century, and many within our own time. Still it is necessary to caution the reader against supposing that it contains all the great names, even of modern German poetry. Indeed we are unable to account for some of the omissions. Probably the religious poets did not come within the author's design, therefore their absence is less remarkable;—but there is not a word from Wieland, from either of the Schlegels, from Novalis, or from our favourite poor Ernest Schulze; not to speak of Bouterweck, or Uz, or Schubert, or above all, King Louis of Bavaria. In these latter days, poetry is so seldom found upon a throne, that a poet-king would seem to deserve notice, were it only as a literary curiosity. But independently of any consideration of rank, King Louis well merits a place among the poets of modern Germany, though his genius is not marked by great originality; and his name is so completely identified with the progress both of art and of literature, not only in his own dominions, but throughout the entire Germanic confederation, that it seems almost unpardonable not to make room for him in the collection. Perhaps, however, it is unfair to take exceptions such as these against a work in every way so meritorious; and indeed we believe it is the very excellence of the translations that makes us regret the exclusion of these and several other authors, for the fame of some among whom, as being special favourites of our own, we are particularly solicitous; and we trust that the well merited success of this first experiment, will induce the author to extend and continue his inimitable translations.

That the reader may judge whether we have formed an undue estimate of the truth, energy, and spirit, which characterize Mr. Mangan's versions, our first specimen shall be from a well-known ballad, which has already been translated by many of our most distinguished poets—Burger's *Leonore*. The fidelity of the version can hardly be felt, except by comparing it, line for line, with the original. In justice, therefore, to the author, we shall transcribe them in parallel volumes, even at the risk of appearing unnecessarily minute in our criticism.

As the story of the ballad is sufficiently familiar, we pass over the return of the triumphant army—the wild anxiety of the maiden's search for her lover among the throng—her despair when she discovers that he is no more—her mother's unavailing efforts at consolation, and the blasphemous excess of desperation into which the unhappy girl flies in her grief, all of which are rendered with inimitable accuracy and force—to come to the midnight visit of her spectre bridegroom.

So wüthete verzweiflung,\*  
Ihr in Gehirn und Adern,

Sie fuhr mit Gottes Vorsehung,  
Vermessen fort zu hadern,  
Zerschlug den Busen, und zerrang

Die Hand, bis Sonnenuntergang,  
Bis auf am Himmelsbogen,  
Die goldnen Sterne gezogen.

Und aussen, horch! ging's trap, trap,  
trap,  
Als wie von Rosseshufen,  
Und klirrend stieg ein Reiter ab,  
An des Geländer's Stufen,  
Und horch! und horch! den Pforten-  
ring,  
Ganz lose, leise, kling, kling, kling!  
Dann kamen durch die Pforte,  
Vernehmlich diese Worte:

"Holla, holla! thu auf mein Kind!  
Schläfst, Liebchen, oder wachst du?  
Wie bist noch gegen mich gesinnt?  
Und weinst oder lachst du?"  
"Ach, Wilhelm, du? So spät bei nacht?"

Geweinet hab' ich und gewacht,  
Ach grosses Leid erlitten!  
Wo kommst du hergeritten?"

"Wir satteln nur um Mitternacht,  
Weit ritt ich her von Böhmen,  
Ich habe spät mich aufgemacht,  
Und will dich mit mir nehmen!"  
"Ach Wilhelm, erst herein geschwind!  
Den Hagedorn durchsaust der Wind,

Herein in meinen Armen,  
Herzliebster, zu erwarmen!"

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

"And thus, asreigned and raged despair  
Throughout her brain, through every  
vein,  
Did this presumptuous maiden dare  
To tax with ill, God's righteous will;  
And rang her hands, and beat her  
breast,  
Till sunk the sunlight in the west,  
And under heaven's ethereal arch,  
The golden stars began their march.

"When, list! a sound! hark! *hoff, hoff,*  
*hoff*—  
It nears, she hears a courser's tramp—  
And swiftly bounds a rider off,  
Before the gate with clattering stamp.  
And hark, the bell goes *ring, ding, ding!*

"And hark again, *cling, ling, ling, ling!*  
And through the portal and the hall,  
Thus peals a voice with hollow call:

"What ho! up, up, sweet love inside!  
Dost watch for me, or art thou sleeping?  
Art false, or still my faithful bride?  
And smilest thou, or art thou weeping?"  
'What! Wilhelm! thou? and come  
thus late!  
Oh, night has seen me watch and wait,  
And suffer so! But oh, I fear—  
Why this wild haste in riding here?"

"I left Bohemia late at night;  
We journey, but at midnight, we!  
My time was brief, and fleet my flight,  
Up, up! thou must away with me!"  
'Ah, Wilhelm! come inside the house,  
The wind moans through the fir-tree  
boughs,  
Come in, my heart's beloved! and rest,  
And warm thee in this faithful breast."

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* It may be necessary to observe that the original German is not given in Mr. Mangan's volumes.

Schon Liebchen schurzte, sprang, und schwang,  
Sich auf das Ross behende,  
Wohl um den trauten Reiter schlang,  
Sie ihre Lilienhände:

Und hurre, hurre, hop, hop, hop,  
Ging's fort in sausendem Galopp,  
Dass Ross und Reiter schnoben,  
Und Kies und Funken stoben.

Zur rechten und zur linken Hand,  
Vorbey vor ihren Blicken,  
Wie flogen Anger, Haid, und Land !

Wie donnerten die Brücken !  
"Graut Liebchen auch ? Der Mond  
scheint hell,  
Hurrah ! die Todten reiten schnell !  
Graut Liebchen auch vor Todten ?"

"—Ach nein !—Doch lass die Todten !"  
Was klang dort für Gesang und klang ?

Was flatterten die Raben ?  
Horch Glockenklang ! horch Todten-  
sang !

"Lasst uns den Leib begraben !"  
Und näher zog ein Leichenzug,  
Der Sarg und Todtenbaare trug,  
Das Lied war zu vergleichen,  
Dem Unkenruf in Teichen.

\* \* \* \* \*

Still Klang und Sang.—Die Baare  
schwand,  
Gehorsam seinem Rufen,  
Kam's hurre, hurre, nachgerannt.  
Hart hinter's Rappen Hufen,

Und immer weiter, hop, hop, hop !  
Ging's fort in sausendem Galopp,  
Dass Ross und Reiter schnoben,  
Und Kies und Funken stoben.

Wie flogen rechts, wie flogen links,  
Gebirge, Bäum' und Hecken !

Wie flogen links, und rechts, und links,  
Die Dörfer, Städt', und Flecken ?

"Graut Liebchen auch ? Der mond  
scheint hell !  
Hurrah ! die Todten reiten schnell !  
Graut Liebchen auch vor Todten ?"

"Ach ! lass sie ruhn die Todten !"  
Sieh da, sieh da ! am Hochgerieht,  
Tanz' um des Rades Spindel,  
Halb sichtbarlich bey Mondeslicht,  
Ein lustiges Gesindel,  
"Sasa ! Gesindel, hier ! komm hier,

Gesindel komm, und folge mir !  
Tanz' uns die hochzeitreigen,  
Wann wir zu Bette steigen !"

Soon up, soon clad, with lightest  
bound  
On that black steed the maiden sprung,  
And round her love, and warmly round,  
Her snow-white hands she swung and  
flung,  
And deftly, swiftly, *hoff, hoff, hoff,*  
Away went horse and riders off,  
Till panted horse and riders too,  
And sparks and pebbles flashed and  
flew !

"On left and right with whirling flight,  
How rock and forest reeled and wheeled,  
How danced each height before their  
sight,  
What thunder-tones the bridges pealed.  
'Dost fear ? the moon is fair to see !

Hurrah ! the dead ride rapidly.  
Beloved ! dost dread the shrouded  
dead ?

'Ah no—but let them rest !' she said.

"But see ! what throng, with song and  
gong,  
Moves by, as croaks the raven hoarse !  
Hark ! funeral song ! Hark, knelling  
song !

They sing, 'Let's here inter the corse !'  
And nearer draws that mourning throng,  
And bearing hearse and bier along,  
With hollow hymn outgurgled, like  
Low reptile groanings from a dyke.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Some spell is in the horseman's call,

The hymn is hushed, the hearse is gone,  
And in his wake the buriers all,  
Tramp, tramp, come clattering pattering  
on ;  
And onward, forward, *hoff, hoff, hoff !*  
Away swept all in gallop off,  
Till panted steeds and riders too,  
And sparks and pebbles flashed and  
flew.

"On left and right, with flight of light,  
How whirled the hills, the trees, the  
bowers !  
With light-like flight, on left and right,  
How spun the hamlets, towns, and  
towers !

'Dost quail ? The moon is fair to see,

Hurrah, the dead ride recklessly !  
Beloved ! dost dread the shrouded  
dead ?

'Ah ! let the dead repose,' she said.

"But look ! on yonder gibbet's height,  
How round his wheel, as wanly glances  
The yellow moon's unclouded light,  
A malefactor's carcass dances !

'So ho ! poor carcass ! down with  
thee !

Down, King of bones, and follow me,  
And thou shalt quickly dance, ho, ho !  
Before us when to bed we go !

We must pass by the further career of this fiendish cavalcade; (though, perhaps, in the whole history of diablerie, there is not a single scene depicted with more terrific vividness and power;) to come to the denouement.

Rasch auf ein eisern Gitterthor,  
Ging's mit verhängtem Zügel,

Mit schwankem Gert, ein Schlag davor,  
Zersprengte Schloss und Riegel.  
Die Flügel flogen Klirrend auf,  
Und über Gräber ging der Lauf,  
Es blinkten Leichensteine,  
Rund um in Mondenscheine.

Ha sieh! ha sieh! im Augenblick,  
Huhu! ein grässlich Wunder!  
Des Reiter's Koller, Stück für Stück,  
Fiel ab wie mürber Zunder.  
Zum Schädel, ohne Zopf und Schopf,  
Zum nackten Schädel ward sein Kopf,  
Sein Körper zum Gerippe,  
Mit Stundenglas und Hippe.

Hoch baünte sich, wild schnob der  
Rapp',  
Und sprühte Feuerfunken,  
Und hui! war's unter ihr hinab,  
Verschwunden und versunken,  
Geheul! Geheul aus hoher Luft,

Gewinsel kam aus tiefer Gruft,  
Lenorens Herz mit Beben,  
Rang Zwischen Tod und Leben.

Nun tanzten wohl bei Mondenglanz,  
Rund um herum im Kreise,  
Die Geister einen Kettentanz,

Und heulten diese Weise,  
"Geduld! Geduld! Wenn's Herz auch  
bricht,  
Mit Gott im Himmel hadre nicht,  
Des Leibes bist du ledig,  
Gott sey der Seele gnädig!"

"Before a grated portal stand  
That midnight troop and coal-black  
horse,  
Which, touched as by a viewless wand,  
Bursts open with gigantic force!  
With trailing reins and lagging speed,  
Winds onward now the gasping steed,  
Where ghastly the morn illumines,  
A wilderness of graves and tombs!

"He halts, O horrible! behold—  
Hoo! hoo! behold a hideous wonder!  
The rider's garments drop, like mould  
Of crumbling plaster-work asunder!  
His skull, in bony nakedness,  
Glares hairless, fleshless, featureless!  
And now a SKELETON he stands,  
With flashing scythe and glass of sands!

"High rears the barb, he snorts, he  
winks,  
His nostrils flame, his eyeballs glow,  
And what! the maiden sinks and sinks  
Down in the smothering clay below!  
Then howls and shrieks in air were  
blended,  
And wailings from the grave ascended,  
Until her heart in mortal strife,  
Wrestled with very Death for Life!

"And now as dimmer moonlight wanes,  
Round Leonore in shadowy ring,  
The spectres dance their dance of  
chains,  
And howlingly she hears them sing—  
'Bear, bear, although thy heart be  
riven!  
And tamper not with God in heaven!  
Thy corse's knell they soon shall toll,  
May God have mercy on thy soul!"

*Vol. i. pp. 140—9.*

It is only by following word after word the singularly close and spirited version of this extraordinary ballad, that one can fully understand its merit. Bold and stirring, as though it were struck at a heat from the author's own mind—free and flowing, as if it were the extemporaneous outpouring of his own imagination, it is in reality a verbal and literal transcript of the original, preserving not alone the spirit, but the words, the order, the form, and even the minutest peculiarity of structure. Not a sentiment is changed—scarce an epithet is added or withdrawn—and,

above all, not a particle of that bold and fiery spirit, which forms the peculiar charm of the original, is suffered to evaporate in the process of transfusion.

The same minute fidelity, coupled with freedom and vivacity, distinguishes the ballad of "Gertrude Von Hochburg," and that of the "Demon Hunter;" especially the latter, in which it is really wonderful. But we prefer to give a specimen of another class of composition, and one which displays still more the extraordinary pliancy of the translator's pen. Let it be borne in mind that, throughout all the vagaries of the metre of the following passage from Schiller's "Song of the Bell," the same minute fidelity which we have observed in the last example is uniformly maintained. The passage is from the Strophe entitled the Fire-bell.

"Woe ! when oversweeping far  
With a fury nought can stand,  
Through the stifled streets afar,  
Rolls the monstrous volume-brand !  
For the elements ever war  
With the works of human hand.  
From the cloud  
Blessings gush ;  
From the cloud  
Torrents rush ;  
From the cloud, alike,  
Come the bolts that strike.  
Larum-peals from lofty steeple  
Rouse the people !  
Red, like blood,  
Heaven is flashing !  
How it stains the daylight's flood !  
Hark ! what crashing  
Down the streets !  
Smoke ascends in volumes ;  
Skyward flares the flame in columns !  
Through the tent-like lines of streets  
Rapidly as wind it fleets !  
Now the white air waxing hotter  
Glow's a furnace ; pillars totter—  
Rafters crackle—casements rattle—  
Mothers fly—  
Children cry—  
Under ruins whimper cattle—  
All is horror, noise, affright ;  
Bright as noontide glares the night !

Swung from hand to hand with zeal along  
 By the throng,  
 Speeds the pail.—In bow-like form  
 Sprays the hissing water-shower ;  
 But the madly-howling storm  
 Aids the flame with wrathful power.  
 Round the shrivelled fruit they curl,  
 Grappling with the granary stores ;  
 Now they blaze through roof and floors,  
 And with upward dragging whirl,  
 Even as though they strove to bear  
 Earth herself aloft in air,  
 Shoot into the vaulted Void,  
 Giant-vast !  
 Hope is past :—  
 Man submits to God's decree ;  
 And, all stunned and silently,  
 Sees his earthly all destroyed !”

*Vol. i. pp. 9—11.*

But, instead of following the translator farther through these well-known authors, we shall select a few examples from poets less familiar in these countries. The translations from Körner are all admirable ; especially “The Four Idiot Brothers,” “Home-sickness,” “The Garden that fades not,” and the “Address to Uhland.” We can afford space but for a single one, “Home-sickness.” It is one of those simple thrilling gushes of poetry, which find their way straight to the heart, and never fail to leave a delicious consciousness of their influence, long after their presence ceases to be felt.

“There calleth me ever a marvellous Horn,  
 ‘Come away ! come away !’  
 Is it earthly music fumes astray,  
 Or is it air-born ?  
 Oh, whether it be a spirit-wile,  
 Or a forest-voice,  
 It biddeth some ailing heart rejoice,  
 Yet sorrow the while !

“In the greenwood glades o’er the garlanded bowl,  
 Night, noontide, and morn ;  
 The summoning call of that marvellous Horn  
 Tones home to my soul !  
 In vain have I sought for it east and west ;  
 But I darkly feel  
 That so soon as its music shall cease to peal,  
 I go to my rest !”—*Vol. i. p. 127.*

Uhland is better known ; and the specimens of his poetry contained in the Anthology will add to his popularity. He is, or at least was, till the appearance of Freiligrath, emphatically the poetical representative of German nationality ; and the enthusiasm with which his noble ballad, "Forwards !" (I. p. 105.) is sung by his countrymen is hardly inferior to that of a Parisian assembly for the Marseillaise or the Parisienne. The great characteristic of his political compositions is their manliness and energy.

"As a headlong stream that winter had bound,  
When spring reshowers her beams on the plains,  
Breaks loose with a fierce impatient bound,  
From its icy chains !"

But, except the single ballad already alluded to, Mr. Mangan has not translated any of these. The best of his collection are "Spring Roses," "The Jeweller's Daughter," a sweet simple ballad, "Durand of Blonden," and "The Castle over the Sea." This last is a good sample, not only of German rhyme, but also of the dark and mysterious character of the narrative which they introduce in their ballad poetry; telling but half the event, and leaving the rest to be gathered from the vague and indistinct allusions in which they delight.

"Sawest thou the castle that beetles over  
The wine-dark sea ?  
The rosy sunset clouds do hover  
Above it so goldenly.'—

"—'Well know I the castle that beetles over  
The wine-dark sea ;  
And a fall of watery clouds did cover  
Its battlements gloomsomely.'

"The winds and the moonlit waves were singing  
A choral song ;  
And the brilliant castle hall was ringing  
With melody all night long.'

"The winds and the moonless waves were sleeping  
In stillness all ;  
But many voices of woe and weeping  
Rose out from the castle-hall.'

"And sawest thou not step forth so lightly  
The king and the queen ;  
Their festal dresses bespangled brightly,  
Their crowns of a dazzling sheen :

“And by their side a resplendent vision—

A virgin fair !

The glorious child of some clime elysian,

With starry gems in her hair ?’

“Well saw I the twain by the wine-dark water,

Walk slower and slower ;

They were clad in weeds, and their virgin daughter

Was found at their side no more !”

*Vol. i. pp. 100—1.*

As our purpose is to illustrate the less known authors of the Anthology, we shall not delay on the translations from Goethe or Herder. They are all extremely good as translations, though we shall not be surprised if they prove the least popular portion of the collection—at least, if we except Herder's “Erl-king's daughter,” and Goethe's “Aldering,” “Irish Lamentation,” and “Mignon's Song”—which last has an especial interest in being, as it is generally believed, the germ of the opening stanzas of “The Bride of Abydos.”

Rückert supplies five pieces to the collection ; three of which—“Eleanora von Alleyne,” “Gone in the Wind,” and “And then no more”—almost realize the ideal of translation. The first of these is a half light, half stately ballad about a whimsical and haughty beauty, who required as the price of her hand that her suitors should ride around the rampart of her castle, which overhung a yawning precipice. The fame of her wealth and beauty nerved many a knight against the danger of the ordeal. They perished, one by one—

“Till six-and-thirty corsees, both of mangled men and horses,

Had been sacrificed as victims of the fame

Of the Lady Eleanora—

Stately Lady Eleanora von Alleyne.”

At length a knight, the “gallant Margrave Condibert” of Gratz, who takes the precaution of training his charger beforehand for the feat, accomplishes it in safety, and by the grace and gallantry of his bearing wins the love, even to madness, of the haughty beauty ; but in requital of her pride and cruelty, refuses to claim the hand he has won ; and the ballad ends by telling

“That long, in shame and anguish, did that haughty lady languish,

Did she languish without pity for her pain—

She, the Lady Eleanora,

She, the Lady Eleanora von Alleyne.”



As this piece is too long for publication, we must content ourselves with a shorter one of a very different character from the same pen—tender, plaintive, and full of beauty.

AND THEN NO MORE.

“I saw her once, one little while, and then no more :  
’Twas Eden’s light on earth awhile, and then no more.  
Amid the throng she passed along the meadow-floor ;  
Spring seemed to smile on Earth awhile, and then no more,  
But whence she came, which way she went, what garb she  
wore,  
I noted not ; I gazed awhile, and then no more.

“I saw her once, one little while, and then no more,  
’Twas Paradise on earth, awhile, and then no more :  
Ah ! what avail my vigils pale, my magic lore ?  
She shone before mine eyes awhile, and then no more.  
The shallop of my peace is wrecked on Beauty’s shore.  
Near Hope’s fair isle it rode awhile, and then no more !

“I saw her once, one little while, and then no more :  
Earth looked like Heaven a little while, and then no more.  
Her presence thrilled and lighted to its inner core  
My desert breast a little while, and then no more.  
So may, perchance, a meteor glance at midnight o’er  
Some ruined pile a little while, and then no more !

“I saw her once, one little while, and then no more,  
The earth was Peri-land awhile, and then no more.  
Oh, might I see but once again, as once before,  
Through chance or wile, that shape awhile, and then no more !  
Death soon would heal my griefs ! This heart, now sad and  
sore,  
Would beat anew a little while, and then no more !

*Vol. ii. p. 100, 101.*

From August Schnetzler there are but two pieces—“The Deserted Mill,” and “The Lily Maidens”—but they are so beautiful and so characteristic that we shall give them both. They belong, particularly the latter, to that class of purely German fiction, for which De La Motte Fouqué has procured a foreign immortality by his *Undine*; and which Musäus has brought home to every fireside in Germany by his inimitable *Volks-Mährchen*.

The former of these pieces needs no introduction.

“It stands in the lonely Winterthal  
At the base of Ilsberg hill :  
It stands as though it fain would fall,  
The dark deserted mill.

Its engines coated with moss and mould,  
Bide silent all the day,  
Its mildewed walls and windows old,  
Are crumbling to decay.

“ So through the daylight's lingering hours  
It mourns in weary rest ;  
But soon as the sun-set's gorgeous bowers  
Begin to fade in the west,  
The long dead millers leave their lairs,  
And open its creaking doors ;  
And their feet glide up and down its stairs,  
And over its dusty floors.

“ And the miller's men, they too awake,  
And the night's weird-work begins ;  
The wheels turn round, the hoppers shake,  
The flour falls into the bins.  
The mill-bell tolls again and again,  
And the cry is “ Grist here, ho ! ”  
And the dead old millers and their men,  
Move busily to and fro.

“ And even as the night wears more and more,  
New groups throng into the mill,  
And the clangor, deafening enough before,  
Grows louder and wilder still.  
Huge sacks are barrowed from floor to floor ;  
The wheels redouble their din,  
The hoppers clatter, the engines roar,  
And the flour overflows the binn.

“ But with the morning's pearly sheen,  
This ghastly hubbub wanes,  
And the moon-dim face of a woman is seen  
Through the meal-dulled window-panes.  
She opens the sash and her words resound,  
In tones of unearthly power,  
‘ Come hither, good folks, the corn is ground ;  
Come hither and take your flour ! ’

“ Thereon strange hazy lights appear,  
A flitting all through the pile,  
And a deep melodious choral cheer,  
Ascends through the roof the while ;  
But a moment more and you gaze and hark,  
And wonder and wait in vain ;  
For suddenly all again is dark,  
And all is hushed again.

"It stands in the lonely Winterthal  
At the base of Ilsberg hill:  
It stands as though it fain would fall,  
The dark deserted mill.  
Its engines coated with moss and mould,  
Bide silent all the day,  
Its mildewed walls and windows old,  
Are crumbling to decay."—*Vol. ii. p. 102—104.*

To render "The Lily Maidens" intelligible, it is only necessary to explain that it is a legend of the Black Forest, and that the Mummel Zee is a lake in that traditional seat of all that is poetical in the German mythology.

- "Anigh the gloomy Mummel-Zee,  
Do live the palest lilies many;  
All day they droop so drowsily,  
In azure air and rainy.  
But when the dreamful noon of night  
Rains down on earth its yellow light,  
Up spring they full of lightness,  
In woman's form and brightness.
- "The sad reeds moan like spirits,  
Along the troubled water's border;  
As hand in hand, linked wreath-wise round,  
The virgins dance in order.  
Moon-white in features as in dress,  
Till o'er their phantom huelessness  
A warmer colour gushes,  
And tints their cheeks with blushes.
- "Then pipe the reeds a sadder tune,  
The wind raves through the tannen-forest,  
The wolves in chorus bay the moon,  
Where glance her grey beams hoarest;  
And round and round the darkling grass,  
In mazy whirl the dancers pass,  
And louder boom the billows  
Among the reeds and willows.
- "But see! the Giant-elf anon  
Half rises from the water's bosom,  
With streaming beard and head whereon  
Dark weeds for garlands blossom;  
And fiercely lifting towards the strand  
A naked arm and clenched hand,  
He shouts in tones of thunder,  
That wake the abysses under!

"Then lake and winds and dancers rest,  
 And as the water ceases booming,  
 The Elf cries, 'Hence, ye shapes unblest,  
 And leave my lilies blooming !'  
 And, lo ! the streaky morn is up,  
 Dew-diamonds brim each flow'ret's cup,  
 And Mummel's lily-daughters  
 Once more bend o'er his waters."

Vol. ii. pp. 105—6.

It is not without a struggle we consent to pass by "Alexander the Great and the Tree," (II. pp. 114-8.) an exquisitely poetical ode of De La Motte Fouqué, and eminently characteristic of its author. But, unhappily, it is too long for our unoccupied space. We shall rather insert in its stead two noble ballads—the first by Ebert, "The Revenge of Duke Swerting," the only thing of his in the collection; the second by the now popular favourite, Freiligrath. They are both in the long swelling measure, the favourite metre of the great ballad-writers of Spain, and introduced into German ballad poetry by Bouterwek and Herder.

Ebert's ballad is founded on the story of Swerting, Duke of Saxony, who having been conquered by Frotho, King of the Danes, was induced to give his daughter in marriage to Ingel, the son of Frotho, who hoped by this alliance to disarm the hostility of his vanquished adversary. How he failed is told in these swelling stanzas :

"O a warrior-feast was Swerting's in his burg beside the Rhine,  
 There from gloomy iron bell-cups they drank the Saxon wine ;  
 And the viands were served in iron up—in coldest iron all—  
 And the sullen clash of iron arms resounded through the hall.

"Uneasily sat Frotho there, the tyrant of the Danes ;  
 With low'ring blow he quaffed his cup, then eyed the iron chains,  
 That hung and clanked like manacles at Swerting's arms and  
     breast,  
 And the iron studs and linked rings that bossed his ducal vest.

"'What may this bode, this chilling gloom, Sir Duke and brother  
     Knights ?  
 Why meet I here such wintry cheer—such sorry sounds and sights?  
 Out on your sheets of iron ! Will ye bear to have it told  
 That I found ye thus, when Danish knights go clad in silks and  
     gold ?'

- “King! gold befits the freeman—the iron marks the slave ;  
So thought and spake our fathers, and their sons are just and  
brave ;  
Thyself hast bound the iron round thy proud but conquered foe—  
If thy chains had been but golden, we had burst them long ago.
- “But I came not here to hold a parle, or tell a wistful tale,  
But to bid the dastard tremble, and to make the tyrant quail.  
O strong, Sir King, is iron—but the heart is stronger still ;  
Nor earth can cast in thrall a people's mighty will !”
- “While his words yet rang as cymbals, there strode into the hall  
Twelve swarthy Saxon Rittersmen, with flaming torches tall ;  
They stood to catch a signal-glance from Swerting's eagle eye,  
Then again they rushed out waving their pitchy brands on high.
- “The Danish king grows paler, yet he brims his goblet higher ;  
But the sultry hall is dark with smoke—he hears the hiss of fire !  
Yes ! the Red Avenger marches on his fierce and swift career,  
And from man to man goes round the whisper, ‘Brother, it is near!’
- “Up starts the king; he turns to fly—Duke Swerting holds him fast;  
‘Nay, Golden King, the dice are down, and thou must bide the  
cast ;  
If thy chains can fetter THIS fell foe, the glory be thine own,  
Thine be the Saxon land for aye, and thine the Saxon throne !”
- “But hotter, hotter burns the air all through that lurid hall ;  
And louder groan the blackened beams—the crackling rafters fall;  
And ampler waxes momentarily the glare, the volumed flash,  
Till at last the roof-tree topples down with stunning thunder crash.
- “Then in solemn prayer that gallant band of self-devoted kneel—  
‘Just God ! assail our souls, thus driven to Freedom's last appeal!’  
And Frotho writhes and rages—fire stifling his quick gasp ;  
But strong and terrible as Death his foe maintains his grasp.
- “Behold, thou haughty tyrant, behold what MEN can dare !  
So triumph such !—so perish, too, enslavers everywhere !”  
And the billowing flames, while yet he speaks, come roaring down  
the hall,  
And the Fatherland is loosed for aye from Denmark's iron  
thrall !”—*Vol. ii. pp. 183—7.*

The “Phantom Caravan” is from the pen of Freiligrath, whose recent contest with the Prussian censorship created so great an interest, not alone in Germany, but throughout the entire continent of Europe. He is a stern advocate of political opinions which find but scant favour beyond the Rhine ; and has attested his sincerity in professions by

many considerable pecuniary sacrifices, and by voluntary exile from his country. The following, however, will be more attractive than any sample of his political compositions, which this collection could supply.

"'Twas at midnight in the desert, when we rested on the ground,  
There my Beddaweens were sleeping, and their steeds were  
stretched around;

In the farness lay the moon-light on the mountains of the Nile,  
And the camel-bones that strewed the sand for many an arid mile.

"With my saddle for a pillow did I prop my weary head,  
And my kaftan-cloth unfolded o'er my limbs was lightly spread;  
While beside me, as the Kapitaun and watchman of my band,  
Lay my Bazra sword and pistols twain a-shimmering on the sand.

"And the stillness was unbroken, save at moments by a cry  
From some stray belated vulture, sailing blackly down the sky,  
Or the snortings of a sleeping steed at waters fancy-seen,  
Or the hurried warlike mutterings of some dreaming Beddaween.

"When behold! a sudden sand-quake—and between the earth and  
moon

Rose a mighty host of shadows, as from out some dim lagoon;  
Then our coursers gasped with terror, and a thrill shook every man,  
And the cry was '*Allah Akbar!* 'tis the Spectre Caravan!'

"On they came, their hueless faces toward Mecca evermore;  
On they came, long files of camels and of women whom they bore;  
Guides and merchants, youths and maidens, bearing pitchers in  
their hands,

And behind them troops of horsemen following, senseless as the  
sands.

"More and more! the phantom pageant overshadowed all the plains!  
Yes, the ghastly camel-bones arose, and grew to camel-trains;  
And the whirling column-clouds of sand to forms in dusky garbs—  
Here, afoot as Hadjee pilgrims—there, as warriors on their barbs!

"Whence we knew the night was come, when all whom Death had  
sought and found

Long ago amid the sands whereon their bones yet bleach around,  
Rise by legions from the darkness of their prisons low and lone,  
And in dim procession march to kiss the Kaaba's holy stone.

"And yet more and more for ever!—still they swept in pomp along,  
Till I asked me, Can the Desert hold so vast a monster throng?  
Lo, the dead are here in myriads! the whole world of Hades waits  
As with eager wish to press beyond the Babelmandel straits!

"Then I spake, 'Our steeds are frantic—to your saddles every one!  
Never quail before these shadows! ye are children of the sun!  
If their garments rustle past you, if their glances reach you here,  
Cry *Bismillah!* and that mighty name shall banish every fear.

"Courage, comrades! Even now the moon is waning far-a-west,  
Soon the welcome dawn will mount the skies in gold and crimson  
vest;

And in thinnest air will melt away those phantom shapes forlorn,  
When again upon your brows you feel the odour-winds of Morn."

*Vol. ii. pp. 120—3.*

It would be unpardonable to close our notice of this collection without transcribing one other piece—the most national of them all—"The German's Fatherland." It is from the pen of the celebrated Ernest Maurice Arndt. This distinguished writer, who was professor of philosophy at Greifswald during the French invasion, was one of the loudest advocates of a union among the German states against the common enemy, and was banished by Napoleon after the treaty of Schönbrunn. From his exile in Sweden, he never ceased to stir up his countrymen to resistance; and his writings were mainly instrumental in exciting that universal outburst of indignant nationality which drove the invader from the banks of their beloved Rhine, and in the end freed Germany from the hated yoke of France. The following lines represent and embody all the mingled feelings by which this great revolution was effected. It has long been popular in every district of Germany, and the traveller may often hear it chanted on the decks of the Rhine-steamers by the wandering students on their way to or from the university of Bonn, with an enthusiasm which might appear capable of effecting once more the regeneration of their country.

"Where is the German's Fatherland?  
Is't Prussia? Suabia? or the Strand?  
Where grows the vine—where flows the Rhine?  
Is't where the gull skims Baltic's brine?  
No!—yet more great and far more grand  
Must be the German's Fatherland!

"How call they then the German's land?  
Bavaria? Brunswick? Hast thou scanned  
It where the Zuyder Zee extends?  
Where Styrian toil the iron bends?  
No! brother; no! thou hast not spanned  
The German's genuine Fatherland!

"Is then the German's Fatherland  
Westphalia ? Pomerania ? Stand  
Where Zurich's waveless water sleeps—  
Where Weser winds—where Danube sweeps ;—  
Hast found it now ? Not yet !—Demand  
Elsewhere the German's Fatherland.

"Then say where lies the German's land ?  
How call they that unconquered land ?  
Is't where Tyrol's green mountains rise ?  
The Switzer's land I dearly prize,  
By Freedom's purest breezes fanned ;  
But, no ! 'tis not the German's land !

"Where, therefore lies the German's land ?  
Baptize that great, that ancient land !  
'Tis surely Austria proud and bold,  
In wealth unmatched, in glory old ?  
Oh, none shall write her name in sand—  
But she is not the German's land !

"Say then where lies the German's land ?  
Baptize that great, that ancient land !  
Is't Alsace ? Or Lorraine—that gem  
Wrenched from the Imperial Diadem  
By wiles which princely treachery planned ?  
No ! these are not the German's land ?

"Where, therefore, lies the German's land ?  
Name now at last that mighty land !  
Where'er resounds the German tongue—  
Where German hymns to God are sung—  
There, gallant brother, take thy stand !  
That is the German's Fatherland !

"That is his land—the land of lands,  
Where vows bind less than clasped hands—  
Where Valour lights the flashing eye—  
Where Love and Truth in deep hearts lie—  
Where Zeal enkindles Freedom's brand—  
That is the German's Fatherland !

"That is the German's Fatherland,  
Where hate pursues each foreign band—  
Where German is the name for friend—  
Where Frenchman is the name for fiend—  
And France's yoke is spurned and banned—  
That is the German's Fatherland !




“That is the German’s Fatherland !  
Great God ! look down and bless that land ;  
And give her noble children souls  
To cherish, while existence rolls,  
And love with heart and aid with hand  
Their universal Fatherland !”

It would not be easy to believe that the author of this wild and almost frenzied outpouring of passionate and bitter hatred of France, is Ernest Arndt, the mild and gentle religious poet, whose strains breathe nothing but the tenderest and most sublimated purity. In his latter days, he turned his pen almost exclusively to sacred subjects ; and among the numberless glorious hymns in which the sacred literature of Germany abounds, there are few which in sublimity, tenderness, and depth of feeling, can be compared to those which he has left behind.\*

We would gladly linger over these charming translations, and extract at much greater length from the most characteristic among them. We have still left untouched Tieck, Simrock (whose *Maria Regina Misericordiae !* is a noble old legend), Jean Paul Richter, Körner, Müller Stolberg (but his finest pieces are not translated), Kotzebue, Mosen, and a host of others. But we have already exceeded our prescribed limits. To those who have accompanied us so far in the examination of the collection, it would be idle to suggest that what remains of it will well repay them the trouble of exploring farther. The pen which produced such exquisite versions, as those which are extracted in the foregoing pages, could hardly, even by accident, produce an infelicitous translation.

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\* A translation of one of these most exquisite hymns, “Geh nun hin, und grabt mein Grab !” will be found in a former number of this journal.



ART. III.—1. *De l'influence du Clergé en Belgique*, par M. de DECKER, Membre de la Chambre des Représentans. Bruxelles : 1843.

2. *Journal Historique et Littéraire de Liège*, 1842-3-4-5.

3. *Almanach Royal Officiel de Belgique*. Bruxelles: 1845.

4. *Journal de Bruxelles, Politique, Littérature et Commerce*. 1845.

5. *Histoire de la Belgique*, par le CHANOINE J. de SMET, 2 vols. cinquième édition. Gand : 1839.

“**P**OPERY and arbitrary power,” was a favourite cry of the Protestants of the last generation. But a better acquaintance with our religion, as well as the spectacle of the important events that the present age has given birth to, have much contributed to hush this absurd clamour. The long and persevering struggles of the Irish Catholics for Emancipation—the late heroic contest of Poland against Russian tyranny—the desperate defence made by the Biscayans and Navarrese in behalf of their political and municipal franchises, as well as of the Church and Monarchy—and lastly, the more successful struggle of Belgium against the irreligious and insulting despotism of the Dutch Government, must have proved to the most bigotted Protestant, that it is precisely the most Catholic nations, who are most strongly devoted to the sacred cause of constitutional, well-ordered liberty, national independence, and religious freedom.

The charge against the Catholic Church of favouring despotic power, first preferred by the Puritans, had a colourable pretext in the House of Stuart, which evinced a simultaneous leaning to the Catholic Faith and to arbitrary rule. This disposition of the Stuarts—a natural reaction against the political anarchy engendered by the Reformation—was confirmed by that spirit of Absolutism, which had then, in several Catholic countries, been gradually gaining ground.

The mixed or temperate monarchy is the exclusive creation of the Catholic Church; and this form of government, which was instinctively and unconsciously framed on the pattern of her divine constitution, flourished in those ages when her influence on public life was the greatest, and in every country possessing a regal government from

the Ebro to the Vistula. This temperate monarchy, to which even in the better ages of heathen antiquity we see but a faint approximation, was retarded in its progress to perfection by that decay of religious feeling, and by that decline of the Church's influence on public policy, which characterized the age immediately preceding the Reformation. That great revolution, by rendering the spiritual authority of the priesthood totally dependent on the civil power or on the people, and by rendering its very exercise an inconsistency, as well as by despoiling in many countries the clergy of their property and constitutional privileges, destroyed one of the most important members in this constitution of the *three* estates. By removing from the aristocracy those moral restraints, which the ancient church had imposed—by exciting its jealousy and hatred of the clerical body, with which by nature and by interest it was so closely allied, and by tempting its cupidity and corrupting its patriotism with the bait of church plunder, the Reformation converted this Order from a safe-guard of popular freedom into a supple instrument of arbitrary power. While the two estates that served as the most effective checks to regal despotism, were thus weakened in their influence, or undermined in their foundations, royalty, enriched with the spoils of the church, flattered by those corrupt maxims of passive obedience which now came into vogue, and invested with supreme authority in matters spiritual, saw itself furnished with the most potent instruments, moral and material, for the accomplishment of tyranny. Such impious, rapacious, lustful and cruel tyrants, as a Christian II. of Denmark; a Gustavus Wasa, and Eric XIV. in Sweden; a Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; a Henry VIII., a Protector Somerset, and an Elizabeth, in England; had they risen up in the middle ages, would have encountered on every side the most energetic opposition in the clergy, among the better portion of nobles, and in the people. They would have been shunned, execrated, anathematized by the church; and in case they persevered in their career of violence and iniquity, have been finally deposed from their thrones. But these princes were the champions, the heroes, the demi-gods of the Reformation!

While that distinction between spiritual and temporal authority, which christianity had established, was thus effaced, and with it one of the strongest ramparts of civil

freedom subverted, the people came to regard obedience to ecclesiastical rulers as a degradation, and consequently lost by degrees their respect for the civil magistrate. Thus, not partially and by mere hazard, but generally, necessarily and permanently, did the Reformation undermine, in those countries where it obtained exclusive ascendancy, the noble fabric of the temperate monarchy, which it had cost the church so much time, labour and sacrifices, to construct! Thus did Protestantism leave society a prey to the fearful alternations of royal despotism and popular anarchy!

Hence, with the Reformation, we see the establishment of a most absolute monarchy in Denmark and in Prussia—a long struggle between regal despotism and oligarchical sway in Sweden—and in England the atrocious government of the Tudors, where the very forms of popular freedom were converted into instruments of kingly tyranny, that in its turn preluded to the anarchic tumult and misrule of the succeeding age.

If our old free constitution has survived the shocks of civil warfare and revolutionary violence, the assaults of the despotism of the crown and of the tyranny of the people, she is indebted for her safety chiefly to the three causes, namely, to the preservation by the Anglican Establishment,\* of the property, and political rights, prerogatives, and privileges, which, together with many of its rites and doctrines, it had inherited of the Catholic hierarchy; secondly, to the predominance that our aristocracy had retained, and the popular sympathies, which in its long struggles with the crown, it had conciliated; and lastly, to the retention of our Municipal Corporations, those bulwarks of political freedom and commercial prosperity. On this subject, important as it is, our present limits will not permit us to enlarge.

The political influence of the Reformation was not confined to those countries where it had gained the ascendant; for as the European nations had been so long united in one great confederacy, as they had been so long knit together by the ties of religion, manners, modes of thinking, systems of government, political alliances, and com-

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\* This remark applies not to Ireland, but to England, where, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, the great majority of the nation were members of the Anglican Church.

mercial relations, it was not possible that a mighty moral and social revolution, like that of the 16th century, should not, more or less, affect every part and member of this great community. When, in the century immediately prior to this great change, the influence of the church on public affairs had declined, a selfish, grasping, and often Machiavellian policy characterized international relations; while a spirit of jealousy arose among the several orders of the state, and royalty too often encroached on the rights and liberties of the subject. In the subsequent age, this arbitrary policy, emboldened by the example of Protestant princes, found a motive and a pretext for its designs in those civil commotions brought about by the Reformation, as well as a facility for the execution of those schemes in the general enfeeblement of the aristocracy, which was the result of domestic wars. Hence, in that period of tumult, disorder, and insubordination, we see in Spain a severe blow levelled at her public liberties, and the influence of her Cortes crippled; and in France we behold, after the civil wars of the sixteenth century, absolute power erected on the ruins of the States-general by the iron arm of Richelieu.

When the Catholic Church is accused of favouring the pretensions of arbitrary power, when her hierarchy is charged with an undue attachment to its maxims, let us ask those who so inconsiderately advance a charge so grave, what reasonable motive could actuate her ministers for this blind predilection? The progress of absolute monarchy in France and Spain, for example, was most adverse and menacing to the liberties and spiritual independence of the church. With the decline of Cortes and of States-general, Provincial Synods, so useful for the maintenance of sound discipline and the correction of vice, became less and less frequent. Those ecclesiastical councils, that recalled the image of popular assemblies in the state, gave umbrage to a jealous court. The odious measure of the "Placet," in regard to disciplinary Bulls from the Papal See, was first instituted by Lewis XIV; and thus was the temporal sovereign rendered in some degree the arbiter of ecclesiastical discipline. The civil tribunals of France in the reign of that monarch, but still more under his enervated successors, infringed on the spiritual jurisdiction of the church with a cunning, a boldness, and a violence, unexampled since the days of Byzan-

tine tyranny. The bishops of France indeed, as M. de Montalembert has recently observed, during the whole course of the 18th century, protested with a noble freedom against the abuses of the times, the encroachments of the parliaments, and the culpable levity of the court, that alternately proscribed and encouraged the enemies of religion.

But had the States-general, or even the Provincial States been regularly convoked, as in earlier times, the first and second order of clergy would not have confined their opposition to *mere protestations*—they would have refused pecuniary subsidies to the Government, and by their example and persuasion, would have induced the bulk of the nobles, and of the third estate, who were still sound, to check the spread of impious publications, maintain the liberties of the church, and reprobate the proceedings of a court that was gradually sapping the foundations of religion, virtue and freedom. Thus would the awful catastrophe of 1789, have been happily averted. The same remark will, in a great degree, apply to Spain. Had the Cortes, who in her better ages had watched over her political well-being and material prosperity, still maintained their power in the eighteenth century, a degenerate court would not have made such encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction; it would not have dared to encourage Jansenism; nor would one of the most learned and virtuous corporations of the Spanish church, have been, in defiance of public opinion, arbitrarily proscribed. The ministers would have been called upon to assign motives for this outrage on law and justice; nor would the monarch have dared to insult his subjects with the declaration, that he reserved his reasons in petto.\*

Thus, independently of every other consideration, and looking only to the liberties of the church, and the interests of religion and morality, the Catholic clergy, in despite of the calumny of their enemies, have less reason than any other body of men to be enamoured of absolute monarchy,

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\* The words used by Charles III. of Spain, when, at the instigation of his impious minister, Count Aronda, he suppressed the Jesuits. Charles III. was personally a religious monarch; but he blindly placed himself under the guidance of very bad ministers. The policy pursued in that reign, and under his successor Charles IV., prepared the way for the evils which Spain has been suffering for the last thirty years.

which shackled their spiritual influence, and divested them of most of their ancient political power.\*

We have indulged in these preliminary remarks, by reason of their intimate connexion with the subject we have undertaken to treat; for the history of Belgium during the last fifty years, proves how closely allied are the liberties of the Church with those of the State, and that encroachments on the former are ever accompanied or followed by assaults on the latter.

Three things have ever distinguished the inhabitants of this interesting country, namely, their attachment to the Catholic Faith—their aptitude for the liberal and mechanical arts—and their devotion to their free institutions. Their political constitution bore great resemblance to that of the Anglo-Saxons; and down to the commencement of the French Revolution, they had retained the social organization of the middle age. No law could be passed, no tax could be levied without the unanimous sanction of the States, composed of deputies of the clergy, nobles, and the commons; and the sovereign was not crowned till he swore to maintain the rights and liberties of the people in the solemn compact, entitled, *La Joyeuse Entrée*. The eighteenth century, which in other countries was an age of despotic encroachment—in which absolute power, though arrayed in mild and dignified forms, everywhere infringed on the rights of the church, the aristocracy, and the commons—saw in Belgium the old national laws, customs and institutions, remain intact, until the violent reign of the Emperor Joseph II.—the fit harbinger of Jacobinical tyranny—commenced that long series of calamities, which for fifty years overwhelmed that country.

The reign of the Empress Maria Theresa was a bright sunshine of peace, prosperity and freedom, to the people of the Low Countries. Her piety, virtues, and affability—her mild and beneficent administration—her respect for the national liberties made her the idol of her Flemish subjects; and to this day the aged men of Belgium often

\* The Spanish people were never reconciled to absolute monarchy, and they ever retained a vivid remembrance of their ancient Cortes. The Biscayans and Navarrese, whom some of our newspapers stupidly call absolutists, are, though devoted royalists, the staunchest supporters of representative institutions. In France, on the other hand, Gallicanism, from the time of Louis XIV., blinded the majority of the clergy and laity to the dangers of absolute power. It is remarkable that those French Catholics, who most strongly opposed Gallicanism, and were the warmest sticklers for the independence of the church, were the most strenuous supporters of a well-regulated freedom.

speak of her with tears in their eyes. More than once her Viceroy, Prince Charles, of Lorraine, wrote to her ministers, that if the political institutions of this people were respected, anything might be obtained from them; but that if they were tampered with, they would risk all things in their defence.\*

This truth was painfully realized ten years afterwards (1786), when the Emperor Joseph II., whose reign forms such a decided contrast to that of his illustrious mother, trampling on the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of his Belgian subjects, encountered such an energetic resistance in that people. Here despotic power clearly showed how well she understood the intimate alliance that subsists between the franchise of the Church and of the State. While Joseph II. strove to reduce the papal authority to a shadow, and to render episcopal jurisdiction subservient to the crown—while he suppressed the monasteries, and sought to withdraw clerical education from the superintendence of the bishops—he changed at the same time the whole judicial system; superseded, for the purpose of rendering his power more central, the three councils of administration by a general one, and like the French Jacobins after him, made a new and arbitrary classification of the old Provinces, whereby local customs and institutions and corporate privileges were suddenly annihilated. The sequel of that story is well known.

The Revolution of Brabant, unstained by crime, purely defensive in its nature, and wherein all orders co-operated for the maintenance of religion, law, and liberties, was like the contemporary struggle of Poland, a noble episode in the disastrous history of the eighteenth century. Here, however, we may observe a phenomenon which frequently occurs in great political commotions. A very democratic party, that afterwards hailed the advent of French Jacobinism, and headed by an advocate of the name of Vonck, strove to substitute for the principles of a genuine, conservative freedom, the licentious maxims of revolutionary equality. This party, then a contemptible minority, but afterwards hatched under the wings of French and Dutch domination, has attained to the most fearful dimensions, and now menaces the very existence of religion, order, and liberty in Belgium.

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\* Correspondance Manuscrite du Duc.



In the midst of these commotions Joseph II. died, and “after sowing the whirlwind, left his successors to reap the storm.” The Emperor Leopold rescinded the obnoxious edicts of his predecessor, and placed the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the country on their former footing. Then came the French Revolution, which, like the simoom of the desert, withered up all social vegetation, and left behind it a sickly languor, more fatal than on its first destructive sweep. After a series of disasters, the Emperor Francis II. by the treaty of Campo Formio, ceded the Low Countries to the French in the year 1797; and thus did Belgium lose not only her nationality, but those old national institutions to which she had long clung with such devoted zeal. But for the rash, unjust, and violent measures of Joseph II. and the consequent distrust of Austria thereby inspired, those Provinces would have made a far more vigorous stand against the invading armies of Jacobin France. Thus hath Europe cause to lament, even to this day, the fatal policy of that imperial Revolutionist.\*

From the year 1797, down to 1814, Belgium, with her Church despoiled of its wealth, and cramped and fettered in its jurisdiction—with her seats of learning contaminated—her ancient laws, customs, and liberties trampled under foot—with her population decimated by the military conscription—“remained a pitiful, pelting province” of revolutionary France. The memorable year 1814, which witnessed the downfall of Europe’s oppressor, and was to so many nations a year of gratulation and jubilee, witnessed the unpropitious union consummated between Belgium and Holland—countries so long divided in religious creed, and by political rivalry. It would be needless to recall to the recollection of the reader, the many wrongs and injustices whereof the former country had to complain, and which led to the violent rupture of 1830. A constitution fraudulently imposed—an excessive increased taxation from the arbitrary annexation to Belgium of Holland’s public debt—the most revolting partiality shown to the Dutch in the distribution of places of trust and emolument—the Dutch declared the official language not only in the Flemish, but even in the Walloon Provinces—and a persecution more violent and absurd even than that of Joseph II. carried on against the

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\* See *Histoire de la Belgique*, par le Chanoine de Smet. t. ii. p. 282.

Catholic church by the proscription of the Catholic Press—by the encouragement given to most infamous libels upon her doctrine and discipline—by the imprisonment of most virtuous ecclesiastics—the shutting up of lay Catholic Colleges—and the attempt to defile and enslave clerical education: such was the burden of charges that one country had to prefer against the other. The result of that tyrannical policy is still fresh in the remembrance of all.

A writer in this Journal has, on a former occasion, proved that the Belgian clergy were not the authors of the Revolution of 1830; but that in self-defence, and by the force of extraneous circumstances, they were drawn into the stream of that movement. But what has not been sufficiently observed, is the severe chastisement inflicted by Heaven on a Prince, who, though possessed of some estimable qualities, lent himself as a blind instrument to the culpable designs of God's enemies. He lived to see those Belgian Liberals, who had at first cheered him on in his assaults upon the church, become his most bitter adversaries. He lived to see Provinces which, by a policy of prudence, justice, and conciliation, might in time have coalesced into a compact, well-set, well-united monarchy, violently dissevered, through his obstinacy and folly; the affections of his Dutch subjects, to whose sectarian prejudices and selfish jealousy, he had sacrificed one-half of his kingdom, cooled, and finally alienated from him; and lastly, in consequence of a domestic alliance\* with a country from which he was politically divorced, himself compelled to abdicate his throne, and live and die an exile in a distant land. God forbid that we should triumph over fallen greatness; but surely we are free to declare, that as a warning to those rulers who lay sacrilegious hands on the Ark of the Lord, history will not fail to record this catastrophe among the many like awful judgments of God.

We have now arrived at the Revolution of September, 1830, and although it is our intention to describe more at length the religious and social condition of Belgium, as it has been within the last fifteen years, yet, without a retrospective glance at the preceding fifty years, it would not have been easy to explain to the reader many phenomena in the moral and political life of that country.

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\* His marriage with the Belgian Countess D'Oultramont.

We shall speak in the first place of the state of religion among the different classes of the Belgian population; secondly, of the state of education and literature; and thirdly, of the political condition of the country.

Under the first head, we shall commence with an account of the nobility, and terminate with that of the clergy, and the regular communities of either sex.

1. All accounts which we have received, and from various quarters, concur in representing the ancient nobility of Belgium, as remarkable for their attachment to religion, and for the zealous observance of her precepts. The Merodes, the Robianos, the Gerlaches, the Ahrenbergs, and the Vilain XIV. are the main supports and ornaments of the church in that country, and preside over every religious, benevolent, and useful enterprize. The great moral amelioration which in many European countries has taken place among the nobles, who in the last century were the source of so much moral and intellectual corruption, is one of the most striking phenomena in the present age. In France, in Westphalia, in the Catholic parts of Baden and Würtemberg, among a portion of the Bavarian nobles, and in some districts of Italy, this happy change is perceptible. On the other hand, in Hungary, in Bohemia, and even in Austria, the zealous practice of religious duties is rare among this class—there are even occasional examples of positive infidelity; and at Vienna, for example, the nobles as a body are in moral worth vastly inferior to the middle and lower classes. The causes of this moral improvement among the nobles of Catholic Europe, must be sought for first in the severe chastisement which *some* have endured, and in the awful lesson which *all* have been taught by the French Revolution of 1789; and secondly, in the superior facility which from their fortunes they possess over the middle classes in being able to select in countries, however remote, the fitting places of education for their youth.

2. If from the nobility we turn to the middle classes of Belgium, the spectacle presented is far from so cheering. Here, indeed, the honourable position which these classes held in Belgian society—the political influence that, down to the commencement of the French Revolution, they had retained—were calculated to guard them against those political delusions, which in France and Spain, for example, where Absolutism had long undermined the national

liberties, that revolution there exercised upon those orders of society. These classes, indeed, from the greater vicissitudes to which their fortunes are exposed—from the mental restlessness that their pursuits call forth—from the arrogance that suddenly acquired wealth is apt to inspire—from the inborn jealousy of rank, and from the less liberal nature of many of their occupations, that are calculated to engross the mind, and divert it from the contemplation of high spiritual concerns—these classes, we say, have in all ages and in all countries, been more prone to political turbulence, and more accessible to religious error. Hence, without a careful education on the one hand, and an enlarged sphere of municipal and political freedom on the other, they become dangerous to society. Let us not, however, be understood as wishing to disparage these orders, or underrate their moral excellencies and political importance; for without a contented, prosperous, and intelligent middle class, no nation can attain a high degree of civilization.

This portion of society, with propensities thus dangerous, was, in Belgium, during the French and Dutch domination, debauched in the public educational establishments; and although since the Revolution of 1830, freedom of education has directly and indirectly very much corrected the evil, it has not yet had time to eradicate it. To this element of disorder, we must add the violent political hostility entertained since 1830, by a large portion of the commercial and manufacturing bodies towards the clergy, who are wrongly looked upon as the *first* authors of a Revolution, which, beneficial in other respects, has undeniably inflicted a severe blow on many branches of trade and industry.

The medical profession, many of whose members were for forty years brought up at Universities, where Materialism was so paramount, must naturally contain many elements of moral and intellectual corruption. The Code Napoléon, introduced by the French into Belgium, though admirable for analytic method, yet by its total forgetfulness of religion, (the name of God scarcely once occurring in its pages)—by its servile adherence to the political doctrines of the Revolution—and by its alienation from the historical past, is calculated to lead to a narrow, illiberal, political Rationalism. Hence, this system of jurisprudence was not of a nature to counteract among the lawyers of

that country, the effects of a bad education, as well as the general evil tendencies of the age. In Belgium, like all the other countries into which the French Revolution has penetrated, many of the civil functionaries cling with singular tenacity to its traditions, and form one of the classes in which religious indifferentism has struck the deepest roots.

It is then among these classes, the manufacturers, the lawyers, the physicians, and the functionaries of government, that the Church of Belgium has to encounter the most formidable and most implacable adversaries. Here the irreligious journals which openly declare that the constitution is to be overthrown, and the religious liberties of Catholics swept away by revolutionary violence, (*abattre révolutionnairement*), find their chief supporters. Here the Jacobin clubs, called masonic lodges, and which are of a far more malignant nature than the same in our own country, recruit their most zealous adepts. Here the patrons and encouragers of the impious French literature, which in order to taint an innocent population, is, in cheap tracts and even Flemish translations, scattered through towns and hamlets, are to be found.

But, thank Heaven! there is in all these bodies a powerful minority, devoted to the church, and which resolutely combats all these evil tendencies. We have received most touching accounts of the piety of some of the master-manufacturers, and of their religious solicitude in regard to the spiritual and temporal wants of the individuals in their employ. In their factory-rooms are inscribed in large letters, "No swearing is here allowed;" the sexes are, wherever it is possible, rigidly separated; and in the different compartments superintendents are appointed to watch over the moral conduct of the artisans. Members of the family give catechetical instruction to the factory children at appointed times; and there are even a few factories at Ghent, containing domestic chapels, where the operatives perform their morning and evening devotions. The children attend the Sunday schools, so generally diffused through Belgium, and in which, together with adults of the same class, they receive religious and secular instruction. Even in those factories belonging to masters indifferent or hostile to religion, certain moral precautions are observed, which in our own country are too often neglected; and the female members, at least, of the pro-

prietor's family, are not inattentive to the spiritual wants of the children in his employ. We are happy, indeed, to hear from many quarters, that the Belgian women of all ranks are distinguished for the most exemplary piety and attachment to the church. Here let us pause for a moment, and contemplate the benign influence of the female sex on society.

Without that saving influence, religion in France would have utterly perished in the middle class; and in Belgium it would have incurred the greatest peril. While the men, for the last fifty years, have been mostly brought up in irreligious colleges, the fair sex has been educated in religious communities, which have happily developed its native sentiments of piety. Woman, indeed, without religion, would be a sort of monster in creation. Her tender sensibilities, her exquisite sense and acute sagacity, make her apprehend the truths of religion more easily than man, with his slower and more unwieldy ratiocination, his more discursive imagination, and more violent passions. And how exalted is the mission she fulfils in social life! She implants in the mind of childhood the first seeds of religious doctrine and virtuous sentiment; and in man's maturer life, how often does her fond solicitude repair the ravages which the storms of passion, or the blights of error, have made in his moral culture! She bides her opportunity, and in the hour of sorrow, sickness, and misfortune, she bids him in gentle tones, and with still more gentle looks, seek that spring whence alone he can draw strength, and solace, and enduring hope. While universally admitted to be the best guardian of moral decorum, refinement of manners, and purity of language, she is also the priestess that guards on the domestic hearth the perpetual fire of religion. But this portrait is more particularly applicable to woman under the Christian dispensation.

Nothing can afford a stronger proof of the moral soundness still existing in the middle classes, than the following facts which we can advance on the oral testimony of respectable Belgian clergymen. There are cities in Flanders containing a population of twenty thousand souls, where not one hundred can be found, who will abstain from the Easter Communion; and there are towns with a population of ten thousand, where not upwards of ten individuals will, by the non-observance of their Paschal duties,

set the mandates of the church at defiance. In one of the chief cities of Belgium, as we were informed by a venerable clergyman, and in a parish inhabited by the wealthier class, where the population amounted to five thousand souls, there are but three hundred individuals who fail in a compliance with that religious obligation.

These Paschal Communions, be it observed, are only in proportion to the average number of communions throughout the year. Admitting that the observance of this religious practice is not an universal or unerring test of purity of morals, or integrity of faith; yet we may reply that, as Rochefoucauld has well defined hypocrisy to be an homage rendered to virtue, it is only in countries where religion has retained a paramount influence on society, that religious hypocrisy will in some cases be resorted to; and secondly, that it is a vice too base to become general, and too difficult of practice to remain long undetected.

Another fact which speaks strongly in favour of the middle classes, is the wide spread and flourishing condition of the lay confraternities throughout the country, and into which many of the wealthier burgesses are incorporated. There is scarcely a parish in Belgium without one or two of these pious sodalities.\* The society of St. Vincent of Paul, for relieving the spiritual and temporal wants of the humbler ranks of society; the association of St. Francis Regis, for discouraging illicit connexions, and facilitating matrimonial unions among the poor of large towns; the association for the Propagation of the Faith, and many other lay confraternities that are constantly springing up in Belgium, and which enjoin on their members prayer, frequentation of the sacraments, and active benevolence; all these are supported as well by the members of the learned professions and commercial class, as by the high nobility.

We have found it necessary to dwell longer on the spiritual condition of the middle classes in Belgium, because it is precisely among these that the elements of good and evil are most intermixed, and consequently most require a sifting hand.

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\* To give an instance in point, there is a city with a population of 20,000 souls, possessing three lay confraternities; one for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, another for devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and a third for worship of the Most Holy Trinity. To the first belong the leading and wealthy burgesses of the city; to the second a number of the most pious inhabitants, out of different classes of life; and to the third all the peasantry of the adjoining parts.

3. To descend now to the lower rank of burgesses or shopkeepers. All accounts which we have received, whether from natives or foreigners, concur in representing this order of men as one distinguished for honesty, virtue, and attachment to the church. The lower classes of the town population, excepting the artisans of a few large manufacturing cities,\* bear a moral and religious character. The religious zeal of the populace of Brussels was, a few years ago, tested in a remarkable manner. During the procession of Corpus Christi, a file of troops, at the command of the officer, refused to present arms to the Blessed Sacrament as it passed. This insult the crowd deeply resented, but disdained to notice at the time. As soon as the procession was over, the multitude proceeded to the guard-house, and with loud cries declared it had come to exercise summary justice on the officer, the author of the outrage. The colonel of the garrison came forward, and allayed the rage of the people by promising that the officer's conduct should be investigated, and, if found guilty, he should be sentenced to a week's imprisonment.

4. The rural population of Belgium is excellent; and for purity of morals and piety, especially in Flanders, may be ranked with the admirable peasantry of Catholic Germany and Switzerland. Their piety is evinced in their crowded attendance at church on week-days, as well as on Sundays and holidays—in their love for their pastors—in the fervent devotion with which they follow processions and pilgrimages—and in the universal prevalence among them of lay confraternities, which enjoin on their members prayer, frequentation of the sacraments, and the practice of charity. Their purity of morals is manifest from the general horror attached to the crimes of drunkenness and fornication; and from the extreme rareness of bastardy in most of the rural districts. When an illegitimate child is given birth to, there is there, as in Ireland, a general outcry of indignation through the parish. It is highly honourable to Belgium that, over-run as the country has so often been by foreign armies, and oppressed by governments that for fifty years sought to sap her faith and corrupt her virtue, she has preserved her morals so untainted. And

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\* There are cities, like Ghent, Liege, and especially Verviers, where the principles and example of the master-manufacturers exert a most fatal influence on the operatives in their employ. The same remark will apply to the travelling clerks, very many of whom, in Belgium as in France, are a pest to society.



this remark applies not only to the rural population, but to the inhabitants of remoter towns. There is a town containing nine thousand souls, and among these, we were credibly informed, there were often not more than five illegitimate births in the year.

The general religiousness of the Flemish peasantry we can ourselves bear witness to; but the foregoing particulars we have derived from the oral testimony of pious and experienced clergymen.

The Walloons, or the inhabitants of Liege, Namur, and other places that speak the French language, and have the French blood in their veins, are distinguished for a more vivacious temperament than the Flemings, whose natural gravity renders them more docile to the precepts of religion. The former, though in the sixteenth century they offered the most energetic resistance to Protestantism, have in latter times been more obnoxious to the bad literature of France; and are, on the whole, inferior to the Flemish population in piety and virtue.

5. We have now come to the most important order in society, and the one on which in every country the moral and religious character of a nation so much depends. In piety, zeal, and purity of conduct, the Belgian clergy vies with that of France; but it possesses far more freedom for the exercise of its influence, and far more scope for the practice of its charities. The excellence of this priesthood is manifest from the decorum and dignity with which it performs all the functions of religion; from an unremitting attendance to its sacred duties, perceptible even to the most superficial observer; from its active encouragement of all institutions connected with piety, charity, and education; from the love and confidence it inspires into all the religious portion of the laity; and from the homage rendered to its virtues by friend and foe. On the piety and learning of this priesthood, and the influence it has thereby acquired, we shall now cite a passage from the pamphlet at the head of this article, which is written by a member of the Chamber of Representatives, distinguished alike for his religious zeal and statesmanlike talents.

“To what then,” says M. de Decker, “are we to ascribe the influence of the Belgian clergy? To the fact, that this clergy tried in the crucible of persecution, is exemplary in respect to faith and morals; and also, that it is in general very well informed; though

the necessity for promptly filling up the vacancies in the sanctuary, occasioned by the jealous interference of preceding governments, has not yet permitted the course of ecclesiastic studies to receive the extension, which is reserved for them in future. The influence of the clergy is also traceable to that activity of spirit, whereof it has given so many proofs, when, to use the words of the liberal deputy, M. Rogier, it struggled with energy against a foreign government, whose acts and tendencies menaced at once the faith and the nationality of the country. Lastly, this influence, he continues, is traceable to its political doctrines, which so happily connected it with the triumph of freedom.

“To these causes of influence, peculiar to the Belgian priesthood, we must add those general causes of influence possessed by religious power over civil society. I will briefly enumerate them.

“Religious authority, by its very constitution and doctrines, has a twofold and immense advantage over the civil power. The latter sees its influence broken by that spirit of independence, which is innate in all minds. The most ingenious mechanism can at best but disguise from certain eyes the profound defects of its constitution, especially when compared with the vigorous constitution and indivisible unity of the church. With respect to doctrines, who doth not know the attempts, the essays, and the countless and endless innovations which in politics the anarchy of intelligences has given rise to? Religious authority, though upon matters of a subordinate kind, it has often compromised and often yielded, maintains the defence of its principles with a constancy to which the most eminent intellects have rendered homage. There has never existed, says M. Guizot, a government more consistent, more systematic than the Roman Church; and that full knowledge of what we wish for—that complete and rational adhesion to a doctrine and to a design, is itself a power. (*Histoire de la Civilisation*, 12 Leçon.)

“The clergy has always been indebted, and is still indebted for a great part of its moral force to its virtues. Nothing resists, as has so often been said, the empire of talent and virtue combined. Its self-devotedness, especially a devotedness which the world either mistakes or calumniates, insures it a place in the hearts of the multitude. The people instinctively understand who are their true friends; they know how to distinguish from speculators and reformists of the closet, the priest whom they find by their side in all the solemn moments of life, and whose whole existence is one continued act of self-denial and self-devotion.

“By birth the priesthood is essentially popular; but by the respect it derives from the two-fold qualification of morality and of science required for the exercise of its ministry, it ranks with the upper classes of society.\* The ordinary enlighteners of nations

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\* M. de Chateaubriand, in his “*Etudes Historiques*,” points out the happy

have a hold only on well-informed men ; the clergy has a hold upon ignorance itself, which it exalts with the lever of faith. Temporal power extends only to outward acts ; spiritual authority regulates the thought and directs the will. In a word, (and in saying so, we say every thing,) the church reigns over consciences."—pp. 43—45.

This honourable testimony in behalf of the Belgian clergy, uttered by a Catholic deputy, is corroborated by one of the leaders of the anti-catholic party in the Chamber of Representatives.

"I have, on different occasions," said M. Le Beau, "in a speech delivered two years ago, pronounced an eulogy on the Belgian clergy, because I have learned to know them, because my ministerial career having often brought me in contact with them, I have been enabled by my own experience to ascertain the austerity of their morals, their enlightenment, and their spirit of beneficence."\*

This eulogium the Belgian priesthood well deserves, whether we consider the zeal, the firmness, and the learning of the prelates ; the active, laborious, and edifying lives of the parochial clergy ; or the charity, self-devotion, and piety of the regular orders and congregations of either sex. It affords us great pleasure to be able to assert, on good authority, that the best understanding and most cordial harmony prevail between the secular and the regular clergy, and among the various branches of the latter.

During the times of the French and Dutch domination, scarcely any religious orders of men were tolerated ; and the facility with which, under the new system of freedom, these orders have sprung up—the rapidity with which they have spread—and the success that has crowned their efforts, attest the vitality and energy of faith in the Belgian people. The following enumeration of the houses severally belonging to the different orders and congregations of men in the six dioceses of Belgium, extracted from the Royal Almanac of the present year, will prove the truth of our assertion. Most of these houses, be it

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effects of the concurrence of these two kinds of influence, which enabled the clergy to lay hold on society by its two extreme points (attaquer la société par les deux bouts.)

\* "J'ai fait à diverses reprises l'éloge du clergé Belge, parceque j'ai appris à connoître le clergé, parceque ma carrière administrative m'a mis en rapport avec lui, parceque j'ai pu constater par ma propre expérience l'austerité de ses mœurs, sa bienfaisance, et ses lumières."—*Discours du 13 Mars, 1843.*

remembered, have been established within the last fifteen years.

	Houses.
In the diocess of Malines . . .	30
In the diocess of Bruges . . .	13
In the diocess of Ghent . . .	21
In the diocess of Liege . . .	9
In the diocess of Namur . . .	10
In the diocess of Tournay . . .	10

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Total . . 93

Among these male communities, the most numerous are the Christian Brothers, the Brothers of Good Works, and the rest, who impart a gratuitous education to the children of the lower classes, hold evening schools for adult operatives, and, in some cases, combine with the rudiments of religious and secular knowledge an instruction in various trades. Or again, the Brothers of St. Joseph, the Alexians, and the Brothers of the Canon Triest, who attend on the sick in hospitals and in private dwellings, receive into their asylums the blind, the deaf and dumb, infirm old men, lunatics, and persons afflicted with incurable disorders; or afford gratuitous burial to the poor. Some orders, less widely diffused, like the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, the Augustinians, and the Dominicans, devote themselves to the office of preaching, and the duties of the sacred ministry. Others, like the Premonstratensians, the Bernardines, the Jesuits, and a new congregation called Priests of Mary, have opened colleges, where the humanities, and sometimes even philosophy and theology, are taught. Others again, like the Carmelites and the Recollects, combine with spiritual contemplation, instruction in the higher as well as elementary branches of learning; or like the Trappists, unite to the most austere practices of ascetic devotion the reclaiming of uncultivated lands. These various orders and congregations, thank Heaven! flourish in discipline, and yearly increase in numbers; nor has the vigilant eye of the most malignant hostility been able to detect scandals, or even abuses.

The female communities next claim our attention. We find, in the work above-quoted, the following enumeration of their different houses. The reader must not be surprised at their great numerical superiority over the male congregations; for, while under the French and Dutch govern-

ments, the latter were for the most part rigidly proscribed, the former generally enjoyed toleration.

*Communities of religious women in the several diocesses of Belgium.*

	Houses.
In the diocess of Malines . . .	107
In the diocess of Bruges . . .	129
In the diocess of Ghent . . .	93
In the diocess of Liege . . .	36
In the diocess of Namur . . .	48
In the diocess of Tournay . . .	53

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Total . . 466

Of these religious communities, the largest number, like the Ursulines, the Ladies of the Visitation, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Servants of Mary, the Beguines, and the rest, dedicate their time to the gratuitous education of poor children ; instructing girls in different manual works, sometimes even direct a school of manufacturing industry, or impart, on moderate terms, a solid and refined education to young ladies of the higher class. Many, like the Hospitallers, the Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul, the Sisters of Charity, of the Canon Triest, the Bernardines, and the rest, combine with the gratuitous instruction of poor children in religion and the rudiments of learning, attendance on the sick in hospitals or in private dwellings, or undertake the education of young ladies, take charge of orphans and deaf and dumb girls, infirm old men and women, or such as are afflicted with insanity and incurable disorders.\* Others, like the " Daughters of the Good Shepherd," devote themselves to the task of reclaiming from their evil courses abandoned women ; or like the " Sisters of St. Joseph," to reforming the moral habits of youthful delinquents of their own sex in the houses of cor-

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\* In visiting a convent of Sisters of Charity in Belgium, we were much struck with seeing a number of little children, from two to eight years of age, taken care of by the good nuns, during the hours the mothers were at work. To how many and what frightful accidents are not the young children of the lower classes, in larger towns especially, exposed during the critical hours of the absence of the parents and elder sisters from home! Not only within the convent walls are the children secured from bodily dangers, but their tender minds receive none but impressions of virtue and piety. We trust to see the same practice adopted in some of the religious communities in our own country. Protestant mothers, even, would be glad to confide to the tender care of Sisters of Charity their own infants, at an age when their religious principles cannot be tampered with ; and our wealthier Protestant brethren would then, no doubt, feel themselves justified in extending a helping hand to institutions of such refined and wide-embracing benevolence.

rection. A few, like the Carmelites, the poor Clares, and the Capuchinesses, are exclusively given up to spiritual contemplation.

The virtues of the angelic beings, who devote themselves to these several ministrations of Christian love, as they are above human recompense, are beyond human praise, and reverential silence is their most fitting eulogy. This only will we venture to assert, that if the corruption, the crimes, and the impiety of our age could be expiated—if the anger of the Almighty could be averted from the nations of Europe, surely it would be by the self-immolation of these victims of charity. We shall conclude our observations on the religious communities of Belgium, with the just remark of the Canon De Smet:

“Profoundly religious,” says he, in his useful work, the History of Belgium, “profoundly religious, the Belgian provinces abounded in institutions of charity, when the French Revolution came to destroy all that bore the impress of religion. As soon, however, as the Concordat of 1801 gave a show of freedom to religion, a zeal active and prolific in resources, soon repaired the losses, which misfortune and indigence had experienced. Hospitals, orphanages, asylums for old men, and Sunday-schools were everywhere re-opened; new institutions, like those for foundlings and the deaf and dumb, were imported from neighbouring countries. There are few human infirmities, which find not now among the Belgians all the solace that can be expected.”—Vol. ii. p. 338.

It is right to observe that, amid the general confiscation of church property, consummated by the French revolutionists in the country we are describing, the possessions, moveable and immoveable, of the hospitals and Beguignages were happily rescued from the grasp of the spoiler.

II. We have now come to the second part of our article, where we intend speaking of the state of education and learning in Belgium. The same judicious writer, whom we have just quoted, makes the following sensible remarks on the state of education in Belgium for the last eighty years:

“When the suppression of the Order of the Jesuits,” says he, “had struck a fatal blow to education throughout all Catholic Europe, Maria Theresa formed a new plan of instruction in order to fill up the void that had been thus left. A royal commission of instruction was set up at Brussels for the purpose of watching over the execution of measures adopted by the empress, and over the plan

of studies which she had prescribed. In this plan it was enjoined, that for the future, the students during their six years of Humanities, should be taught Greek simultaneously with Latin, and as accessory parts of education, geography, history, and the elements of mathematics. A large college was established at Brussels on the model of the Theresian academy at Vienna, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, Ruremande, Luxemburg, Namur, Mons and Tournai had colleges with boarders, and some other cities simple colleges.

"The French invasion came to destroy all those establishments, and at the same time the University of Louvain, that for three centuries had enjoyed a just renown. According to the plan of the new revolutionary government to concentrate everything at Paris, a single university was there established for all France, an academy at Brussels, and lyceums in the other chief cities of the Departments. In these new schools all studies were directed towards the military profession, and the other professions were entirely sacrificed to the latter. They never in consequence obtained the confidence of parents.

"The Dutch government arrogated to itself the monopoly of instruction. In despite of its flat materialism, it doubtless contributed towards the improvement of methods in instruction; but would have ended with completely banishing religion from education. Since the revolution of 1830, popular education has made real progress."—*Histoire de la Belgique*, par M. de Smet, t. ii. s. 345-6. cinquième édition.

For the twelve years succeeding the Revolution, the clergy made extraordinary efforts to extend, as well as ameliorate, elementary instruction, which, corrupted as it had been under the Dutch government, was become an object of general distrust. While the government schools were almost deserted, those founded by the clergy were very well attended; but the want of a general school organization was deeply felt. In the year 1843, a law which met the sanction of the Catholic majority in the two Chambers, was passed on this important matter. It stipulates, among other things, that there shall be a certain number of elementary schools founded by the government, with the right of nominating their masters and administrators; then, that each Commune, with a few specified exceptions, should establish or adopt a school, whose superiors and administrators should be nominated by the local authorities subject to the confirmation of the government. In all these schools religion and morality must be taught, and the religious instructors are to be

appointed by the Catholic bishops;\* and where there are children of other persuasions, by their religious authorities. The government has in each canton its civil inspectors, to make periodical reports on the state of civil instruction in the schools; the bishops have their ecclesiastical inspectors, to report on the religious and moral condition of the schools; and such reports the prelates must forward to the Minister of the Home Department every October. A schoolmaster may, for a certain term, be suspended from his functions by the local authorities of the Commune. He has, however, an appeal to the Central Board of Instruction, presided over by the Minister, and in which alone is vested the right of dismissal. In this supreme council the bishop, or his delegate, has but a consultative voice. This is the weakest point in the law, and one to which the most vigilant attention on the part of the clergy must be directed; for if a schoolmaster abuses his trust, the bishop, in case the board be hostile, has no other remedy than the withdrawal of the chaplain from the school. As yet, the law works well, and has afforded satisfaction to the clergy. The following report, taken from the *Journal of Bruxelles* of July last, affords a very favourable picture of the state of popular education in Belgium:

“The law, which organizes elementary instruction, has been only eighteen months in force. It is one, which from the numerous details it embraces, was calculated to encounter the greatest obstacles; and yet it may safely be affirmed, that the greatest step in improvement is already made, and that some parts only of this vast edifice remain to be completed, to enable Belgium to sustain a comparison with those countries, where elementary instruction is the most diffused. Our readers are aware that the law of September 1843, while it lays down the principle that each commune should have its school, leaves to the local authorities a certain latitude as to the fulfilment of this obligation. This duty they may satisfy by either establishing a commune school, or by adopting a private one, or by obtaining a dispensation when it is proved that existing establishments provide in a suitable manner for instruction. A rapid glance at the state of things in each province will show that on the whole the law is executed with much zeal and method; and that if at the present time there are still defects in its execution, they are to be ascribed less to the want of good will, than to physical, and

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\* The government has two normal schools for the education of schoolmasters; the bishops seven schools; and out of these the candidates for the direction of the communal schools are taken.



often insuperable difficulties. In the province of Antwerp, every commune, with the exception of two, has at least one elementary school; some are provided with even two schools.

“In the province of West Flanders, out of two hundred and forty-eight communal districts, there are not more than eleven in which elementary instruction is not perfectly organized. The number of scholars in that province amounted last year to 53,882, which is in the proportion of one pupil to every twelve inhabitants. More than one-half of the pupils (29,300) belong to the indigent class. In the province of East Flanders, popular education is far from being organized in all the communes. The number of children frequenting the elementary schools was in last January 28,383. Now, as, in order to furnish one scholar out of every ten inhabitants, the number should have amounted to 78,703, we see that either popular instruction is still very incomplete, or that *the uncontrolled schools* are much more frequented than the others. Probably both hypotheses will be found to be correct. In the province of Hainault, elementary instruction has, since the law of September 1843, made in every respect notable progress. Sixty-six thousand and six children frequented the popular schools in the year 1844. This makes exactly one pupil to every ten inhabitants. Poor children constitute the half of this number (32,938). In one canton of this province (Chimay) the progress has been so great, that there is one pupil to every six inhabitants; so that soon it will be a rare occurrence there to find any young people totally ignorant.

The whole province of Luxemburg presents the spectacle exhibited by the single canton of Chimay in Hainault. Four hundred and twenty-one elementary schools are there frequented by 27,306 pupils; and this makes nearly one scholar to every six inhabitants. Of these children 8,748 receive gratuitous instruction. The greater part of private schools has disappeared since the new organization has been introduced. The state of popular education is not so satisfactory in the provinces of Liège and Limburg. Thirty-five communes in the first are without schools, and as they are poor and small, it is probable that they will not soon be provided with such. The 344 existing institutions were last year frequented by 31,627 scholars, of whom 18,952 belonged to the indigent class. This is nearly one pupil to every thirteen inhabitants.

“In Limburg, where there are 208 schools with 13,939 scholars, there are forty-one communes where elementary instruction is not yet organized. Twenty-four will probably for a long time yet be unable to provide themselves with schools. We have not received exact information touching the state of popular education in the provinces of Brabant and Namur. All that we know is that in both provinces the educational organization is nearly completed.”—(See *Journal de Bruxelles*, 16 Juillet, 1845; a Journal which in the soundness of its religious and political principles, the ability with

which it is edited, and the moderation of language which characterizes it, discover it to be the leading organ of Belgian Catholics.)

We think our readers will agree with us that, considering the recent introduction of a general law on this matter, the state of popular education in Belgium, especially when we remember that a considerable number of *private elementary schools* is not included in this enumeration, could scarcely have been more flourishing. The instruction in these schools comprises catechism, reading, writing; the elements of the French, Flemish, or German languages, according to the wants of localities; the elementary part of arithmetic, and the legal standard of weights and measures.

If from popular we pass to academic, or as it is called on the continent, secondary instruction, the spectacle is equally satisfactory. The very bad spirit which, under the French and Dutch domination, reigned, and partially still reigns, in the Athenées and Lyceums, has been counteracted by Catholic academies, admirable both in a moral and intellectual point of view; and which, thanks to freedom of education, have sprung up since the last revolution in great variety and abundance. These establishments are either the diocesan colleges (*petits séminaires*), open to lay and clerical students, and conducted by secular priests; or colleges, directed sometimes by pious laymen, but more frequently by religious corporations, like Jesuits, Premonstratensians, Recollects, Priests of Mary, and the rest. In these colleges the Greek is taught simultaneously with the Latin, according to the recommendation of Erasmus; a course of humanities, including poetry and rhetoric, is given; and in the highest class, a Treatise of Tacitus and extracts from the Greek dramatists are frequently read. The mathematics and some of the physical sciences, ancient and modern history, and besides French and Flemish, the English and sometimes German tongues form a part of education. The student, after a seven years' course in such colleges, repairs with great advantage to the university.

Since the Revolution of 1830, which emancipated the church and the school from thralldom, the Catholic clergy and laity of Belgium have devoted great attention to the matter of education. The honour of their long-outraged faith—the pride of an insulted nationality—and the glory of letters have all concurred to inflame their zeal, and call

forth their intellectual energies. Standing in close proximity with four highly civilized countries—France, Holland, Germany, and England—and speaking the languages of the two former, and easily acquiring those of the two latter, the Belgian can with facility avail himself of their literary labours, and appropriate their several methods of instruction. Add to this the inestimable advantages of a zealous, watchful, moral superintendence, a mild discipline, and a thoroughly religious training of the youthful mind and character, and we may easily infer what blessings these institutions, by their number\* as well as excellence, diffuse over the country. These establishments,† conducted either by secular or regular ecclesiastics, sustain an active rivalry with the colleges called *Athenées*, which, though paid by the state, and in despite of the most extraordinary efforts, sink more and more in public estimation, and witness a gradual diminution in the number of their scholars. Thus, in the city of Ghent, where a large portion of the population is so irreligious, the Jesuit college, though not of long standing, has an equal number of scholars with the *Athenée*. Men, indifferent themselves to religion, will often wish to secure a good religious education to their offspring; and political adversaries of the Jesuits are sometimes known to confide their children to the care of those excellent teachers.

In the theological seminaries (*Grands Séminaires*) there are long and regular courses of philosophy and theology; and the same remark applies to the noviciates of some of the religious orders: so that, in a few years, Belgium will be blessed with a very learned clergy. In these higher seminaries, where the course of studies lasts for five years, logic and metaphysics, dogmatic and moral theology,

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\* M. De Decker says: "Of the seventy-five establishments of secondary or academic instruction now existing in Belgium, thirty have been founded by the enlightened zeal of the clergy. These figures are drawn from a recent official Report of the Minister of the Home Department."—*De l'influence du Clergé*, p. 26.

† In one of these colleges (the *Petit Séminaire* of Malines), which enjoys great celebrity throughout Belgium, there are no less than fourteen professors: it is, in fact, a little university. We find professors of sacred eloquence, of introduction to philosophy, of logic and metaphysics, of moral philosophy, of history of philosophy, of philosophy of history, of mathematics, of physics, of astronomy, chemistry and elements of natural history, of rhetoric, and of the various classes for the ancient languages; and, lastly, there is a chair for the evidences of Christianity and of the Catholic faith, and introduction to church history. This college, frequented by many lay as well as clerical students, has been brought to its present state of perfection by that excellent prelate, the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines.

ecclesiastical history, liturgy, and canon law are taught. Those who evince an aptitude for learning are, in order to perfect themselves in their studies, sent to the university.

This excellent course of academic education for clerical and lay students, is crowned by the noble University of Louvain. This university, though re-established but ten years ago, and entirely supported by the benefactions of the faithful, has—as well by the orthodoxy of its principles and the strictness of its discipline, as by its comprehensive scheme of education, and the learning of its professors—acquired great celebrity. It unites the religious enthusiasm and scientific excellence of the best German Catholic universities, with a more severe and vigilant discipline.

This university, which in 1834 was created by the Belgian episcopacy, and remains under its immediate superintendence, “has realized,” in the words of M. de Decker, “amid the applause of learned Europe, the happy union of faith and science.” (See *L’Influence du Clergé*, p. 26.) There are from forty-six to fifty professors, and among them are some distinguished Germans and Frenchmen. In the several departments of Theology, Philosophy, Roman Antiquities, Mediæval History, Belles Lettres, and Political Economy, Professors De Ram, Ubaghs, Arendt, Moeller, Cazalès, and De Coux, have obtained great celebrity, and are not more distinguished for soundness of principles, than for extent of learning and originality of views.

There are several halls, or as they are called in Belgium, “pedagogies,” where the students of the several faculties dwell under certain disciplinary regulations. The theological students are compelled to live in the hall attached to their faculty; and the lay students, though they be permitted to inhabit private lodgings, are strongly recommended, as the best safeguard for piety and virtue, to dwell together in community. Immoral conduct is immediately punished with expulsion. After the example of many German universities, a literary society is annexed to the university, in order to stimulate the scientific ardour of her professors.

It reflects the highest credit on the liberality and discernment of the Belgian episcopacy, that, in undertaking the great work of the intellectual regeneration of their country, they should have called in the aid of several distinguished foreigners. The many noble institutions for

learning, formerly existing in the low countries, were swept away by the torrent of the French Revolution ; for a deadly hostility to the *moral* sciences was one of the most prominent characteristics of that revolution, whether in its republican or imperial phase. The government of the late Dutch king, while it affected to encourage learning, poisoned its well-springs with infidelity.\* It was not therefore surprising that in this once flourishing country—desolated as she had been by battles, and ravaged with the greater scourge of revolution, engaged, too, in an unrelenting strife for the purity of her faith, and the independence of her church against irreligious tyranny, whether monarchical or republican, from Joseph of Austria down to William of Holland—it was not surprising, we say, that this country should not have made the same advances in learning, as some more favoured lands. But the ardour with which she has seized the first opportunity after her long and eventful struggles, to cultivate literature and the liberal arts, renders it probable that she will now sustain, and even surpass her ancient reputation.

Besides the eminent men who adorn the university of Louvain, Belgium has in our times produced two original thinkers in Count Henri de Merode, and his relative Count de Beaufort; an accomplished orator and historian in the Baron de Gerlache; a distinguished writer in M. de Bominel, Bishop of Liege, and several very eminent literary and scientific men in the universities of Liege and Ghent, as well as in the Academy of Sciences. The Flemish language is now cultivated with great zeal; many valuable poetical and historical productions in that language belonging to the Mediæval period, have been brought to light; and it is said that the Flemish muse is wooed with no inconsiderable success by some living aspirants.

We should, however, be inclined to doubt whether poetry would ever be a salient point in the Flemish mind; the Flemings, at least, often admit that they are not generally gifted with much imagination. Many of the more solid properties of the Teutonic intellect—the spirit of patient

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\* In visiting the library of Louvain, our attention was called to the fact, that the late government had stuffed its shelves with the productions of the rationalist divines of Protestant Germany; doubtless for the especial edification of those young Catholic theologians, whom that government strove to decoy within its walls.

laborious research, critical acuteness, cautious sagacity, and a singular aptitude for the liberal and mechanical arts—distinguish this people. But the more creative endowments of the German mind—the high reach of imagination, warmth of sensibility, and depth of understanding—have not, in an equal degree, fallen to their lot. Hence it has been in positive theology, in historic research, in critical philology, and in physical and mathematical science, that they have attained to such rare success. What names in those departments can Europe show superior to those of Justus Lipsius, Heinsius, the Bollandists, Huygens, and to include the neighbouring Holland, where the same cast of mind prevails, Erasmus, Grotius, and a host of eminent scholars.

Music is now cultivated with great success. Painting is aspiring towards the higher paths of art, and already evinces its superiority to the contemporary school of France; and more attention is everywhere paid to the study and preservation of the many noble monuments of Gothic architecture, with which the country abounds.

The enterprises of manufacturing industry, and the arts which minister to their success, are cherished and prosecuted with an ardour, a perseverance, and a success unrivalled, perhaps, on the continent. It is therefore much to be regretted, that adverse circumstances should, since 1830, have occurred to choke up many channels of trade, and to hamper the operations of industrial skill. But this leads us to the third point in our enquiry—the political condition of this energetic people.

III. The church, as we have seen, has been emancipated from the fetters which had so long weighed on her limbs. Without any, the slightest interference on the part of the civil power, the chapters elect the bishops of their diocesses; intercourse on spiritual concerns is carried on between the clergy and the Holy See; ecclesiastical synods are convoked and celebrated; and religious corporations, though not recognised as possessing a civil existence, may establish themselves without impediment or restraint. The odious monopoly of instruction, which here, as in France, had proved so fatal to the interests of religion, and even of science, has been destroyed at a single blow; and Christian schools have sprung up and multiplied to mould the mind, hearts, and habits of the rising generation.

That fatal system of administrative centralization, the

besetting vice of modern governments, and which in revolutionary France had attained its highest degree of intensity, was, in the hour of deliverance, spurned and rejected by a people which still retained a lively recollection of its old provincial franchises. The Municipality and the Commune ripped up the complicated net-work, with which the French Revolution had covered the land, and once more reposed under the shadow of their ancient liberties. So far so good. By restoring to the Church that freedom which is the very breath of her nostrils and the first condition of her safety, and by reviving popular institutions that are an element of *order* as well as liberty, Belgium has set a noble example to degenerate Europe. But unfortunately those dear-bought liberties were unaccompanied with the safeguards, which render their existence safe, practicable, and lasting.

Let us hear on this subject the complaints of one of the most religious and intrepid of Belgian patriots—the Baron de Gerlache, who under the Dutch government was one of the leaders of the Catholic opposition.

“Our constitution,” he says, “was truly a work of reaction; it everywhere breathes a hatred of the former king, and a dread of the future one. It takes from the crown the faculty of doing either good or ill; and that power, which it withholds from royalty, it allots to every one else—to the Chambers, to the tribunals, to the provincial councils, to the commune, to the lowest village burgo-master; forgetting that the worst of all despotisms is the many-headed tyranny exercised by the lower ranks. It was not the liberals alone who urged on these extreme measures; there were also men, imbued with those old provincial and communal ideas no longer suited to the present time,\* and that multitude of liberties unknown to our ancestors. There were also certain Catholics, who, remembering the influence which the clergy had, in 1829 and 1830, exercised over the country population during the rage of petitions, thought their ascendancy would ever remain the same. They did not see that, armed with the principles which had just been proclaimed in the constitution, the revolutionary party, acting on the masses, was destined to become master of the country, and to stifle all other powers, and that it was at least unnecessary to furnish it with other means for extending its influence. It was at least, easy to foresee, that the external dispute with Holland, which for ten years had absorbed our attention, having been settled by our defi-

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\* In this opinion of the Baron de Gerlache we cannot concur; it is not the existence of these liberties, but the want of the counterpoising checks, that is to be lamented.

native recognition on the part of its monarch, we should be soon given up to the strife of parties, and that unless we were prepared to rush into open anarchy, some one ought, amid this unbounded freedom, to be invested with authority sufficient to moderate their contention."—*Essai sur l'histoire du royaume de Belgique depuis la Revolution de 1830.*

A royalty thus limited, surrounded by a powerful democracy, is neither Catholic itself, nor sprung from an old national dynasty. It is thus deprived of the three elements, which render regal power a principle of conservation in human society: the unction of the Church, that hallows and dignifies it; antiquity of descent, which identifies it with the destinies, the struggles, and the glories of the past; and an effective, controlling power, that makes the subject recognize it as a reality, and not a fiction. Fortunately Belgium has selected a prince as much distinguished for his good sense and moderation of character as for illustrious birth; and he has allied himself to a princess, who, like all the female members of the House of Orleans, is a model of piety, amiability, and grace. The monarch happily brings up his children in the Catholic faith; and thus in the course of time the Cobourg dynasty will become Catholic and national.

But if royalty be thus degraded to a sort of republican presidentship, perhaps democracy is still counterbalanced by a powerful aristocracy. The dignity of senator is neither hereditary nor for life; it is purely elective, and conferred without regard either to nobility of descent, or to illustrious military or civil services, or to high literary distinction. According to the arithmetical wisdom of modern constitution-mongers, a certain amount of property is the sole qualification. Nor is the honour even bestowed by the crown, but by a body of electors, paying a certain amount of taxes.

In despite of revolutionary laws that have proscribed primogeniture, which, if we remember right, the illustrious De Bonald has termed the fundamental law of the agricultural family, many of the noble families in Belgium are still in possession of extensive landed property. These nobles, by their attachment to the faith of their fathers, as well as by their generous struggles in defence of the national liberties, enjoy the confidence and sympathy of the bulk of their countrymen, and many of them are consequently to be found in the two Legislative Cham-



bers. Rank and property, *in fact, more than by right*, are fairly represented in the Upper House. For as we shall further have occasion to see, all the conservative elements in Belgian society lie beyond the pale of the written constitution, whose very revolutionary spirit and enactments are, to a certain extent, counteracted by the opinions, feelings, and habits of a sound majority in the nation.

But in a small country, like Belgium, where rash experiments in legislation involve less danger, and where a very democratic constitution is more endurable, the impotence to which royalty is reduced, and the degradation of nobility would have been less pernicious, had a close alliance been instituted between church and state.

As this is a matter of immense importance, and one on which much misconception prevails, the reader will, we trust, excuse us, if we venture to solicit for a few moments his attention to the subject. Of course we shall be understood to speak of countries in which the rulers of the state are members of the church. Our observations, therefore, have no reference to the domestic relations of the church.

The greatest of living publicists, the illustrious Görres, after alluding to the different erroneous theories, which in modern times have prevailed respecting the relations between church and state, and after comparing them to the ancient heresies relative to the person of our Lord, calls the newest theory, which recommends a total and absolute severance of church and state, the *Nestorianism* of politics. For, as he says, the spiritual and temporal power Christianity designs to be *distinct*, but not *divided*. Görres further characterizes this theory as one of the most absurd and impracticable, which an age fertile in sophisms has produced, and reflection will show the truth of this observation.

Under the law of Nature, or in the Patriarchal Religion, spiritual and temporal authority were vested in the head of the tribe; both powers were considered to have their source in God. Temporal associated with religious authority, was regulated by the divine law. As in process of time, and with the spread of population, the tribe swelled into a nation, and the chieftain grew into a king, the civil and spiritual power were sometimes united in one individual, sometimes, for the sake of convenience, lodged in separate hands. But still the identity of their origin, the diversity of their functions and ends, and the necessity of their

co-operation were ever recognized. In the law of Moses we witness the separation of the two powers ; for the Jewish church was, in her constitution, the type of the Christian. On one hand we see her enjoying spiritual independence, and on the other, living in a holy alliance with the state. The Christian church, as she was formed for all ages and nations, and was thus to be totally independent of the limits of time and place, received a larger degree of spiritual independence than the local and temporary synagogue.

The church has her own legislation—her own jurisprudence—her own tribunals—her own spiritual magistrates and rulers—her own sphere of action. But this absolute spiritual independence does not preclude an union with the state. Had the church declined such an alliance, society could never have received the blessings of Christian civilization. Laws, customs, political institutions, would have still remained Pagan. If the churchman refused to take a seat in the royal council, or in the popular assembly—if he anointed not kings, nor received their solemn oath to uphold justice, and to punish evil-doers, and to protect the weak, and to respect the rights and liberties of the subject—how was regal and aristocratic tyranny to be bridled? how was popular insubordination to be suppressed? how was legislation to be humanized? how were so many cruel and licentious practices sanctioned by long custom to be eradicated? And if religion and her ministers were banished from public life, would not all the pure and lofty notions of Christian equity have been enfeebled and obscured? If the clergy, secular and regular, under the pretext of not entangling themselves in worldly concerns, had refused the acceptance of landed property, and with it the burden of many social and political obligations, the example of the most skilful husbandry, and of the most humane and liberal treatment of vassals and dependents, would have been lost to the world. Then the fetters of serfdom would not have been relaxed, nor even personal slavery so soon abolished; nor would indigence, sorrow, and misfortune, have found their unfailing succour, their calm retreats, and sacred asylums.

If the church had been severed from the state, then her rulers could never have been the organs of justice in the political relations between sovereigns and their subjects, and between nation and nation, and a justice without

tribunals and interpreters would soon have become an idle name.

This severance of connexion between church and state, would not only have precluded Christianity from conferring on mankind the temporal blessings designed by its divine founder, but the main end of its dispensation—the spiritual redemption of men—would not have been so quickly, so safely, and so generally insured. For the individual man is not only a member of the church and of the family, he is a member of the state also; and the laws, customs, institutions, and magistrates of the latter, exercise the most decisive influence, whether for good or for evil, on the mind and habits of the subject. Hence the necessity of an intimate union between these two forms of social life; for their discord leads to the most shocking dissonance in domestic society, and in individual thought and feeling. The tradition of the church on this matter, is summed up in the following words of the illustrious Fénelon: “The connexion between church and state,” says he, “is *useful* to the former, and *necessary* to the latter.” It is useful, though not necessary to the former; for when repudiated by an ungrateful or deluded state, the church shakes the dust off her feet, and wends her way to fairer regions and more favoured lands; or she remains in an humbler condition to administer solace and instruction to the individual and the family. But this alliance is necessary to the state, for without the church, the state is deprived of its surest guide and most solid support.

Hence, when on a recent occasion, a once illustrious writer, after having long defended with zeal the principles of religion and social order, began to teach, though with a pure intention, that the church throughout Europe had better, for the sake of obtaining greater freedom, renounce all connexion with the state, his present holiness, in the Encyclical Letter of 1832, condemned this opinion, and asserted that such connexion was most salutary to both parties. It seems to us, whoever maintains that the state *per se*, by its union with the church, defiles the latter, falls into a species of political Manicheism. For the state, *as it is the necessary development of the family*, is the creation of God; and every creature of God is good and cannot defile. Undoubtedly the divorce of church and state is preferable to a connexion that would involve a persecution of the true religion. But the alliance we speak

of is (as, if our limits permitted, could easily be proved) not only compatible with the toleration of other sects, but forms its most solid guarantee. Even the union between the civil government and an erroneous system of religion is preferable to political atheism; for atheism in the state is sure, in course of time, to engender atheism in the family.

The first country which ever proclaimed the formal separation of church and state, was the British colonies of America, when they had thrown off the yoke of the mother country. But we may observe in the first place, that this anomaly was the result of the peculiar force of circumstances; for the perfect equality of all sects was the most effectual means for promoting the emigration of European settlers, and the consequent population, wealth, and political greatness of the infant republic. Secondly, as the United States owe their best municipal and political liberties to the old British monarchy, so it was under the system of alliance between church and state that those liberties first took root and flourished. In no country, perhaps, was the union between religion and political life so close, as in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. Thirdly, a large portion of the American population, in the back settlements for instance, lives more in *domestic* than in *civil* society. Lastly, the American confederation is not so much a state, as the matrix of future states; for there is as yet in it no organic union, but a mere external fortuitous aggregate of population.

Hence the anomalous situation of the great Transatlantic Republic, precludes any inference against the principle we have defended—a principle which is grounded in reason, and has the universal assent of ages and nations in its favour. To the panegyrists of American institutions, we may still address the words which the illustrious Count Maistre, in his *Considérations, sur la Révolution Française*, uttered fifty years ago: “Laissez cet enfant grandir, et alors nous verrons.”

Even that destructive assembly of revolutionary France, which called itself constituent, and which, indeed, organized that system of rapine, confiscation, levelling tyranny, sacrilege, and murder, that so soon ensued—even that Assembly, we say, recoiled before the monster of political atheism. After severing the union between Church and State, it still declares in hesitating accents,

that the Catholic religion is "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen." These words, taken in their literal sense, would be a mere truism; but when interpreted as implying, that a certain legal favour was due to the religion of the nation, they render a feeble homage to a great truth. The charter of 1814, once more wedded Church and State; but that of 1830, again pronounced their divorce. The revolutionary legislature that proclaimed this divorce, sanctioned also the dissolubility of the nuptial tie; so close is the analogy between public and domestic life!

To come now to Belgium. The constitution of 1830, as we have seen, was a constitution framed in a spirit of reaction; and no grievance from the Dutch tyranny was more deeply felt and more strongly resented, than the encroachments of the civil power on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Those periods of popular ferment, in which political revolutions arise, are not the most favourable to a calm and dispassionate consideration of human affairs. Excesses of one kind are sure to drive the public mind into the opposite excesses. To obviate the evils resulting from an abuse of the connexion between Church and State, the good Belgians cut the Gordian knot, and dis-severed that connexion altogether: but this was to cure one evil by the introduction of another.

Enlightened Catholics in Belgium, with whom we have conversed, while they have deplored this capital vice in their constitution, have declared that from the force of circumstances, and the power of the liberal party, it would have been difficult at the moment of the last Revolution, to have come to a different arrangement. Still, we think the Catholic leaders in Congress would not have given so formal a sanction to the principle of political atheism, had they not been misled by the new theories of the great French writer adverted to above. This writer, from the immense services he had rendered to the cause of religion, from the zeal with which he had combated heresy and infidelity, from his successful opposition to Gallicanism, and from the warm sympathy he evinced for the Belgian people in their struggles for their religious and civil liberties, exerted even a greater sway in Belgium than in his own country. But it was precisely about the year 1830, that the purity of his political principles began to be tainted. The most consummate dialectician and eloquent writer of his

age, was far from being endowed in an equal degree with historical and political tact. He had neither the calmness of temper, nor the sobriety of judgment, nor the flexibility of mind, necessary to form a great politician, theoretical or practical. Whether as a Royalist, or as a Republican, he has ever, with the unbending vigour of logic, pushed his principles to their extremest consequences; and hence his false political theories put forth in the *Avenir*, led him little by little to that abyss of religious and social aberrations into which he at last plunged.

Let us see what are the practical consequences of this separation of Church and State, as proclaimed in the Belgian Constitution.

Firstly, The utmost impunity is accorded to the most impious and licentious productions of the press. Thus such doctrines, as atheism, materialism, and deism, which, as sapping the very foundations of social order, all publicists concur in placing beyond the pale of toleration, are widely disseminated not in scientific works merely, but in cheap popular tracts. The most infamous productions of the French press are sometimes translated into Flemish, and sold at one-third of their original cost. Books too bad even for the bad government of Louis Phillippe to tolerate, find in Belgium unimpeded circulation.

Secondly, The dramatic censorship, which exists in all civilized countries, has been abolished; and the consequence is, that the most obscene and impious representations not unfrequently pollute the stage.

Thirdly, The compulsory observance of Sundays and holidays on the part of the State has been done away with; and the strong religious spirit of the great bulk of the people alone prevents the scandal of such a desecration of the Sabbath, as is witnessed in many parts of France. But see what a cruel tyranny is here practised! For instance, some tradesmen in a town, setting the divine and ecclesiastical laws at defiance, open their shops on a Sunday. The majority of the shop-keepers, who abhor in their hearts this profanation, must, in order to prevent the iniquity of their unscrupulous rivals from ruining their trade, recur to the church for a dispensation from her laws. Again, as profligate master-manufacturers sometimes force their operatives to work on the days allotted to rest, the church is compelled to grant dispensations to

these operatives, or they would be thrown out of employ.\* In the very religious towns of Flanders, however, we know that the shops on Sundays and holidays are closed; or that if opened, there is no buying and selling going on. Even the articles necessary for human sustenance are not sold during the hours of divine service. Agricultural labours, too, are universally suspended on the Lord's-day. One thing must strike the traveller who visits the country we are describing; everywhere does he observe an antagonism between the manners and habits of the people, and their new civil legislation; everywhere does he see a sound majority sacrificed to the profligate caprices of a turbulent minority.

Fourthly, If it be true that the conduct of men in power, exercises such influence over inferiors, what must people in Belgium think, when it beholds, as not unfrequently is the case, men high in station and authority—magistrates, members of the legislature, and councillors of state—not only set the laws of the church at defiance, and proclaim their connexion with secret societies, which she has condemned, but speak with daring contumely and outrage of religion and her ministers? Religion not being recognized as a law of the land, her mandates are consequently not a rule of legal obligation for the functionaries of government; and thus it has been in the power of civil and military officers, to prevent, by a certain allotment of duty, their subordinates from complying with the precepts of the church. This shameful abuse has been recently brought under the notice of the government and legislature by that excellent statesman, Count Felix de Merode. Moved by his remonstrances, the Minister of War has this very year issued a circular to all officers of the army, forbidding them to throw any obstacle in the way of the soldiers performing their religious duties.† The bad spirit of the functionaries trained up in the French and

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\* The Belgian artisans work in the factories from six o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening. Out of this time they are allowed one hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and half an hour at four o'clock for a slight refec-tion. Those who work in the day, are not allowed to work at night. All, how-ever, is regulated by custom alone.

† We have heard an instance of officers calling out their soldiers on parade, in order to prevent their attending at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Such an out-rage could not have been committed in a country where the Catholic religion was the acknowledged religion of the state.

Dutch schools, has been emboldened by the license, which the new legislation accords to vice and impiety.

Fifthly, But the eternal laws on which Divine Providence has founded human society, cannot be disregarded with impunity; and like the liquid element, human nature in one way or the other is sure to find its level. Under a constitution which refuses to espouse any particular creed, attachment or opposition to the Catholic Church, is the great energizing principle of political action; and the legislative assembly, the municipal council, and the daily press, are divided as much by religious as political strife. Religion is a matter too important to be ignored by the State.

As the government abandons the exercise of its most sacred duty, and contrary to the mandate of Scripture, "*beareth the sword in vain, and is not an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil,*" (Romans xiii. 4,) the people are often compelled to take the police into their own hands, and exercise on the contaminators of public morals—the hawkers and vendors of obscene and impious publications—the infliction of corporal chastisement. And with a people of more ardent temperament than the Belgians, deplorable scenes would in such cases have occurred.

The priesthood, driven from that place in the political constitution, which all civilized nations in ancient and modern times have accorded to it, is compelled in order to rescue society from the evils of anarchy, and to preserve those doctrines and rights, of which it is the divinely appointed guardian, to take a more prominent and active part in political life, than it would otherwise have done. Unless the clergy and Catholic proprietary combined to recommend to the inferior voters such parliamentary candidates, as by their probity, honour, and constitutional principles, were worthy of trust, not only would Belgium most certainly lose the religious and civil liberties she so dearly bought in 1830, but all law, order, and civilization, would soon be trampled down under the iron hoof of an impious and bloody democracy.\*

In the difficult and trying circumstances in which it has been placed, the Belgian clergy has conducted itself with

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\* The Secret or Masonic Lodges of Belgium are known to be in close union or concert with those that direct the manœuvres of the impious radicals of Protestant Switzerland.



singular prudence and moderation ; for, with one or two insignificant exceptions, never has the pulpit been desecrated by the introduction of political topics. But while forbidden by their ecclesiastical superiors to exert their *spiritual authority* for any political purposes whatsoever, the priests are recommended, in order to promote the due and Christian exercise of political rights, to employ *their moral influence and their force of persuasion* over others. If we have thus insisted on the fearful evils which result from the absolute separation of Church and State, far be it from us to cast any reflection on the eminent, patriotic, and truly Catholic statesmen, who, in 1829, entered into a coalition with the irreligious liberalism. This coalition, formed with the view of a common resistance to Dutch tyranny, ended, as is well known, in its final overthrow ; and the Catholic leaders, after their victory in 1830, were compelled to make to their new ally the most dangerous concessions. Those who best know Belgium, declare that the constitution, which sprang out of this coalition, and whose radical defects we have endeavoured to point out, could not, from the force of circumstances, have been differently modelled. When, therefore, the oppressed Catholics of France, exclaim, “Vive la liberté, comme en Belgique,” we re-echo the cry. For that cry refers only to those valuable liberties, which the Belgian constitution has established, and which the Charter of France promised, but her government has never realized. In France the church enjoys neither the protection nor the sympathy which a sound alliance with the state insures ; nor the freedom which a severance of that connexion would permit ; she is, as a judge said of the Irish Catholic Church, in the early part of the last century, “recognized only to be persecuted.”

To sum up now our observations upon the interesting people, whose religious and social condition we have been contemplating, we may state the following, as the result of our enquiries :—

In the party of the irreligious liberals, we see a minority composed of a large proportion of the wealthier middle class, influential by its riches and restless activity, exercising by secret societies at once seduction and intimidation over the people, recruiting its strength in bad schools and colleges, possessing numerous adepts and supporters in every branch of the civil and military administration,

inflaming with Machiavellian art the popular irritation produced by the stagnation of many channels of trade, deriving for itself a secret nurture from vices innate in the constitution, and directing a most profligate press, which in various forms often openly assails religion, defames her ministers, and outrages the decencies of civilized life. On the other hand, we see the bulk of the nation, composed of the country population and the great majority of town inhabitants, clinging with noble tenacity to the Catholic faith, and resisting, as yet, all attempts made to corrupt them, headed by a priesthood most exemplary in conduct and indefatigable in zeal, as well as by a nobility, which, together with attachment to the church, has preserved the dignified simplicity of ancestral manners.

We see the Catholic schools and colleges, though of more recent origin, fast outstripping their rivals in the field of competition; the most distinguished intellects supporting the church; and the Catholic party, though outnumbered by their adversaries in the different branches of administration, yet possessing a decided and compact majority in the two Houses of Legislature. We look not without fear and disquietude certainly, but still with much of hopefulness, to the future. We trust that when the revival of different branches of industry—(a revival to which we would fain hope, the recent commercial treaty with Prussia is the prelude)—shall have allayed the discontent prevalent in many cities; when the liberal journals, from the detection of their many falsehoods and calumnies, shall have sunk into the same discredit as their compeers in France; when the Catholics shall have paid more attention to the organization of their political press,\* and become more habituated to the workings of the representative system; and when the spirit of the middle classes shall have been reformed and enlightened by a better system of education; then those modifications in the constitution which we have shown to be indispensable, and which it would now be perilous to attempt, will, we doubt not, be introduced by the force of public opinion, and order and liberty be founded on a more enduring basis. But let not the Catholics of Belgium conceive, that this victory can be won without much union, combination,

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\* The Belgian Catholics have recently formed an association to improve the quality, and extend the number, of good political journals.

firmness and prudence on their part: without long persevering efforts, and extraordinary sacrifices. Yet the cause for which they contend, is surely worth enthusiasm; for it is the cause of God and Humanity—the cause of Religion, Freedom, and Civilization.

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ART. IV.—*The Ballad Poetry of Ireland.* Edited by CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY. Dublin: 1845.

THE readers of this journal will hardly require, on our part, any profession of the unaffected satisfaction with which we welcome this delightful volume, and the LIBRARY OF IRELAND, to which it belongs. It is a great step towards the realization of that fond dream of a National Literature which we have long cherished, and which, vague and desponding for awhile, the events of the last few years have hurried through the successive stages of hopelessness—possibility—feasibleness—and (may we not now say,) certainty—with a rapidity which, ten years since, the most sanguine would hardly have ventured to anticipate. Untoward events may yet arise to baulk these well-grounded expectations. Over such a contingency we have no control. But if they be doomed to disappointment from our own lukewarmness or indifference, a deep responsibility and a heavy shame will rest upon those whose influence shall have been withheld from the task of realizing them.

We ourselves, however, hope better for our literature. We have a confidence that all that has been said and written upon this subject, has gone below the surface. We would fain believe that Mr. Duffy's eloquent and earnest Introduction, represents the feelings of a large section of the educated public in Ireland; and if this be so, there shall not be wanting either a will or a way towards complete success.

It would be difficult to speak too highly of this Introduction; equally difficult, we trust, to over-estimate its influence. Without reading one word more of the volume, every educated man will at once pronounce that a collection made by such an editor must possess merit of the very highest order. We regard it, indeed, as perfect in

its kind ; earnest, yet calm ; passionate, but subdued ; and combining enthusiasm and ardour with that tolerance which makes enthusiasm amiable, and that practical sense which prevents ardour from evaporating in noisy and ineffective display. It belongs to a class of compositions which are far better understood from a specimen, than from a critical description ; and we would gladly extract largely from it, but circumstances over which we have no control, compel us to confine ourselves to a few brief remarks upon its general purpose and character, and a few specimens of the collection to which it forms so appropriate and characteristic an accompaniment.

In order fully to appreciate the merit of this interesting collection, it must be remembered that the condition of Ireland, as regards her ballad poetry, is in many respects very peculiar. While our ancient language was still in use among the people, the store of Irish ballad lore was little inferior to that of any other people in Europe ; and the specimens of it which are preserved in the different collections, published and unpublished, present every form and variety of poetical feeling. There is no shade of sentiment or of passion—humorous or pathetic, sparkling or sombre, stormy or subdued—which has not its representative among them. But unhappily, the days of our vernacular minstrelsy are long past, and a time has come when, as instruments of popular instruction or popular amusement, the Irish ballads are utterly unavailing. If an Irish poet, now-a-days, would appeal to the hearts of his countrymen, every national sentiment he would convey, every native peculiarity, every thing, in fact, which distinguishes us from the other races with whom we share the English language, must be diluted and transfused into a foreign tongue, before it can reach the hearts for which it was intended. The difficulty which the national poet thus encounters, is, of course, shared by the collector of national ballads. In Scotland the distinctive dialect is in itself, at least externally, an index of nationality ; and this is still more the case in those countries which possess a distinct language of their own. But in Ireland, as she now is, the only popular peculiarity of language is one with which the educated classes are, from inveterate consciousness of national degradation, so trained to associate the idea of coarseness and vulgarity, that its use would be almost sure of itself to mar the effect of the very highest efforts of poetical genius.

Hence the collector, as well as the writer, of Irish national ballads being compelled to range exclusively, or almost exclusively, among purely English compositions, must seek for characteristics of nationality entirely independent of every mere peculiarity of language.

To have formed, notwithstanding this difficulty, a collection which, if we except a few—very few—ballads, is almost as purely Irish as though it were in the native dialect, is no trifling merit; and we do not hesitate to say that this merit justly belongs to the patriotic editor of the *Ballad Poetry of Ireland*. His collection includes specimens of all the different varieties of poetical composition; but his own exquisite taste, and seemingly instinctive power of recognising and appreciating every shade of national sentiment—of discovering it in the minutest turn of a thought, or the merest form of an imaginative illustration, as plainly as in a broad historical allusion or a palpable local reminiscence—have enabled him to form them all into one harmonious and consistent whole, every page of which bears the impress of the editor's purpose and plan as clearly as though it were written upon its running title. It is perfectly true that some of the songs (for instance, the "Burial of Sir John Moore," "The Forester's Complaint," and even one or two with more of the *externals* of Irish dress) would, by themselves, be most inappropriately called Irish; but to consider the collection on this ground as unnational, (as certain critics have unhesitatingly done,) is to destroy the existence of every such thing as a collection of national poetry. Were we to apply this test, even with a slight degree of rigour, the *Canzonero Espanol*, the *Alt-Deutsche Volks-Lieder*, Bishop Percy's *Relics*, and Scott's *Minstrelsy*, would cease to deserve the title of national collections; for they all contain, and must necessarily contain, many pieces not marked by any strong national peculiarity. The simple reason is, that there never has been, and most probably never will be, any perfect human work, whether in this or in any other department of literature.

Three different sources lay open to the editor, from which to select the materials of his collection; the old Bardic songs, many of which have been translated into English—the common ballads which are sung in the streets; and a third class, which Mr. Duffy styles Anglo-Irish Ballads, "the production of educated men with English tongues

but Irish hearts." From the two former, he has, for obvious reasons, drawn but little. The greater part of his materials are taken from the third class, in which, however, he includes some recent translations of old Bardic songs. The origin of this class of poetical compositions is thus happily described:

"Our Anglo-Irish ballads, (like our best Anglo-Irish families,) grew to be national gradually, but instinctively and without effort. Before the time of Swift, they were chiefly written by followers of the Court. They were of course satires on the country, or caricatures on the manners and language of the natives. French tyranny was said to be tempered by epigrams—English tyranny was then (as it has often been since) barbed with libels. Several of these early ballads have been preserved, but are little known, with the exception of Lord Wharton's '*Lillibulero*;' a dull squib to which the English Revolution of '88 is sometimes attributed. It is difficult to believe in a cause so apparently inadequate, and impossible to believe in its adequacy.

"Swift snatched these weapons out of the hands of the English faction, and turned them against their own breasts. He rescued our popular poetry from frubbles on one hand, and from ignorant strollers on the other, and gave it a vigour and concentration which it has never wholly lost. During his lifetime it became a power in the country; the obscure precursor of a Free Press. After his death it fell into weaker and ruder hands, but never into disuse. In the succeeding Jacobite struggles both parties had bitter song writers, and some of their angry lyrics are popular as political songs to this day. A very trifling change in the *dramatis personæ* was at any time sufficient to refit them for use. A curious list might be made of the popular favourites who have successively monopolised them, from James II. to O'Connell; and from William III. to the late Dr. Boyton, the founder of the Brunswick clubs.

"The era of the Volunteers was rich in songs, one or two of which are still occasionally heard; but ballads, in the restricted sense there were few or none.\* In '98 there was abundance of both. The pens of Drennan, G. N. Reynolds, John Shears, Orr of Ballycastle, were industrious and prolific; and they had a large corps of obscurer associates. Of these songs nearly all are preserved, but only a few have lived or deserved to live in the memory of the people. For the most part they were frigid in style, French in sentiment, and inflated or prosaic in language. When they were addressed to the body of the people, it was in a diction too pedantic

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\* By a ballad, I understand a short lyrical *narrative* poem; by a song, a lyrical poem of sentiment or passion. To constitute a ballad the narrative need not be continuous or regular, though it commonly is so. If it be suggested by repeated allusions, as in *Soggarth Aroon* or *Gille Machree*, that I fancy is enough to bring the poem under the class of ballad poetry.

to be familiar, or too cold to be impressive. In truth, there was no soul in them. Drennan was a true poet, but from impulse or design he wrote solely for the middle classes. His exquisite ballads, although transparent as crystal, could never become popular among an uneducated peasantry. They wanted the idiomatic language and the familiar allusions absolutely essential to poetry for the people.

"The union had its stipendiary song writers, hired by Cooke and Castlereagh, and their labours are preserved in printed books, but in no man's memory. But such a struggle naturally kindled true poetry; and the hearty and vigorous verses of Lysaght are commonly sung to this day. His song of "Our Island" is a fine specimen of political verse, rough, strong, and impulsive, without much attention to method, but clear and simple as water. It is a strange circumstance that the best songs suggested by the Catholic Emancipation struggle were (with an illustrious exception) left unpublished till the victory was won. John Banim writes to Gerald Griffin in 1827, that he is engaged on a series of Catholic songs, that he too may have a share in the great struggle. They were not published till 1831. Callanan in 1829, excuses the exasperated tone of one of his poems by stating that it was written before the Emancipation, and under a bitter sense of injustice. It would be an impertinence to presume that the reader requires to be reminded the illustrious exception consists in the melodies of Thomas Moore.

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"But it was during the last fifty years that the most valuable and characteristic contributions have been made to our native ballads. Till then the genius of the country had scarce learned to use the English language for its highest necessities. The majority of the people spoke their native tongue exclusively. The upper classes, connected with them by ties of kindred, patriotism, or religion, cultivated it with the same care bestowed upon English. The legends and songs of the country were scarcely known in any but their native dress; and many of the middle classes who used English in intercourse or business, prayed, sang, and recited the traditions of the land in their dear native tongue. We know many families where this custom prevails among the elder branches to this hour. Unfortunately the youth are letting slip one of the proudest and tenderest ties that bound our people to their country.

"Out of the general use of English grew a class of ballads which for the first time clothed the passions and feelings of the native race in that tongue. The ballads of Tickell and Goldsmith, and even those of Dermody and Mrs. Tighe were only Irish in incident and feeling, not in complexion or phraseology. There is an Anglo-Irish language as easily discriminated from London English as the dialect of Saxon spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland. This is not the gibberish of bulls and broken English—the "Teddy my jewels" and "Paddy my joys" which abound in the caricatures of Irish

songs. It is a dialect rich with the restless imagination, and coloured with the strong passions of our nation.

"Irish songs ought to be, and the best of them are, as markedly Irish even in language as those of Burns or Motherwell are Scotch. Of this class Griffin, Banim, Callanan, Ferguson, Lover, Davis, Mangan, Walsh, and several other writers have given us exquisite specimens. They have taught the native muse to become English in language without growing un-Irish in character. This is a lesson we must never permit her to forget.

"It is certain that the Ballad is fully as susceptible as the Novel of this distinct and intrinsic nationality. No stranger ever did or can write the popular poetry of any people. How seldom can he even imitate successfully their peculiar idioms—the mere mechanical portion of such a task. The snatches of old sayings that imply so much more than they express—the traditional forms into which the liquid thought runs as unconsciously as the body drops into its accustomed gait—the familiar beliefs and disbeliefs that have become a second nature as much a part of himself as the first—the very tone and accent of passion by which his ear and heart were first mastered—these and a hundred other involuntary influences help to colour and modulate the poet's verse, and to give it the charm of native raciness. These are just what a stranger never can by any miracle of genius imitate; and, except in rare instances of cultivated and catholic taste, cannot even relish."

The principles on which the selection has been made are explained in the Introduction in a few concise and nervous paragraphs, which it would be idle to think of condensing. We shall extract, however, in preference, the few critical observations which the editor offers upon the principal writers included in his volume. They are extremely brief, but under a less vigorous pen might easily have swelled into a lengthy criticism, without throwing much additional light upon the comparative characters of the different authors.

"The ballads of Griffin, Callanan, and such songs of Banim as are not offensive for prosiness or vulgarity, are the most precious models we possess. Even their errors and excesses lean in the right direction.

"Some of Griffin's simple ballads are gushes of feeling that smite the heart like the cry of a woman. Such is his '*Gille Machree*,' a strain of the noblest sentiment in the simplest language; and both as essentially Irish as the distinctive names or features of our race.

"Callanan is generally less native in phraseology, but some of his translations from the Gaelic have caught the spirit and idioma-



tic character of the language in a wonderful manner. They are 'more Irish than the Irish itself.'

"In the few verses which Banim has left us, the most extravagant contrasts are common. Some of them are exquisitely moulded in structure and language. Some of them sink down to the rank of street ballads; but in all it is obvious that he kept the right principle in view, and laboured to make them as faithful an echo of the national heart as his prose fictions. In the main he succeeded. His '*Soggarth Aroon*' is perhaps the most Irish ballad in existence. Simple and rugged as it is, it would stir the soul of Ireland more than any song that ever fell from human lips. And this spell is apart from the subject. Its spirit is perhaps too subtle to be analyzed; but the truth of the sentiment, the felicity of the language, and the passionate earnestness of the feeling, are elements that lie near the surface. '*Scots wha hae*' is not a truer and scarcely a nobler embodiment of a national sentiment.

"Our great living poet,

'The sweetest lyrist of our saddest wrongs,'

did not choose to add his native grace to his other attractions. He sang our wrongs in the language of the wronger. The genius, the incidents, the inspiration are native; but the dialect, the idioms are pure Saxon. The story is the story of Isaac, but the voice is unequivocally the voice of Esau. Possibly it was better for the fame and even for the utility of Moore that this was so. His songs might never have sunk, as they did, into the heart of England, if in addition to the sin of patriotism they had been tainted with the vulgarity of mere Irish peculiarities. But the poet has not the gift of tongues, and the language that thrilled the saloons of fashion, would fall tamely on the circle gathered round the farmer's hearth. Moore, like Cæsar's illustrious rival, extended his conquests over the nations of the civilized world, while there were still tracts in his native country that had never fallen under the sway of his imperial mind.

"Among the recent native poets, whose ballads enrich our collection, the first place indisputably belongs to Clarence Mangan. His name will sound strange to many ears, but there is none among the literary class in this country to whom it is not dear and venerated. None, we earnestly believe, who can be considered among his rivals, who will not cheerfully proclaim his title to the first place. The systematic seclusion of his literary life has robbed him of fame; but it has given him the love of his own order untainted by a single jealousy. Mangan's powers are marked and peculiar. In perception of nature or truth, in force of imagination, in the development of the passions, in pathos, and in humour, many of his cotemporaries equal, some exceed him. But he has not, and perhaps never had, any rival in mastery of the metrical and rhythmical resources of the English tongue. His power over it is something wholly won-

derful. His metres (some of them invented, some transplanted from the German) are often as singular and impressive as the wonderful metres of Campbell; but within these formal limits his imagination moves as freely as if they were the ordinary moulds in which thought is cast. And vehement or subdued it is still the same. His war-songs have the swing and the force of a battering-ram. His passionate love verses, the soft spontaneous flow of a summer wind. Unfortunately, few of his productions fall within our limits. While he has made German and Oriental poetry familiar to a large class of readers, he has comparatively seldom chosen to illustrate our native literature. But such translations from the Irish as he has made are so singularly racy and characteristic, that we have included them all in the present collection.

Mr. Ferguson's ballads differ from Mangan's as Scott's poetry differs from Coleridge's. They are not reflective and metaphysical, but romantic or historical. They are not suggestive or didactic, but fired with a living and local interest. They appeal to the imagination and passions, not to the intellect. Their inspiration is external; they are coloured with scenery and costume, and ventilated with the free air of the country. In this respect they are of a class with the old English and Scotch ballads; and with Scott's, Burns', and Southey's, rather than with Schiller's, Wordsworth's, Moore's, or Tennyson's. It seems probable that Mr. Ferguson holds ballad poetry to have been vitiated by the excess of reflection over incident. Certainly as it has grown less epic and more didactic, the ballad character has been slowly disappearing, till, in Locksley Hall,\* we have a noble and impulsive poem; but one scarcely more a ballad than Darwin's *Garden* or the *Essay on Man*.

Of some writers of long-established reputation, such as Dr. Carleton, Dr. Anster, and Mr. Lover, it is needless to speak. Others we forbear to notice individually, from obvious motives; for happily we are not gathering this garland chiefly from graves."

A few short weeks, alas! and the closing words of this interesting passage were bitterly falsified by the lamented death of one to whom, perhaps, above all others, the affectionate hopes of the editor were turned when he penned the sentence! But we have suffered them to stand, as a startling and sorrowful evidence of the folly of human hopes, and the precariousness of earthly projects. How little did the writer dream that (to borrow his own simple illustration) the well-won garland which he was twining to adorn the brow of his friend, would scarce have begun to lose its first freshness, when Death would come to claim it as a tribute for his early grave!

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\* Tennyson's Poems, vol. ii.

The extremely cheap and popular character of the volume, and the unprecedented circulation which it has obtained, release us from the necessity of extracting at much length from its contents. We deem it right, however, to submit a few specimens, which, as each is the representative of a particular class, may be taken as conveying an idea of the general character of the collection.

We begin with one to which reference has been already made. It is from the pen of Banim, and belongs to that class, (very numerous and often full of tenderness,) the prevailing sentiment of which is religious, or connected with religion and its ministers or observances. "The Irish Reaper's Harvest Hymn," Griffin's "Sister of Charity," "The Holy Wells," (and many others in a less remarkable degree,) may be referred to as embodying this sentiment. But there is none of them, in which it assumes so thoroughly Irish a character as Banim's *Soggarth Aroon!* (Priest dear!)

"Am I the slave they say,  
Soggarth aroon?  
Since you did show the way,  
Soggarth aroon,  
Their slave no more to be,  
While they would work with me  
Ould Ireland's slavery,  
Soggarth aroon?"

"Why not her poorest man,  
Soggarth aroon,  
Try and do all he can,  
Soggarth aroon,  
Her commands to fulfil  
Of his own heart and will,  
Side by side with you still,  
Soggarth aroon?"

"Loyal and brave to you,  
Soggarth aroon,  
Yet be no slave to you,  
Soggarth aroon,—  
Nor, out of fear to you,  
Stand up so near to you—  
Och! out of fear to *you*!  
Soggarth aroon!"

“ Who, in the winter’s night,  
     Soggarth aroon,  
 When the could blast did bite,  
     Soggarth aroon,  
 Came to my cabin-door,  
 And on my earthen-flure,  
 Knelt by me, sick and poor,  
     Soggarth aroon ?

“ Who, on the marriage-day,  
     Soggarth aroon,  
 Made the poor cabin gay,  
     Soggarth aroon—  
 And did both laugh and sing,  
 Making our hearts to ring,  
 At the poor christening,  
     Soggarth aroon ?

“ Who, as friend only met,  
     Soggarth aroon,  
 Never did flout me yet,  
     Soggarth aroon ?  
 And when my heart was dim,  
 Gave, while his eye did brim,  
 What I should give to him,  
     Soggarth aroon ?

“ Och ! you, and only you,  
     Soggarth aroon !  
 And for this I was true to you,  
     Soggarth aroon ;  
*In love they’ll never shake,*  
*When for ould Ireland’s sake,*  
*We a true part did take,*  
     Soggarth aroon !”—*pp.* 68—70.

The following (from Carleton) is in striking contrast. It is one of a very large, and generally speaking, highly poetical class, illustrative of the local or general superstitions of the country, which Lover’s exquisitely simple melodies have made familiar in every household. Carleton’s ballad is founded on a superstition which prevails in the county of Monaghan, regarding the secluded grave-yard of Erigle-Truagh. It is believed that the last person who leaves this grave-yard after an interment has taken place, falls under the fascination of an unearthly spirit, which marks its victim for an early and inevitable death. Assuming,

according to circumstances, a male or female form of exceeding beauty, this malicious spirit inspires the fated individual with a charmed and mysterious passion, appoints a day of meeting, within a month, on the same spot, and, sealing the promise with a fatal kiss, pours the poison of death into the veins of the unhappy mortal. The promise is kept; for, on the day appointed, the victim—is borne to the grave! Carleton's ballad is rather long, but no reader would forgive us were we to curtail it.

“The bride she bound her golden hair—

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

And her step was light as the breezy air

When it bends the morning flowers so fair,

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

“And oh, but her eyes they danc'd so bright,

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

As she longed for the dawn of to-morrow's light,

Her bridal vows of love to plight,

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

“The bridegroom is come with youthful brow,

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

To receive from his Eva her virgin vow;

‘Why tarries the bride of my bosom now?’

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

“A cry! a cry!—’twas her maidens spoke,

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

‘Your bride is asleep—she has not awoke;

And the sleep she sleeps will never be broke,’

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

“Sir Turlough sank down with a heavy moan,

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

And his cheek became like the marble stone—

‘Oh, the pulse of my heart is for ever gone!’

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

“The keen is loud, it comes again,

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

And rises sad from the funeral train,

As in sorrow it winds along the plain,

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

“And oh, but the plumes of white were fair,

Killeevy, O Killeevy!

When they flutter'd all mournful in the air,

As rose the hymn of the requiem prayer,

By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

- “ There is a voice that but one can hear,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And it softly pours, from behind the bier,  
Its note of death on Sir Turlough’s ear,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The keen is loud, but that voice is low,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And it sings its song of sorrow slow,  
And names young Turlough’s name with woe,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ Now the grave is closed, and the mass is said,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And the bride she sleeps in her lonely bed,  
The fairest corpse among the dead,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The wreaths of virgin-white are laid,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
By virgin hands, o’er the spotless maid ;  
And the flowers are strewn, but they soon will fade  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘ Oh ! go not yet—not yet away,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Let us feel that *life* is near our clay,’  
The long-departed seem to say,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ But the tramp and the voices of *life* are gone,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And beneath each cold forgotten stone,  
The mouldering dead sleep all alone,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ But who is he who lingereth yet ?  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
The fresh green sod with his tears is wet,  
And his heart in the bridal grave is set,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ Oh, who but Sir Turlough, the young and brave,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Should bend him o’er that bridal grave,  
And to his death-bound Eva rave,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘ Weep not—weep not,’ said a lady fair,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
‘ Should youth and valour thus despair,  
And pour their vows to the empty air ?’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.

- “ There’s charmed music upon her tongue,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Such beauty—bright and warm and young—  
Was never seen the maids among,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ A laughing light, a tender grace,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Sparkled in beauty around her face,  
That grief from mortal heart might chase,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The charm is strong upon Turlough’s eye,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
His faithless tears are already dry,  
And his yielding heart has ceased to sigh,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘ The maid for whom thy salt tears fall,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Thy grief or love can ne’er recall ;  
She rests beneath that grassy pall,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘ My heart it strangely cleaves to thee,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And now that thy plighted love is free,  
Give its unbroken pledge to me,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.’
- “ ‘ To thee,’ the charmed chief replied,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
‘ I pledge that love o’er my buried bride ;  
Oh ! come, and in Turlough’s hall abide,’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ Again the funeral voice came o’er  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
The passing breeze, as it wailed before,  
And streams of mournful music bore,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘ If I to thy youthful heart am dear,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
One month from hence thou wilt meet me here,  
Where lay thy bridal, Eva’s bier,’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ He pressed her lips as the words were spoken,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And his *banshee’s* wail—now far and broken—  
Murmur’d ‘ Death,’ as he gave the token  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy ;

- “ ‘Adieu ! adieu !’ said this lady bright,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And she slowly passed like a thing of light,  
Or a morning cloud, from Sir Turlough’s sight,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ Now Sir Turlough has death in every vein,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And there’s fear and grief o’er his wide domain,  
And gold for those who will calm his brain,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘Come, haste thee, leech, right swiftly ride,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Sir Turlough the brave, Green Truagha’s pride,  
Has pledged his love to the church-yard bride,’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The leech groaned loud, ‘Come tell me this,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
By all thy hopes of weal and bliss,  
Has Sir Turlough given the fatal kiss ?’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘The banshee’s cry is loud and long,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
At eve she weeps her funeral song,  
And it floats on the twilight breeze along,’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘Then the fatal kiss is given ;—the last  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Of Turlough’s race and name is past,  
His doom is seal’d, his die is cast,’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ ‘Leech, say not that thy skill is vain ;  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
Oh, calm the power of his frenzied brain,  
And half his lands thou shalt retain,’  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The leech has failed, and the hoary priest  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
With pious shrift his soul releas’d,  
And the smoke is high of the funeral feast,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The shanachies now are assembled all,  
Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
And the song of praise, in Sir Turlough’s hall,  
To the sorrowing harp’s dark music fall,  
By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.



- “ And there is trophy, banner, and plume,  
 Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
 And the pomp of death, with its darkest gloom,  
 O’ershadow’s the Irish chieftain’s tomb,  
 By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.
- “ The month is clos’d, and Green Truagha’s pride,  
 Killeevy, O Killeevy !  
 Is married to death—and side by side,  
 He slumbers now with his church-yard bride,  
 By the bonnie green woods of Killeevy.”  
*Pp.* 61—68.

In lighter and more tender pieces, the collection is so extremely rich that it is difficult to make a selection. We shall venture on one short piece, which we cannot help thinking extremely beautiful. There is a delicacy and simplicity in the very warmth of the sentiment it expresses, which for us has a peculiar and indescribable charm. The author, Mr. Edward Walsh, is one of the most successful among the recent translators of the old Irish poetry.

“ MO CRAOIBHIN CNO.\*

- “ My heart is far from Liffey’s tide  
 And Dublin town ;  
 It strays beyond the southern side  
 Of Cnoc-Maol-Donn ;†  
 When Capa Chuinn‡ hath woodlands green,  
 Where Amhon-Mhor’s|| waters flow ;  
 Where dwells unsung, unsought, unseen,  
 Mo Craoibhin Cno,  
 Low clustering in her leafy screen,  
 Mo Craoibhin Cno.

- “ The high-bred dames of Dublin town  
 Are rich and fair ;  
 With waving plume, and silken gown,  
 And stately air ;

\* Mo Craoibhin Cno, literally means, “ My cluster of nuts,” but it figuratively signifies, “ My nut brown maid.”

† Cnoc-Maol-Donn. The brown bare hill. A lofty mountain, between the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, commanding a glorious prospect of unrivalled scenery.

‡ Cappoquinn. A romantically situated town on the Black-water, in the county of Waterford. The Irish name denotes the head of a tribe.

|| Amhon-Mhor. The great river. The Black-water which flows into the sea at Youghall.

Can plumes compare thy dark brown hair ?  
 Can silks thy neck of snow ?  
 Or measur'd pace thine artless grace,  
     Mo Craoibhin Cno ;  
 When harebells scarcely show thy trace,  
     Mo Craoibhin Cno ?

“ I’ve heard the songs of Liffey’s wave  
     That maidens sung :  
 They sung their land, the Saxon’s slave,  
     In Saxon tongue :  
 O bring me here that Gaelic dear,  
     Which cursed the Saxon foe,  
 When thou didst charm my raptur’d ear,  
     Mo Craoibhin Cno !  
 And none but God’s good angels near,  
     Mo Craoibhin Cno !

“ I’ve wandered by the rolling sea,  
     And Lene’s green bowers ;  
 I’ve seen the Shannon’s wide-spread sea,  
     And Limerick’s towers ;  
 And Liffey’s tide, whose halls of pride  
     Frown o’er the flood below ;  
 My wild heart strays to Amhan-Mhor’s side,  
     Mo Craoibhin Cno !  
 With love and thee for aye to bide,  
     Mo Craoibhin Cno !”

There still remains another important class—the historical Ballads—which, at least in their English dress, may be considered to a great extent new in Ireland, and are an evidence of the existence and growth of the spirit of nationality among us. Some of the ballads of this class—especially those of Griffin, Clarence Mangan, Ferguson, Walsh, M’Carthy, and the lamented Thomas Davis—will be found to embody all the best characteristics of genuine historical poetry. We pass over all the rest to make room for a dashing ballad from the pen of the last-named writer, less finished and elaborate than many others which we might have chosen, but thoroughly and unmistakingly historical in its character. Alas, that in selecting one from his pen, we are but reminding his friends, and the lovers of Ireland, to whatever party they may belong, of the energy, zeal, and devotedness which, in his premature withdrawal from among us, have been lost to the cause of our literature which he loved so well !

## “ O'BRIEN OF ARRA.

“ TALL are the towers of O'Kennedy—  
Broad are the lands of MacCarha—  
Desmond feeds five hundred men a-day;  
Yet here's to O'Brien of Arra!  
Up from the Castle of Drumineer,  
Down from the top of Camailte,  
Clansman and kinsman are coming here  
To give him the CEAD MILE FAILTE.

“ See you the mountains look huge at eve—  
So is our chieftain in battle—  
Welcome he has for the fugitive,  
Usquebaugh, fighting, and cattle!  
Up from the Castle of Drumineer,  
Down from the top of Camailte,  
Gossip and ally are coming here  
To give him the CEAD MILE FAILTE.

“ Horses the valleys are tramping on,  
Sleek from the Sasanach manger—  
Creaghts the hills are encamping on,  
Empty the bawns of the stranger!  
Up from the Castle of Drumineer,  
Down from the top of Camailte,  
Kern and bonaght are coming here  
To give him the CEAD MILE FAILTE.

“ He has black silver from Killaloe—  
Ryan and Carroll are neighbours  
Nenagh submits with a pillieu—  
Butler is meat for our sabres!  
Up from the Castle of Drumineer,  
Down from the top of Camailte,  
Ryan and Carroll are coming here  
To give him the CEAD MILE FAILTE.

“ 'Tis scarce a week since through Ossory  
Chased he the Baron of Durrow—  
Forced him five rivers to cross, or he  
Had died by the sword of Red Murrrough!  
Up from the Castle of Drumineer,  
Down from the top of Camailte,  
All the O'Briens are coming here  
To give him the CEAD MILE FAILTE.

" Tall are the towers of O'Kennedy—  
 Broad are the lands of MacCarha—  
 Desmond feeds five hundred men a-day ;  
 Yet, here's to O'Brien of Arra !  
 Up from the Castle of Drumineer,  
 Down from the top of Camailte,  
 Clansman and kinsman are coming here  
 To give him the CEAD MILE FAILTE.  
*Pp.* 188—9.

We could gladly dwell longer upon this interesting little volume ; but we feel that to criticise it at greater length, or to extract further from a book which we trust is in the hands of almost all our readers, would be to inflict upon them the misery of a " twice-told tale." It is only necessary, therefore, to add, that the tone and character of the collection is not only perfectly unexceptionable, but extremely praiseworthy, and that from the beginning to the end it does not contain one single unworthy sentiment, not one light or dangerous allusion, much less a phrase or a suggestion, which would " call up a blush to the most delicate cheek." The tone throughout is sound, natural, and vigorous, and there is no one who may not derive, if not instruction, at least healthy enjoyment from its perusal.

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ART. V.—*Brownson's Quarterly Review.* Nos. v., vi., vii., viii.,  
 January—October, 1845. Boston.

IT is not usual for one Review to borrow from the pages of another. But when we consider that the Atlantic roars between our publication and that which heads our article, and that the American periodical is likely to fall into the hands of very few of our readers, while we would gladly see it perused by all, we shall no doubt be easily pardoned for our present departure from editorial usage. Mr. Brownson edits this Review—that is, conducts it almost single-handed ; its principles, character, and tone are essentially and individually his ; and this is, surely, no ordinary claim to notice. He had long devoted himself to abstract studies, and had acquired a reputation as a speculative philosopher beyond the limits of his own country and its continent. In 1838, M. Cousin wrote of him in these

flattering terms: "En 1836 et 1837, M. Brownson a publié une apologie de mes principes où brille un talent de pensée et de style qui, régulièrement développé, promet à l'Amérique un écrivain philosophique du premier ordre."\* Mr. Brownson then wrote in the *Boston Quarterly Review*, and, we believe, in the *Christian Examiner*. His writings were always distinguished by strong evidence of sincere conviction of what he said, and an energetic love of truth.

With the last year he commenced his own *Quarterly*; and by the time he had reached his fourth number, in October last, he had brought his wanderings through the mazes of modern philosophy to a close, and had seated himself, as an humble scholar, at the feet of Christ's Church. He bowed his judgment, acute though it was, and long used to self-guidance, before the teaching of faith, and added his name to the long list of those thoughtful and able men, who have, in later times, embraced the Catholic faith. We are sure that every Catholic will read with unqualified delight, and with sincere admiration of the candour and feeling with which it is written, his own account of the change which has taken place in his mind and views. The *United States Catholic Magazine* had, in a very kind article, referred to Mr. Brownson's *Eclecticism* in philosophy, as well as to some expressions about him of Lord Brougham's. To these points he replies in his April number; and having despatched the second one, he thus continues:

"The Reviewer, speaking of our philosophical principles, says we are 'rather an Eclectic.' Now, to be called an Eclectic is worse than to be commended by Lord Brougham. Some years ago, we were an Eclectic, we own, as we have been in the course of our life 'all things by turns and nothing long;' but we disavowed Eclecticism in the *Boston Quarterly Review* for January, 1842, and have not had consciously any fellowship with it since. After disavowing Eclecticism, we undertook to excogitate a new system of philosophy of our own, which we termed *synthetic philosophy*,—based on principles wholly repugnant to Eclecticism. This system was our hobby during two years and a half, and it brought us, or rather was the occasion of bringing us, to the door of the Catholic Church. We say the *door*: for, though we thought at the time it opened into the temple itself, and led to the very sanctuary, it really led only to

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\* *Fragments Philosophiques* par V. Cousin, 3d ed. tom. i. p. vi.

the door, and even that accidentally, not necessarily. The truth is, though during those two years and a half we talked much of the Church, and dogmatically too, we knew nothing of it except what we had learned from its enemies, the French Eclectics, the Saint-Simonians, and the Protestants. One year ago, we had read only two Catholic books, to wit, Milner's *End of Controversy*, and the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, and these only partially. We had never seen and conversed with an intelligent Catholic on the subject of religion the value of one hour in our whole life, and of course could have known very little of what Catholicity really is. We guessed at its leading doctrines from our knowledge of the Protestant doctrines opposed to them; and though we often guessed aright, we still oftener blundered. Nevertheless, we had formed to ourselves an ideal Catholicism, demanded by our philosophy, and sustained by it; and this ideal Catholicism we imagined was substantially what the Catholic Church believes, or really intends by her articles of faith. So we concluded, about as sagely as in other cases, that we were a Catholic, and had discovered a philosophy which would legitimate the Catholic Church, and give a scientific basis to all her doctrines.

"Such was our belief when we commenced the first volume of this Review, and such continued to be our belief till after the publication of our number for July last. But such ceased to be our belief before the publication of our number for October. Whether the system of philosophy for which we contended, and of which we published some fragments, is or is not sound, we do not feel able now to determine. We are sure that it does not necessarily lead to Catholicism; but whether it is necessarily opposed to it we do not know, and cannot decide for ourselves till we have had leisure to review and compare it more fully than we have yet done with what the Church teaches. Our conversion to Catholicity, which rests on other than metaphysical grounds, has so revolutionized our whole mind, presented us a world of thought so entirely new to us, and enabled us to see all things in a light so different and so much clearer, that we have very little confidence in the value or soundness of anything we advanced on our own authority prior to its taking place. Sure are we, that the best things we wrote are mixed up with many things we should now disown. If in our philosophical writings, or in any other of our writings, anything can be found contrary to the faith of the Catholic Church, we of course disown it; and we are far from believing that any of us have made or will make any advance in philosophy—except perhaps in the physical sciences—on the old Catholic Schoolmen. For ourselves, we have more confidence in the conclusions of St. Thomas than we have in our own; and where we find our conclusions differing from his, we regard it as a strong presumption, to say the least, that ours, not his, are wrong. We lay aside, utterly renounce, all our pretensions to a philosophy of our own; and content ourselves in

this matter, as well as in others, to walk in old paths, instead of striking out new ones. We set no value on what we have done, and request our friends to set no value on it. Our life begins with our birth into the Catholic Church. We say this, because we wish no one to be led astray by any of our former writings, all of which, prior to last October, unless it be the criticisms on Kant, some political essays, and the articles in our present Review on Social Reform and the Anglican Church, we would gladly cancel if we could. We have written and published much during the last twenty years; but a small duodecimo volume would contain all that we would not blot, published prior to last October.

“We have said that we fancied our philosophy conducted necessarily to the Catholic Church. We honestly believed this for a long time, and when we commenced this Journal we had not a doubt but the Catholic Church was the true Church; but such was the view which we then took of the Church, that we fancied we might consistently, for a time at least, stay outside of it, and labour to bring the Protestant public to right views of the Church in general. Hence we said, ‘Stay where you are.’ We thought we could do more good out of the Church than in it; and our dream was, that we might, by working in the bosom of our Protestant Churches, prepare them to return to the bosom of Catholic unity. It was a dream, hardly an honest dream, at any rate a very foolish dream; but it was a brief dream. Logic demanded a plain, open avowal of Catholicism, and we had always a great horror of the mortal sin of being in consequence. Moreover, another question pressed rather hard, namely, the question of the salvation of our own soul. If the Catholic Church was the true Church, we could not be saved without being in its communion; for, admit even that the invincibly ignorant may be saved without being actually in its communion, the plea of invincible ignorance evidently could not avail us, for we believed the Catholic Church to be the true Church. Then, again, we found ourselves in want of the helps that Church had to give. It was idle to contend for the necessity of the Church, if, standing outside of it, we could yet maintain the personal integrity, and attain to the holiness of life, for which the Church with its sacraments was especially instituted. Either, then, stop talking about the Church, or seek its communion. We resolved on the last, and rejected our own doctrine of staying where we were.

“When we first applied for instruction, we supposed, in all substantial matters, we were already a very learned Catholic, and that we were so by virtue of our philosophy. Nor were we immediately undeceived. We were first undeceived by a letter from a very dear friend, who had followed us in all our wanderings for many a year, and whom we attempted to persuade to go with us into the Catholic Church. This letter placed before us in a clear and distinct light the logical results of our own philosophical speculations, and showed us that they did not require us to enter the Catholic Church. It convinced

us of this fact. We then discovered, what we had not before suspected, that we had drawn our Catholic conclusions, not from *data* furnished by our metaphysics, but from another source which we had not distinctly considered. We found we had all along been carrying on a double train of thought, and with admirable facility, without suspecting it, concluding from one or the other as best suited our convenience. We saw, the moment our attention was directed to the point, that the two trains of thought, though accidentally connected in our own mind, and not distinguished in our reasonings, had no necessary connexion, one with the other. We were, through the aid of the friend we have mentioned, enabled to separate them, and to comprehend the process by which we had come to embrace the Catholic faith, and to see that the grounds of that faith in our own mind were quite distinct from any philosophical speculations whatever.

“We have made this statement for the purpose of saving our friends the trouble of trying to discover by what process we obtained the Catholic Church from our metaphysical premises. We did not obtain it from those premises. We were converted very much as others are, who are led to embrace the Catholic Church. We had already convinced ourselves of the insufficiency of Naturalism, Rationalism, and Transcendentalism; we had also convinced ourselves of the necessity of Divine revelation, and of the fact that the Christian revelation was such a revelation. From this, by a process of reasoning which may be seen in the first article in this number, we arrived infallibly at the Catholic Church. The process is simple and easy. It requires no metaphysical subtlety, no long train of metaphysical reasoning. All it needs is good common sense, a reverent spirit, and a disposition to believe on sufficient evidence. In explaining different theological doctrines metaphysics may have a place; but in establishing faith there is no great demand for them. Earnestness and simplicity of mind are the chief requisites. It will be seen, then, that we do not place any dependence on our former metaphysical speculations, as the ground of our present faith, and do not ask our friends to seek through them a door of entrance into the Church. They, who attempt by metaphysics to find their way to belief in the supernatural revelation God has made, will most likely get bewildered and fail of the end. The truths of revelation must be taken simply, on plain, positive evidence; they are not attained to by human wisdom alone. After twenty years and more of wandering in search of a new and better way to the truth, we have been forced to come back, to sit in all humility and docility at the feet of our blessed Saviour, and learn in the old way, as our fathers did before the experiments of Luther and Calvin. We become a fool that we may become wise, consent to know nothing that we may know all. We have found no new way, we have only found the old way. But this old way, beaten by millions of travellers for these eighteen hundred



years, is sufficient for us. It is plain, straightforward, and easy ; and we do not feel equal to the windings, obscurities, and asperities of a new and unbeaten path. Bold, energetic, young men, strong minds, full of spirit, untamed by experience, buoyant, confident in themselves, may laugh at us, and say we have grown weary and faint-hearted ; but they will not move us. We have been of their number, and laughed as they laughed, as heartily, and as proudly, and we can afford to be laughed at. Alas ! we know what their laughter is worth, and—what it costs. We have said all they can say. We have eaten our own words. May they live long enough to eat theirs, and to become ashamed of their mockery, as we are of ours.—*Page 258—262.*”

It is impossible, we repeat it, not to be charmed with the frank, candid, and straight-forward account here given. Well did St. Gregory write : “*Et fortasse laboriosum non est homini relinquere sua, sed valde laboriosum est relinquere semetipsum. Minus quippe est abnegare quod habet, valde autem multum est abnegare quod est.*” And if the understanding be the proudest and least yielding part of ourselves, surely it requires no uncommon grace to cast away at once and utterly renounce its thoughts and fancies, its meditations and their fruits, its restless toils and their scanty recompense, and with these the character, reputation, and esteem which have been gained by its exertion. To tear in pieces the web of many years’ painful weaving, and begin again the work of reconstruction on principles completely new, and opposed to all the past, is certainly a work of great courage, that reflects honour on its undertaker, and proves how truly the Church is the school of Christ, still confounding, as plainly as ever, the wisdom of this world, and teaching men to prefer to it the folly of the Cross. In another part of the same number, we have a further acknowledgment, which it is no less gratifying to us to record.

“We regret that our own personal acquaintance with the ascetic books of the Church is so limited. Till within a year, we had never read half a dozen Catholic books in our life, of any kind, dogmatical, polemical, or ascetic. It seems to us now, that all our life and study prior to our conversion to the Catholic faith was thrown away. Every day we find new treasures in Catholic literature of which we had no suspicion, and he who has once begun to taste the riches of this literature can no longer relish the Protestant ; and in nothing can this be said with more truth than in reference to the Catholic ascetic literature. The ascetic books of Protestants

are cold and formal, dull and repulsive. They have nothing of the unction of the Spirit. They are unspiritual and spiritless. They make virtue repulsive, hateful. Our Catholic ascetic writers, on the contrary, though stricter than Protestants, yet make virtue amiable, and while they hold up the cross to us, make us embrace it with affection. We commend this book (*The Sinner's Guide*) not only to all who are desirous of leading a holy life, but to all those Protestants who fancy the Catholic religion is a religion of mere forms."—*p.* 271, 272.

This unlearning of the past, and beginning anew with the very alphabet of religious lore, is undoubtedly one of the hardest trials of the convert, who has cultivated his mind, and acquired, as a Protestant, religious knowledge. It is true, that in our days in England there has been a seeking after the riches of Catholic ascetic and theological literature; books, which a few years ago, were known to us alone, have now become public, and are eagerly read. And some new ones are compiled in imitation of them, and the substance, at least, of Catholic spiritual instruction, is adapted to the Protestant taste. But all this will not do. Those Catholic books require their key to unlock them, and that the Church and her ministers cannot ever give up, or even lend to other hands. We are sure that they who have endeavoured to furnish Catholic devotional reading for the Protestant public, and who have read and studied, as they have hoped, our standard authors—if ever they should come, as by the divine blessing we hope they may,\* to the full profession of the truth, will feel, as Mr. Brownson does, that they have been in the dark as to the real beauty, excellence, and utility of what they had before studied. The first Christian painter of our days has said that while he was a Protestant he used to try in vain to pourtray the holy beauty of the Mother of God; but he was no sooner a Catholic, than he found it an easy and delightful work to represent her. What Overbeck found in art, we are sure many will find in religious literature. They cannot relish, they cannot feel Catholic asceticism, till they are Catholics. The chord must be within which this must strike; and it is of Catholic faith, and Catholic hope, and Catholic charity, closely entwined, that it must be formed. But we find we are entering upon a vast theme, which we have no time to do justice to, but must

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\* This was written before the consoling events, lately witnessed, had occurred.

reserve rather for another occasion. We only sincerely hope, that every one who is blessed with the light of true faith will not fear to avow its effects upon him as boldly and as edifyingly as Mr. Brownson has done.

But it is fair that we should see the influence of his religious convictions on other views; and we will select one, where we might have expected very strong feelings, or prejudices even, to stand in its way, or greatly check it. Mr. Brownson is an American, and evidently a thorough one—not blind, indeed, to national failings, but still sincerely and fondly attached to national institutions. It is well known how sensitive such a character naturally is respecting freedom, independence, and republican forms. Let us, therefore, see how a thorough American can write on the influence of the papal power in a free state, and unshrinkingly contemplate its unlimited exercise within its own sphere, even in the most democratic of governments. The following extract on this subject is from a review of Bishop Kenrick's excellent work on "The Primacy of the Apostolic See."

"It would be presumptuous in us to speak of the doctrines set forth in this book, either to commend or to censure. The layman, because an editor or reviewer, is not relieved from his obligation to submit to his spiritual superiors, or to learn his faith from those the Holy Ghost has set in the Church to teach and to rule the flock. Yet, on matters of private opinion, each man, whether layman or not, may entertain and express, reverently, his own opinions. We need not say we have been highly delighted as well as instructed by Bishop Kenrick's work, and especially with that portion which explains the connexion which formerly existed between the Papal chair and the several civil governments of Christian Europe. He has ably and successfully vindicated the Popes from the charges usually brought against them, and showed that the Popes were very far from encroaching, or attempting to encroach, on the rights of civil governments and sovereign princes. And yet, he will forgive us, if we say we wish he had done this in a bolder tone. It is true, the connexion of the ecclesiastical powers, which formerly existed in Europe, is not necessary to the Church, not an essential element of its constitution, not by any means an article of faith; but that connexion, growing up as it did out of the circumstances of the time, was productive of the greatest good, and Europe has gained nothing by dissolving it. At any rate, it is not a connexion to be apologized for, nor which the Catholic should regret. Few men better deserve the reverence of mankind than the Gregories and the Innocents; and the rapid progress of despotism throughout

Europe, in proportion as the authority of the Holy See has been weakened, affords matter of serious meditation to all the lovers of liberty and liberal institutions.

“For ourselves, we do not regard with the same feelings as do some, even of our Catholic brethren, the charges brought by Protestants against the Popes. And we are very far from wishing, in order to escape those charges, to restrict the Papal power as much as possible. We have, of course, no reference in this remark to the Right Reverend author of the work before us. But we fancy we witness among some of our Catholic brethren a disposition to concede far more to Protestant prejudice and cant than is necessary. The violence with which the Papacy is assailed is a proof of its utility, as well as of its divine institution, and should make it as dear to the statesman as to the Catholic. This inveterate hostility, which for so many ages has been manifested against it, proves that it stands in the way of tyrants and of lawless passion; that it is, in fact, a shield interposed between the many and the ambitious few, between the masses, and their oppressors. This we saw, and this we stated in our publications and lectures, long before we became a Catholic, and when hardly less prejudiced against the Church than are the majority of our countrymen. We confess that the clamour of our countrymen against the ‘Pope,’ ‘the authority of the Pope,’ ‘allegiance to the Pope,’ and ‘the intention of the Pope to possess himself of this country,’ does not move us. The Church is of God, and the Papacy is essential to the constitution and existence of the Church. This is our answer to all clamours.

“‘But would you have this country come under the authority of the Pope?’ Why not? ‘But the Pope would take away our free institutions!’ Nonsense. But how do you know that? From what do you infer it? After all, do you not commit a slight blunder? Are your free institutions infallible? Are they founded on divine right? This you deny. Is not the proper question for you to discuss, then, not whether the Papacy be or be not compatible with republican government, but whether it be or be not founded in divine right? If the Papacy be founded in divine right, it is supreme over whatever is founded only in human right, and then your institutions should be made to harmonize with it, not it with your institutions. And this would be cause of no apprehension for liberty, for liberty consists in the supremacy of the divine over the human; and we know that no evil can come from the divine supremacy. The real question, then, is, not the compatibility or incompatibility of the Catholic Church with democratic institutions, but, Is the Catholic Church the Church of God? Settle this question first. But, in point of fact, democracy is a mischievous dream, wherever the Catholic Church does not predominate, to inspire the people with reverence, and to teach and accustom them to obedience to authority. The first lesson for all to learn, the last that should be forgotten, is, to OBEY. You can have no government, where

there is no obedience ; and obedience to law, as it is called, will not long be enforced, where the fallibility of law is clearly seen and freely admitted, and especially where the law changes with every year, or is every year in need of amendment. Reverence for law is in our country already down to the freezing-point, and threatens to fall to zero, and lower. Very few of our countrymen look upon obedience to law as a moral duty. While such is our moral state, it is idle to talk of civil freedom. We have already the germs of anarchy, which events may not be slow to develop and mature. If we love freedom (since freedom is impossible without a well-ordered government, without the supremacy of law), we cannot but seek the predominance of the Catholic Church, for no other can teach and produce due reverence and obedience. Under the supremacy of the Catholic Church, through its moral and spiritual influences, liberty may be a reality, and democracy not a delusive dream.

“ But ‘ It is the intention of the Pope to possess this country.’ Undoubtedly. ‘ In this intention he is aided by the Jesuits, and all the Catholic prelates and priests.’ Undoubtedly, if they are faithful to their religion. ‘ If the Catholic Church becomes predominant here, Protestants will all be exterminated.’ We hope so, if exterminated *as Protestants* by being converted to the Catholic faith ; not otherwise. We would exterminate error everywhere, by converting its subjects to the truth,—by moral, not by physical force. This kind of extermination our Protestant brethren are to dread, but no other. The Church never uses physical force ; her weapons are spiritual, not carnal. Yet Protestantism will find them none the less powerful on that account. Before the state, so far as the action of civil government is concerned, the Church permits all men, whatever the form of their faith or worship, to have equal rights ; but before herself, before the spiritual tribunal, she knows, and can know, no toleration of error. She therefore does and must labour incessantly—and the Pope, as head of the Church—to root out all error, and to bring all to the belief and profession of the true faith. That to do this, by all spiritual and moral means, is the settled policy of the Church, is unquestionably true. That this policy is dreaded and opposed, and must be dreaded and opposed, by all Protestants, infidels, demagogues, tyrants, and oppressors, is also unquestionably true. Save, then, in the discharge of our civil duties, and in the ordinary business of life, there is, and can be, no harmony between Catholics and Protestants. The two parties stand opposed, separated, not by a mere paper wall, as some of the sects are, but by a great gulf. In civil and domestic peace, Catholics and Protestants may dwell together ; in other respects, there is, and can be, no union among them. The people of Christ are a peculiar people ; they stand out from the world, distinct, separate,—and must, if they will be the people of Christ. They can have no fellowship with Belial, nor live in peace and harmony with his children. They must be meek, gentle, forbearing, returning

always good for evil, blessing for cursing ; but they are to stand on true Catholic ground, and never yield even one hair's breadth.

"No matter what taunts may be uttered, what falsehoods propagated, about foreign allegiance, and all that. Let these falsehoods go ; they are not worth contradicting. Above all, in their eagerness to contradict them, Catholics must not suffer themselves to be betrayed into statements which would restrict the ecclesiastical authority—nay, the Papal authority—further than the Divine constitution of the Church, and its free, unimpeded action will admit. The Papal authority, all know, does not extend to civil matters, save by ordinance and consent of civil governments themselves ; but all matters are so mixed up in this life, and all here is so subordinated to the great ends of our existence hereafter, that it is not in all cases easy to draw the line, nor prudent to be over-particular in saying where the spiritual authority begins or ends. Submission in doubtful cases is better than resistance, and individuals in their haste are full as likely to encroach on authority, as the Pope is to encroach on liberty. The calamities which have afflicted the Church have all come from the effort to destroy its independence, to curtail its rightful authority, and to subject it to the civil power. The complete independence of the spiritual authority, its perfect freedom from all dependence on the civil authority, is the motto of every enlightened friend of religion and of religious liberty.

"But we are exceeding our limits, and straying from the work before us. They who wish to see the Primacy of the Apostolic See ably and triumphantly vindicated, and the action of the Papal authority over modern civilization clearly set forth and dispassionately considered, will find this volume the very one they need. We commend it to the serious study of our Protestant brethren. Its study may teach them some things they are slow to learn, still slower to believe."—*Page 263—266.*

We have confined our extracts to one number, but every other number will amply repay perusal. The entire contents are religious ; and the vigour of an indefatigable champion of Catholic truth is visible throughout. He gives no quarter ; methodism, unitarianism, infidelity in every form, church or dissent—all meet with their due measure of clear, bold, masculine, but mild and truly Christian refutation. We sincerely hope that this periodical will be encouraged by Catholics on this, as well as on the other side of the Atlantic ; and that this notice, written with feelings of sincere respect for its learned and zealous editor, will excite more attention to the flourishing state of religious literature in the United States.

ART. VI.—1. *German Protestantism, and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. A brief History of German Theology, from the Reformation to the Present Time. In a Series of Letters to a Layman.* By EDWARD H. DEWAR, M. A., 8vo. Oxford and London: 1844.

2. *A Letter to D. A. Neander, Professor of Theology, in the University of Berlin, &c., containing some Remarks on his Review of a Work, entitled "German Protestantism, and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture."* By EDWARD H. DEWAR, M. A., 8vo. Oxford and London: 1845.

THE Abbé Lamennais, in the days of his orthodoxy, happily enough described the Reformation as a "*great course of experimental religion.*" Few persons will be able to consider it simply in this light; for there are not many men of a sufficiently cold and stoical temperament to contemplate, with a perfectly philosophical and unimpassioned eye, an event which involved so many interests and of so awful a character. But for any one who possesses sufficient power of abstraction to forget these interests for a time, and to consider the Reformation solely as an epoch in the history of the human mind, it would be difficult to find an investigation more engaging, or conveying a more important and useful lesson. We can scarcely conceive a more interesting study than to follow this great experiment through all its successive stages—to watch the alternate abandonment and resumption of old principles, or the hasty development and subsequent modification of new ones—to track out all the variations of the movement, now rushing onward with headlong speed, now loitering with timid and distrustful steps; again deriving momentum from this first advance, and redoubling its former impetuosity; then, arrested once more by some unforeseen impediment, or perhaps terrified by the very rapidity of its progress; now stationary for a time, and even retrograde, and again swayed onwards with fresh violence by the reactive impulse thus imparted—till at last it is brought down through its latest phases to the present eventful time, in which it has reached its crowning development, and *jam magnitudine laborat suâ!*

The history of this great movement, as it developed itself in Germany, stands more upon its own merits, and involves fewer extrinsic considerations, than in any of the other countries into which it has found its way. In Southern Europe it left scarcely a trace of its existence. In the extreme Northern kingdoms it can hardly be said to have a philosophic history at all—being far more negative than positive, and even such as it was, being almost entirely passive in its character. In England—at least in the Anglican Church—it was so much fettered by formularies, and so clogged by the old forms and usages which were retained, that it has lost more than half its independent character. In Scotland the same is true to a great extent, at least as regards the formularies. But in Germany, especially in later times, the case was very different. For a time, it is true, the formularies of the German Protestant communions were as precise and as stringent as those of England or of Scotland, and the submission of the people to their religious masters was as passive and unenquiring as that of their stolid and unintellectual neighbours in the north. But their day of freedom was not long deferred; and their liberty, since it came, has proved the more unrestrained for its very novelty.

Many circumstances have concurred to disenthral the spirit of religious enquiry in Germany. The very character of the people themselves—the tone and structure of the national mind—their universal habits of intellectual culture, and their seemingly constitutional tendency to abstruse and vague speculation—all caused them to enter into that religious enquiry, which is the very essence of Protestantism, with a degree of freedom and boldness which we look for in vain among their more plodding co-religionists in other countries: while the long-protracted religious discussions, the frequent religious negotiations, and the fierce religious wars, of which Germany has been the scene almost ever since the Reformation, imparted to the enquiry, as conducted in that country, a character of greater earnestness and warmth than we find among any other people. In Germany, therefore, if anywhere, are we to look for the full and unrestricted working of that principle of free enquiry which was the sole basis of the great religious movement known in history as the Reformation.

Mr. Dewar's work, as its title imports, professes to be a historical survey of German theology from the point of



view which we have been here imagining; and is intended to illustrate the practical working of the theory of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture. The subject is not a novel one. Most of our theological readers must remember the lengthened and animated controversy to which the work of the late Rev. Hugh James Rose upon the same subject gave occasion. It is not a little remarkable, that that controversy was coeval with the foundation of the new school of Anglican theology, since so celebrated; and that it engaged, in a greater or less degree, some of the most distinguished among those who have since proved leaders in that party. No one that has followed with even ordinary attention the progress of the opinions prevailing in that school, can doubt that the consideration of the enormous extravagancies to which the exercise of private judgment in the Protestant churches of Germany, and in the kindred sections of the Protestant communions in these kingdoms, has formed one of the most powerful impelling causes of the Romeward progress of the party; and therefore, at this crisis, the most interesting beyond comparison in their entire history, we gladly avail ourselves of the publication of Mr. Dewar's book, to call attention to this most important and instructive question.

We shall commence, therefore, by declaring that it is no part of our present purpose to examine critically the merit of this publication. It will at once be understood that in a small and loosely printed volume, upon a subject so vast and so comprehensive, it would be out of the question to expect either great minuteness or great profundity. To the general accuracy and trustworthiness of its statements we have no difficulty in subscribing; and indeed, in the main, this is substantially attested by the character of the controversy with Dr. Neander, to which the publication of the book has given rise. Neither shall we turn aside from our main object to notice a few observations which he has thought proper to address to "Romanists" from time to time in the course of his work. There is only one of such importance as to call for any comment—viz. "that the principle of development has, in the case of the Church of Rome, given to an individual (the Pope) an unlimited and arbitrary power in determining what shall be her faith;"\* and that "the great body of her members cede to the

Bishop of Rome the absolute power of determining the rule of faith, of adding or taking away from, of developing or altering the articles of their belief."\* Now we can scarcely think it necessary, at a time when our principles are beginning to be more generally understood, to bestow upon this assertion anything beyond a simple contradiction. The merest tyro in Roman theology knows, first, that no Catholic admits in the Pope, or in any other power, not even in God himself, any authority to *alter* any revealed article of faith (simply because the thing is repugnant and impossible); and secondly, that no Catholic, however strenuous in his advocacy of the papal infallibility, and however devoted to the principles of the ultramontane school, ever dreamed of erecting the dogmatical decisions of the Pope, as such, into articles of Catholic faith, or of regarding any proposition whatever as an article of Catholic belief, unless what may be received as such by the Pope, *together with* the bishops of the Catholic Church. We shall not dwell, therefore, upon these incidental controversies, but devote our entire disposable space to the main question: namely, the light thrown by the history of German Protestantism on the working of the method of private judgment, as opposed to the way of authority on the part of the church and her rulers.

Mr. Dewar's view of the subject differs from that taken by Mr. Rose, chiefly in its following a chronological order, and tracing the influence on the religious opinions of Germany produced by the several schools of theology and philosophy as they arose in succession. In many respects—especially in matters of detail—it is infinitely inferior to the former work; but as furnishing a complete and consecutive, though far less profound, view of the entire subject in all its bearings, we regard it as likely to prove more generally interesting, and perhaps better calculated to produce a useful effect, except indeed among purely and professionally theological readers.

It may be necessary to premise that Mr. Dewar employs the word Rationalism in a sense very different from that in which it is ordinarily taken. It is ordinarily used in opposition to *supernaturalism*, and is understood to mean, in the language of Bretschneider, one of its ablest defenders, "that theological belief, which does not admit

any supernatural, immediate, and miraculous revelation from God to man; but asserts that there is only one universal revelation, which takes place through the contemplation of nature and man's own reason; that the sacred authors did not write under the immediate inspiration of the Spirit of God; that Christianity was not designed to teach any incomprehensible truths and doctrines, but only to confirm the religious teaching of reason; and that man neither can, nor should accept any doctrine to be true, which cannot be recognised and proved to him by reason." This is the sense, slightly modified in some instances, which the name has borne, not only in England, but throughout the whole theological world,\* almost since the first appearance of the teaching to which it has been given. But Mr. Dewar employs it to mean rather the principle from which the Rationalist creed, in his view, necessarily flows, than the creed itself. By Rationalism, which he uses in opposition to Catholicism or the doctrine of authority, he means "the principle of submitting the Holy Scriptures to the investigation of man's understanding, in order that he may thence frame the articles of his faith." (p. 17.) Hence, it will be necessary to bear in mind throughout this volume, that by Rationalism the author means nothing more or less than the *principle of private judgment*, and that he himself admits, that though "*Protestantism* would have been a better word," he has "avoided the use of that word, in order that he may not offend many pious members of his church, whom it pleases to call themselves Protestants."†

With this explanation of the phrase, therefore, the reader will not be surprised to find that he sets down Luther as a rationalist in principle. Indeed, even adopting the more ordinary acceptation of the word, it is impossible to regard the mode of dealing with revealed truths adopted by Luther, as anything but downright rationalism. The principles he applies to the question of the Eucharist are precisely those applied to the other mysteries by his more modern representatives; and if he held the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, his *supernaturalism* in so doing is purely accidental, and entirely independent of the principles which he laid down. In fact,

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\* See Preface of Rose's *Protestantism in Germany*, 2nd edition.

† Page 15.

although in the nature of the articles which he retained in his creed, and enforced upon his followers, he occasionally followed views with which the strongest supernaturalist might easily be satisfied, yet, in the selection of these articles, and the principles he applied to the interpretation of Scripture in discovering them, he anticipated almost every refinement of modern Rationalism, and fell but little short of its characteristic daring and extravagance. The principles which he uses in testing the inspiration and authenticity of the different scriptural books embody all the freedom of modern criticism. Thus, talking of the Book of Jonas, he says, that "the history of the Prophet Jonas is so strange that it is totally incredible; nay, it sounds more fabulous and inconsistent than any legend of the poets, and, if it were not in the Bible, he would laugh at it as a lie." "That the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by St. Paul, or by any Apostle," he pronounces to be "evident from chap. ii. 3." Neither does he "reckon the Epistle of St. James the writing of an Apostle, as, in opposition to St. Paul and the rest of Scripture, it assigns justification to works." Indeed, his language about St. James is precisely that of Ammon, Paulus, Wegschneider, and the other modern critics regarding the rest of Scripture. He says that St. James "was for cautioning all those who relied upon faith without works, and was unequal to the task in spirit and in words;" that he "rends the Scripture, and opposes St. Paul and all Scripture; and therefore he will not have him in his Bible in the number of the true chief books." Of the Apocalypse, he speaks in precisely the same spirit: "There seem to me," he says, "to be two things wanting in this book. I hold it to be neither apostolical nor prophetic; first and chiefly, the apostles do not make use of visions, but of clear and dry words. Also, there is no prophet in the Old Testament, much less in the New, who deals so thoroughly in visions and images; so that I almost consider it on an equality with the fourth book of Esdras, and cannot find in it any trace of the work of the Holy Ghost. In fine let each hold as his spirit leads him; mine cannot accept this book." Thus, also, he freely compares the sacred writers together, and gives the preference to the teaching of one and of another, according to the bias of his own "discriminating spirit." "The Gospel of St. John," he says, "the Epistles of St. Paul, and the First Epistle of

St. Peter, are the true kernel and marrow among all the books. Therefore is the Epistle of James a very epistle of straw [recht ströherner Epistel] as compared with them, since it has not anything evangelical about it." And the same freedom he extends even to the Gospels themselves; declaring that "the Epistles of St. Paul are more a Gospel than Matthew, Mark, and Luke: for these describe not much more than the history of the works and miracles of Christ; but the grace which we have through Christ, none brings so bravely forward as St. Paul, especially in his Epistle to the Romans."\*

It is easy to understand what would be the tendency of such principles as these. The Sacramentarian controversy may be regarded as their earliest fruit; and the success with which its leaders turned against Luther the principles put forward by himself in his controversies with the papal party, soon satisfied him of the necessity of adopting and enforcing upon his followers a body of formularies hardly a whit less stringent than those against which he had himself rebelled. The iron rule which he thus maintained during his life, was sufficient, if we except one or two outbreaks in the early part of his career, to counteract for a time, at least externally, the revolutionary and rationalizing tendency of his system, at all events among the immediate followers of the Confession of Augsburg. But he had hardly been removed by death from the semi-papal chair which he had occupied, when a succession of fierce and obstinate controversies arose, which, in one shape or another, have agitated his followers down to the present day. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the history of the controversy upon the *Interim*, in which Flacius Illyricus bore so distinguished a part; nor upon the still more angry and acrimonious disputes regarding justification, one of which originated with Osiander, and another with Stancar; though, perhaps, there is not in the entire history of controversy a single parallel for the unchristian violence and malignity which marked the proceedings against Osiander. But there is another dispute, which originated about the

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\* These passages will all be found in Dewar, pages 26—8. But we have to complain that the references are, for the most part, extremely vague. For example, there are two or three to the *Tischreden*, (a thick folio volume,) without any specification of the page! The same defect occurs too frequently in other parts of the book, which, in this respect, contrasts most unfavourably with Mr. Rose's minutely and laboriously accurate work. We should add, however, from personal research, that the quotations are in the main correct.

same period, and which displays the working of the rationalistic principle too forcibly and too remarkably to be passed over. We shall transcribe Mr. Dewar's account of it, though to our theological readers it will probably be familiar as one of the early developments of the Antinomian controversy.

“Meanwhile, however, the jealousy which existed between the professors of Wittenberg and the stricter and more zealous Lutherans, had again occasioned two new controversies. The first of these was one which took its name from Major, and which was one of the most fruitless and most fatal disputes which ever engaged the attention of a Christian Church. Amsdorff was one of the firmest friends of Luther, and his sincerest admirer; and after his death missed no opportunity of opposing those who in the slightest degree departed from the letter of his teaching; he viewed with especial dislike the more moderate party of Melancthon, and inveighed against them in no measured terms, for the concessions which they had made during the discussion on the Interim. To this party belonged Major, whom Amsdorff accordingly accused of having, to please the Papists, departed from Luther's rigid doctrine of justification by faith alone. Major replied that not only was this accusation unfounded; that not only had he, in all his writings, when he had occasion to speak of justification by faith, added the word ‘alone;’ but he also adduced many passages, especially from a writing addressed to the King of England, in which after the word ‘fides,’ ‘sola’ was printed in capital letters. But, he added, he always had taught, and always would teach, that good works are necessary to salvation, that no man can be saved, doing evil works, and ‘yet more, whoever teaches otherwise, though he be an angel from heaven, let him be anathema.\*’ This declaration roused at once the fierce opposition of all the strict Lutherans, and writings in condemnation of his pretended heresy were poured in from every part of Protestant Germany. You may form some idea of the height to which this dispute was carried, and of the form it took, when I tell you that in the course of it Amsdorff published a treatise under the following title: ‘The proposition that good works are hurtful to salvation, is a right, true, and Christian proposition, preached by the saints, Paul and Luther.’ The author of this treatise lived and died in honour and renown, while Major, who ceased not for twenty years to declare in terms the most positive and unequivocal, that he desired not to detract from justification by faith alone, and that he had preached the necessity of good works only because faith, without these, is dead;—who repeated this in the most solemn terms in

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\* To the writing of N. Amsdorff against G. Major, published in November, 1551;—Reply by George Major. Wittenberg, 1552.

a new Confession which he published in 1567, and offered to recall the expressions he had used, if any were thereby offended ;—who in 1570 made public his last will and testament, in which he called upon that God, before whose judgment-seat he was so soon to appear, to witness the truth of these asseverations,—Major, I say, was driven broken-hearted to the grave, because he ventured to depart, not from the spirit, but from the exact letter, of the expressions which Luther had employed. Not even this testament was allowed to go forth without a reply and a condemnation\* from his opponents, who prayed God ‘to grant to the poor old man conversion, that he might not depart without having repented of his errors ;’ adding, however, their conviction that this prayer would be ineffectual, for that ‘on the authority of Luther it is a thing unheard of and unknown, that the leader of a heresy should repent and be converted.’ Well might Melancthon’s last thought be a thanksgiving that he should be delivered ‘a rabie theologorum!’ Well may we bless God that in the Anglican Church the right of private judgment has never flourished, and borne such bitter fruit.”  
—Page 53—6.

It is hardly worth while to follow Mr. Dewar through his very brief† history of the Synergistic question, of the Antinomian controversy, of the disputes upon the Blessed Eucharist, and the other angry discussions which divided the Lutheran Churches during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Of the general tone which distinguished them, it is perfectly true to say :

“The hatred between the two parties reached such a height, that it far surpassed even that which had subsisted between themselves and the Papists. Thus we find one eminent divine‡ publishing a work ‘to prove that Calvinists agree with Papists and Turks ;’ and the celebrated Hutter replying§ in terms of unmeasured abuse to the Irenicum of Paræus, and accusing him of heresy and atheism for no other crime than that he had dared to suggest that a compromise between the two parties might yet be effected. The same spirit continued to evince itself in some other controversies which took place at the commencement of the seventeenth century. I will

\* *Censura de Testamento D. Majoris* ; in Schlüssenberg’s *Catal. Hæret.* book vii. p. 266.

† We should observe that, strangely enough, Mr. Dewar bestows scarcely any attention upon the Calvinistic controversies, though there can be no doubt that, in developing rationalistic views, their influence was little, if at all, inferior to that of the dissensions in the Lutheran body. See Höninghaus—*Resultat meiner Wanderungen, durch das Gebiet der Protestantischen Literatur* ; especially the eighth chapter.

‡ Hoe of Hoenegg, domestic preacher to the Elector of Saxony, A.D. 1610.

§ *Hutteri Irenicum vere Christianum, &c.* Wittenbergæ, 1618. 1

only mention that commenced by Huber, professor at Wittenberg, who maintained that all men, without reference to their faith, were predestined to be saved ; and that which engaged the theologians of Giessen and Tübingen respecting the omnipresence of the Divine nature in Christ during His sojourn upon earth : the former asserted that He had emptied Himself of this attribute of deity, the latter that He had concealed it ; and *κένωσις* and *κρύψις* became the watchwords of adverse parties."—Page 63, 64.

The violence which marked these and the similar discussions which were perpetually recurring, had a natural tendency to create in the minds of the moderate men of all parties a distaste for everything in the shape of religious discussion ; and in this way to beget, in a greater or less degree, an indifference regarding dogmatical opinions. Other causes concurred to hasten its progress. The great Syncretistic movement, as it is called, of the latter part of the seventeenth century—the long series of efforts at uniting the contending churches upon some common ground—though it originated with men of unquestionable sincerity, and numbered among its supporters many conscientious professors of opposite creeds, was moved onwards, notwithstanding, by an under current of indifferentism more limited in its range, but hardly less perilous in its ultimate tendency, than the indifference which found its full development in the following century.\*

The same effect was produced, in a very different way, by the well-known Pietistic movement. We shall allow Mr. Dewar to describe its influence upon the religious mind of Germany.

"Efforts had been made, even in the last century, by one or two individuals to effect the revolution which was about to take place ; but those persons were regarded as enthusiasts and heretics, and had exercised during their lifetime no influence upon the general character of Theology.† The real founder of Pietism was Spener, a man of enthusiastic ardour, but at the same time of great caution and excellent judgment. After having for some years enjoyed a growing reputation as a preacher in Frankfort, where he sufficiently

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\* If any one be disposed to doubt this, let him read the correspondence of Leibnitz and Jablonski, published by Guhrauer in the second volume of his "*Leibnitz's Deutsche Schriften*."

† Among these deserve mention chiefly J. Arndt, whose writings, unknown in the seventeenth century, are now to be found in almost every pious German family ; and Jacob Böhme, the shoemaker of Görlitz, whose *Aurora* became celebrated fifty years after his death, and was translated into English eighty years later by the well-known William Law.



distinguished himself from his colleagues by delivering practical sermons instead of dogmatic disquisitions, he founded in 1670 his "Collegium Pietatis," the first of those institutions which shortly established the Pietists as a compact and powerful party, and, beneficial as they may have been in individual cases, were the source of vast and wide-spreading mischief in the whole Church. The 'collegium pietatis' was a meeting held at first in Spener's own house, at which all who chose to attend might join in religious exercises, which were designed to be of a more private and personal nature than the public services of the Church. The example was soon followed in numerous towns of Germany, especially by the younger among the clergy, some of whom were doubtless influenced by a newly awakened spirit of piety, but a greater number by ambition and a desire of gaining popularity. It is easy to conceive what must have been the necessary results of this success, especially since a large majority of the imitators of Spener were deficient in that tact and judgment which in his case counterbalanced in some measure the tendency of his system. Attendance upon these 'collegia pietatis' was soon looked upon as the test of conversion. The pietist preachers regarded and publicly lamented over all who took no part in them as unconverted and unregenerate; the avowed principle upon which the leaders of the movement acted was the design of founding 'ecclesiolas in ecclesiâ'; the public services of the Church were considered to be of very secondary importance: those who wished to persuade others or themselves that they were in the number of the elect, were glad to embrace such easy terms; those who believed themselves to be so, took the greatest pains to hold themselves aloof from their unconverted neighbours, busied themselves in making proselytes, and condemned as children of perdition all who indulged in harmless recreations, or took a part in the most innocent of social meetings. No wonder that men learned to look upon a sound belief as altogether unnecessary, when it was openly asserted that so long as a person exhibited this proof of being regenerate, it mattered not what might be the articles of his creed.

"There is some difficulty in determining what were exactly the peculiar tenets of the party, and what only the errors of individual members of it. The point, however, on which they chiefly insisted, and which is of most importance, was their theory of Regeneration, which they represented as an immediate influence of God upon the heart of man, experienced by him, and of which, at the moment of its taking place, he can be sensible. Hence was deduced their 'theologia irrogenitorum,' which taught that the most ignorant man that is regenerate is a better theologian than the most learned that is unregenerate, and that the ministrations of those in whom the signs of regeneration are not manifest are a curse rather than a blessing; that they should therefore be considered as wolves rather than as shepherds, and should be shunned and avoided by their

flocks.\* It is easy to conceive that these opinions, spreading as they did with vast rapidity through the Lutheran Church, must have exercised a powerful influence to hurl down from the eminence on which they had been placed, the dogmatic forms, the creeds and confessions which had so long constituted the substance of religion."—*Page 81—5.*

These, however, and numberless similar causes, had only been preparing the way for the great instrument by which the triumph of rationalism was to be effected—the modern philosophy in its endless varieties of form. There is not much novelty in Mr. Dewar's views upon the influence of the philosophy of Wolff. It is impossible to doubt that this philosopher, in attempting to establish the doctrines, and even the mysteries of Christianity, by strict demonstrations, laid the foundation of the great scheme of rationalistic theology, which submits all revealed truth to the scrutiny of reason.

"Very shortly, therefore, we find Baier suggesting that the Holy Ghost accommodated Himself to the natural capacities and circumstances of each of the inspired authors; and that we must not impute to Him the inaccuracies and faults which we may meet with in the Holy Volume. Carpov† goes a step farther, and maintains that as God could not design to instruct us in science or history, so in matters upon which our salvation does not depend, we are not to expect from the sacred writers a degree of knowledge beyond that of the age in which they lived, and that on subjects of physical and mathematical science, they wrote 'secundum apparentiam.' Baumgarten, again, maintains that each was prompted to write, but left to choose both the matter and the style, according to the best of his abilities and judgment, and that writing from memory they have committed historical, chronological, and geographical errors. In like manner Toellner,‡ Reinhard,§ Storr,|| Docderlein,¶ differing slightly from each other in their views upon this point, agree upon the whole in restricting the idea of inspiration to this, that the sacred authors were so far under the special influence of the Holy Ghost, that the matter of their writings was suggested to them, and that on points of doctrine they were preserved from error.

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\* *Bedenken der Theol. Facult. zu Rostock über die frage : ob die Pietisterei eine Fabel sei.* 1704.

† Baier and Carpov are both referred to in Bretschneider's *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, vol. i. p. 229.

‡ *Die göttliche Eingebung der heiligen Schrift.* Lindau, 1771.

§ *Dogmatik*, p. 50—57.      || *Lehrbuch der Christ. Dogmatik.* 1793.

¶ *Institutio theol. Christ. &c.* 1780.

“And these were the lights of the German Protestant Church ; they were not, such as there have been among us, misguided men who rose up in opposition to the general faith and the great body of our spiritual guides ; but they were themselves the teachers, themselves the guides, filling the high places in their Church, educating and instilling their principles into the whole of her future clergy, and spreading them throughout the length and breadth of the empire. They were men who, one and all, were believers in the great fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith ; who were for the most part engaged in contending against the gross naturalism which was making many converts, and of whom it is related that all their efforts were directed to the object of saving of the old orthodox faith what yet it was possible to save, and of affording new props to the religion of the Bible.”\*—Page 102—4.

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“The principles of Ernesti and Semler were immediately adopted by many theologians ; and it will not surprise you to hear, that as Carpov, Baumgarten, and others, had in fact already deprived the doctrine of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures of its reality, so it was now altogether abandoned by Michaelis, Morus, Eckermann, Wegscheider, De Wette, and Ammon.†

“Michaelis rejects altogether the doctrine of Inspiration as applicable to the words of Scripture, and only allows the divine suggestion of the matter under new restrictions.‡ He gives the title of Holy (göttlich) to the Bible, not because it is inspired, but because it is written by an impulse from God,§ and maintains that the truth of the Christian faith is by no means dependent upon the fact of its having been made known to us by special revelation.

“Morus asserts that the Apostles in speaking of the authors of the Old Testament as inspired (θεόπνευστος γραφή,) give them that title, not because their writings emanated from a special inspiration, but because they lived in a state of inspiration, that is, under the guidance and protection of the Almighty.

“Eckermann makes inspiration to consist in the gift of particular talents, which enabled the persons receiving them to comprehend and recognise religious truths.||

“Wegscheider teaches that the only revelation which possesses objective reality, is natural revelation, that is, God manifesting Himself in the works of nature.¶

\* See Eichorn's Geschichte der Litteratur. vol. vi. part. 2. p. 550.

† I have purposely omitted to class among the assailants of the doctrine of Inspiration, Lessing, the editor of the Wolfenbüttel fragments, one of the most voluminous writers whom Germany has produced, and his imitator Bahrdt. They are avowedly Deists, or something worse, and even Semler refuses them the name of Christians.

‡ Dogmatik, p. 95. Gött. 1784.

§ Ibid. p. 69.

|| Handbuch der Dogmatik, vol. i. p. 374.

¶ Inst. theol. Christ., p. 20.

"De Wette in nearly the same sense looks upon the idea of special revelation as the recognition of the Divine Providence in the government of the world;\* and maintains that no reasonable ground can be adduced for the belief that Christianity is a special Divine revelation.†

"According to Ammon the strict doctrine of the Divine Inspiration was already very much modified by the Syncretists and Pietists, in support of which he refers to the writings of Arndt, Calixt, Spener, Francke, and Zinzendorf. He wholly rejects it himself,‡ although he professes to acquiesce in that doctrine of the symbolical books, which asserts that the Bible is the sole rule of faith."§—Page 111—14.

From these views with regard to the inspiration of Scripture, men passed by an easy transition to doubt the genuineness of the whole or part of its contents. If it was right to apply to the truths of Christianity the same reasonings and the same mode of demonstration which is applied to the truths of human science, it could not but be right to judge the sacred literature of Christianity by the same rules of criticism which applied to purely human literature. Accordingly, it is in this department of biblical criticism more than any other, that the rationalising spirit has run completely wild. It is in the extravagant and ridiculous puerilities into which its most distinguished followers—men of undoubted genius and extensive learning—have run, that we best see how utterly weak the human mind becomes, even when it believes itself to be most strong, and discards the aid of Him in whom alone is strength. We shall make no apology, therefore, for the length of our extracts from Mr. Dewar's chapter on this subject, by far the most interesting in his volume.

His account of the different theories devised by the Rationalist critics for the purpose of explaining the exact and minute agreement of the Gospel narratives, on some

\* Die idee der Offenbarung ist die Ahnung der göttlichen Weltregierung in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Religion.—Dogm. der Ev. Luth. Kirchl. p. 58.

† Dass das Christenthum göttliche Offenbarung sei, ist ein schlechthin gegebener Glaubensausspruch, d. h. ein ideales Urtheil, welches durch keine Verstandesgründe erwiesen werden kann.—Relig. und Theol. p. 232.

‡ Theopneustie autem, quotquot supersunt adhuc, fautoribus respondetur paucis, inspirationis proprie sic dictæ notionem non sine summo incommodo morali ad mentem humanam transferri.—Summa Theol. p. 23. Leipzig, 1830.

§ Subscribi autem potest, quidquid etiam objiciant adversare vel nostris temporibus huic judicio, dummodo in explicandis libris sacris non tam divinæ originis, quæ ubique demonstrari nequit, quam divini eorum argumenti ratio habeatur.—Ibid. p. 59.

supposition short of the inspiration of the writers, displays more extensive and careful reading than any other portion of his work.

“The easiest and the most natural method of eluding the difficulty was to affirm that the sacred historians copied from one another. At a much earlier period it had been suggested by the Arminian Grotius, that St. Mark had consulted and made use of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. In this supposition he was followed by Wettstein\* and Hug.† Storr,‡ on the other hand, supposes St. Mark to have written first, and Büsching§ St. Luke, whose gospel he takes to be the foundation of that of St. Matthew, and from these two he supposes St. Mark to have derived his materials. After him Vogel|| makes the gospel of St. Luke to be the source of that of St. Mark, and these two that of St. Matthew. Griesbach¶ returns to the original hypothesis, that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew and St. Luke, but is disposed to think that St. Luke also copied from St. Matthew; and this theory was adopted likewise by Paulus,\*\* Ammon,† and Theile.‡

“The very multiplicity of these theories proves how slight must be the grounds upon which each of them rests. The improbability of all is so great that another solution of the difficulty was soon resorted to. Koppe,§ Lessing,|| Niemeyer,¶ and Hollfeld,\*\*\* accordingly started the supposition that the three synoptic gospels were derived from one common source, which they supposed to be the gospel of the Hebrews, mentioned by many of the early Christian writers; while others, as Corrodi,† Thiess,‡ Schmidt,§ Bolten,||

\* Wettstein, I. I. Proleg. in N. T. Edidit Senler. Hal. 1764.

† Hug, I. L. Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T. Basil. 1747.

‡ Storr, G. Ch. Diss. de Fonte Evang. Matth. et Luc. Tübingen, 1794.

§ Büsching; Vorrede zu der Harm. der vier Evang. 1766.

|| Vogel, Über die Entsehung der drei ersten Evang. In Gabler's Journal, i. 1—65.

¶ Griesbach, I. I. Marc. Evang. totum e Matth. et Luc. comm. descriptum esse Jena, 1789.

\*\* Paulus, H. G. E. Introd. in N. T. capita selecta. Jen. 1799.

† Ammon. Ch. F. pr. de Luca emendatore Matth. Erl. 1805.

‡ Theile; Krit. Ansichten über die Wechselverhältnisse d. Synopt. Evang.

§ Koppe, I. B.; Marcus non Epitomator Matth. Gott. 1782.

|| Lessing; Theologischer Nachlass. Berlin, 1784.

¶ Niemeyer, Conjectura ad illustr. &c. Hal. 1790.

\*\*\* Hollfeld, H. G. Comment. de Orig. Quat. Evang. Gott. 1794.

† Corrodi, H. Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüd. u. Christ. Bibelkanons. Halle, 1792.

‡ Thiess. I. O. Neuer Krit. Comment. üb. d. N. T.

§ Schmidt. I. E. Exegetisch-Kritisch und histor. Untersuchungen über die drei ersten Evang. Giessingen.

|| Bolten, Bericht des Matth. &c. mit Anmerkungen.

Schneckenburger,\* and Siefert,† maintained the common source to be a Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew. Michaelis‡ affirms St. Matthew to have written in Hebrew, and that it was his Greek translator, who, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke, consulted some documents in the Greek language; while Semler§ supposes the three Evangelists to have possessed some common Hebrew writings.

"A most elaborate and intricate theory was then propounded by Eichhorn,|| and adopted with slight modifications by Bishop Marsh in England, and by Herder¶ and Gratz\*\* in Germany, as well as by Ziegler,† Haenlein,‡ Kuinoel,§ and Bertholdt.|| The foundation of this theory is the existence of a primitive gospel, in the Aramæan language, of which he imagines the Evangelists to have possessed different versions with various additions.

"Next came the hypothesis of Schleiermacher,¶ that the work of the Evangelist was only to collect various memoranda containing detached accounts of remarkable events, and which had originally been made by different individuals, and at different times.

"He again was followed by Eckermann,\*\*\* who adopts a suggestion of Herder, and affirms that some fragments of St. Matthew's gospel in the Aramæan dialect, had become the source of many traditions respecting Jesus and His doctrines, which were current in Jerusalem, and there collected by St. Mark and St. Luke. This hypothesis of so called oral tradition, has been adopted in various forms, by Kayser,† Paulus,‡ Gieseler,§ Sartorius,|| Olshausen,¶ De Wette,\*\*\*\* and others."—Page 122—26.

\* Schneckenburger, *Beitrag zur Einleitung in d. N. T.* Stuttgardt.

† Siefert; *Über den Ursprung des ersten kanon. Evang.* Königsberg.

‡ Michaelis; *Einleitung in die göttl. Schriften.* Gott. 1788.

§ Semler; *Townson's Abhandlungen über die vier ersten Evang. mit vielen Zusätzen &c.* Leipzig, 1783.

|| Eichhorn, *I. G. Einleitung in das N. T.* Leipzig, 1804.

¶ Herder, *Christliche Schriften.*

\*\* Gratz, A.; *Neuer Versuch die Entstehung der drei ersten Evang. zu erklären.* Tübinge, 1812.

† Ziegler, W. C. *Ideen über den Ursprung der drei ersten Evang.* In *Gabler's New Theol. Journal*, 1000.

‡ Haenlein, H. K. A.; *Handbuch der Einl. in die Schriften des Neuer Test.* Erlangen. 1801.

§ Kuinoel, *Comment. in libr. N. T.*

|| Bertholdt, L.; *Hist. Krit. Einleitung &c.* Erl. 1812.

¶ Schleiermacher, Fr.; *Die Schriften des Lukas, ein kritischer Versuch* Berlin, 1817.

\*\*\* Eckermann, *Theol. Beiträge*, v. 5.

† Kayser, *Bibl. Theol.* vol. i. p. 224.

‡ Paulus; *Über der Ursprung der dreien ersten kanon. Evang.* Heidelberg, 1822.

§ Gieseler, I. K. L.; *Hist. krit. Versuch über die Entstehung &c.* Leipzig, 1818.

|| Sartorius, Ernst; *Drei Abhandlungen über wichtige Gegenstände*, &c. Gott. 1820.

¶ Olshausen, H.; *Die Aechtheit der vier kan. Ev. &c.* Königsberg, 1823.

\*\*\*\* De Wette, W. M.; *Lehrbuch der hist. krit. Einleitung.* Berlin, 1817.

It is only the recollection of the extreme awfulness of the subject that enables one to suppress a smile of wonder at the childishness displayed in these and a hundred similar theories. But the wonder is tenfold increased, when we read the works from which these theories are extracted, and see the vast amount of learning that is wasted in the solemn trifling of which the above is a small specimen. In a compendious sketch like Mr. Dewar's, it would be impossible to expect such details; nor have we space at present to attempt to supply the deficiency. But in the work of Mr. Rose, to which frequent reference has already been made, (though it likewise is necessarily compendious,) enough, and more than enough, will be found to justify all that we have said upon the subject.\* We must be content with Mr. Dewar's summary of what German Protestantism has done for the canon of the New Testament.

"It would detain us far too long to enumerate the various objections, which have in like manner been made against each single book of the New Testament. Suffice it to say that Michaelis denies the canonical authority of the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. Schleiermacher thinks that the authenticity of St. Luke alone can be proved, but maintains at the same time that it was the work of four different authors, which the Evangelists collected and supplied with a preface.† Lastly, the authenticity of the gospel of St. John has been denied by Vogel,‡ Horst,§ and Ballenstedt.|| Bretschneider likewise entertained at one time serious doubts respecting not only the gospel but the epistles of St. John; but the work¶ in which he published them called forth several answers, by which since that time he has declared himself satisfied.\*\*

"In like manner the credibility of the book of the Acts of the Apostles has been denied by Baur; and even De Wette suggests that there are passages which render it suspicious. Among these he reckons that it contains errors; that there are miracles recorded

\* We refer to the 2nd edition; which is, in truth, a new work, and which, taken along with the author's Letter to Dr. Pusey, forms a most useful book of reference on this important and interesting subject.

† Schleiermacher, Fr.; *Die Schriften des Lukas* &c.

‡ Vogel; *Der Evang. Johannes und seine Ausleger* &c. 1801.

§ Horst, G. K. *Ueber einige anscheinende Widersprüche im Ev. Joh. &c.* In Henke's Museum, vol. i. p. 20—46.

|| Ballenstedt, H. Ch.; *Philo und Johannes*, &c. Gött. 1812.

¶ Bretschneider; *Probabilia de Evangelii et epist. Joannis Ap. indole et origine.* Lips. 1820.

\*\* *Handbuch der Dogmatik.* Preface to the 3rd Edition.

in it which are partly irrational and partly immoral, and some which vary on being repeated; and lastly, that it betrays an evident want of knowledge of Jewish history and manners.

"With regard to the apostolical epistles, I can only briefly remark that the genuineness of the 15th and 16th chapters of the epistle to the Romans has been doubted by Semler and Eichhorn; that very lately the epistle to the Colossians has been declared to be spurious by Mayerhoff;\* that doubts have been raised respecting that of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, by Schmidt† and Kern.‡

"The pastoral epistles of St. Paul have met with more opposers. The authenticity of all three has been denied by Schleiermacher, Schott, Baur, Mayerhoff, and Schrader; that of the two addressed to Timothy by Credner and Neudecker.

"The Catholic epistle of St. James had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of Luther. In more modern times its authenticity has been doubted by Kern and De Wette.§ The first epistle of St. Peter is rejected by Cludius;|| the second is abandoned by Semler, Schmidt, Eichhorn, Schott, Guerike, and Neander, while Ullmann divides it into three parts, the first of which he assigns to St. Peter, the two latter to other authors.

"Lange,¶ Cludius, and Bretschneider,\*\* have cast doubts upon the authenticity of the three epistles of St. John; the second and third are denied to be the work of the Apostle by Fritzsche,† Paulus,‡ and Credner,§ and the same is affirmed of the epistle of St. Jude by Bolten, Dahl,|| and Berger.¶

"Lastly, the authenticity of the Book of Revelations of St John is doubted or denied by Luther\*\*\* and Calvin,† by Semler, Michaelis, Cludius, Bretschneider, De Wette, and a host of writers who have followed in their steps.

\* Mayerhoff; *Der Brief an die Col. mit vornehm. Berücksichtigung der Pastoral briefe krit. geprüft.* Berl. 1838.

† "Vermuthungen über die heiden Briefe an die Thess." In his "Bibliothek für Krit. Exeg." &c. Vol. ii. 380.

‡ Tübing. Zeitschrift. 1839.

§ Einleitung in das N. T. Vol. ii. p. 320.

|| Cludius; *Ursichten des Christenthums.* Altona, 1808. p. 596.

¶ Lange; *Schriften des Job.*

\*\* Probabilia; p. 166.

† Fritzsche; *Bemerkungen über die Briefe Joh. in Henke's Museum*, iii. 1.

‡ Paulus, H. E. G.: *Die drei Lehrbriefe des Joh.:* &c. 1829.

§ Credner, *Einleitung*, &c. p. 689.

|| Dahl, J. Ch. G.; *Comment. de Authent. Petr.* &c. Rost. 1807.

¶ Berger; *Moral. Einleitung in das N. T. v. ii.* p. 395.

\*\*\* Vide above, Letter ii.

† Zwingli *Werke von Schultheiss* ii. 1. 169.



"Thus do we behold the Protestant Church of Germany, the Church which was founded, and which exists, upon this principle, that the Bible alone is the rule of faith, denying the authority of at least five-sixths of that New Testament, from which her members profess to frame their creed, and to guide their practice." —Page 130—34.

It is not without a considerable effort, that we have brought ourselves to lay before the uninitiated the wild and daring scepticism which these extracts display. It would be very easy to heighten their effect by adding to what the author has here collected, from a variety of sources now before us; but, for our present purpose, what has already been said amply suffices; nor do we feel justified in inflicting upon our readers the pain of wading further through these turbid and bitter waters. Our picture, however, would be imperfect, and, in fact, would mislead the reader's judgment, were we not to add to this exposition of the Rationalist mode of dealing with the genuineness of Scripture, a brief account of the practical system of interpretation adopted in explaining away its statements, whether historical or dogmatical, when they happen to come within the province of "pure reason."

"Among the most eminent divines of the era of which we are speaking were Gabler, Henke, Eckermann, Röhr, and Wegscheider.

"Gabler, professor of theology, successively at Göttingen, Altorf, and Jena, was the editor during many years of the *New Theological Journal*, which was the organ of the most sceptical section of Rationalists. Among his treatises deserve mention especially those which refer to the miracles wrought by our Saviour, and his introduction to the 'Primitive History' of Eichhorn.

"Henke, superintendent of the clergy of Gotha, is a name yet more distinguished. It is only necessary to mention his assertion, that Christolatry and Bibliolatry are obstacles which it is necessary to get rid of, and that it is the business of our age to lay the axe to the root of all such superstitions.

"Eckermann I have already had occasion to speak of; I will only add, that, according to his view of Christianity, our Saviour had no other office than to teach mankind the true and rational method of worshipping the Deity.

"Röhr, superintendent of the clergy of Weimar, throws away all disguise, and maintains that Jesus Christ differed in no respect from other men, except that He surpassed them in wisdom, and asserts the gospels to be writings upon which no dependence can be placed. His letters upon Rationalism, in which he put forward his views, had very great success, and served to diffuse them widely

throughout Protestant Germany. It should be observed, however, that he felt and acknowledged the inconsistency of which he was guilty in continuing to discharge the office of a minister and overseer of a Christian Church. He therefore proposed that German Rationalism should openly break off all communion with the Churches of Christianity, and published a new creed to be used in the place of those which they recognise. The publication of this creed was accompanied by a letter addressed to all the theologians of Germany, inviting them to accede to his proposal; but the invitation appears to have been unwelcome, since Schott of Jena was alone disposed to think favourably of the project.

“Wegscheider, professor of theology at Halle, dedicated a book to the manes of Luther,\* in which he asserts, that any system of religion, which is founded upon a revelation from God to man, should be rejected as irrational.†

“When such doctrines were promulgated by the most eminent divines of Germany, it will not surprise you to hear that a hearty belief in the distinctive doctrines of the Christian Faith was not only considered superfluous, but almost universally ridiculed as absurd. A belief in the reality of the miracles related in the Bible was very generally abandoned. Paulus,‡ Hartmann,§ Paalzów,|| and Riems,¶ deny the historical truth of miracles; while Gutsmuths,\*\* Hezel,† Eck,‡ and Gabler,§ endeavour to explain them on physical and natural principles. A single example will show the extreme facility with which an ingenious mind can accomplish this. I have myself heard a professor belonging to this class of theologians, *explaining* the miracle which our SAVIOUR wrought in feeding a large multitude with a few small loaves and fishes. The explanation was simple enough: many of the five thousand were provided with much more food than was requisite for their own sustenance; and the example of JESUS, distributing His own store as far as it would reach, operated so favourably, that they likewise divided what they did not absolutely require; and thus was not only the whole multitude satisfied, but there remained twelve baskets full of fragments, which were gathered up by the disciples.

\* Instit. Theol. Ch. Dogm., Halle.

† Vide Saintes, Histoire du Rat.

‡ New Theol. Journal, vol. ix. p. 294.

§ Blicke in den Geist des Urchristenthums. Dusseld. 1802. p. 38.

|| Paalzow, C. L.; Philosoph. Geschichte des Aberglaubens. Mainz. 1800.

¶ Riems; Christus und die Vernunft. Braunschweig, 1792.

\*\* Gutsmuths, H. Ch.; Diss. Medica de Christo Medico. Jena, 1812.

† Hezel, W. F.; Die Bibel in ihrer wahrer Gestalt. Halle, 1791.

‡ Eck, J. Ch. F.; Versuch die Wundergeschichten des N. T. natürlich zu erklären. Berlin, 1795.

§ Gabler, Neuest. Th. Journal, vol vii. No. 4. p. 396.

"The spirit of that age is sufficiently evidenced by some remarkable events which occurred. In 1799, some Jewish merchants at Berlin, anxious to obtain political privileges, addressed the provost Teller in a printed letter, in which they requested to be informed whether they could be received into the Christian Church, without believing the peculiar doctrines of the Christian religion. Teller replied, that he would acknowledge them as Christians, if they would admit that JESUS CHRIST was the Founder of a better religion than their ceremonial service had been. The superiority of our Saviour over all other teachers of religion he affirms to be that, 'He made it His business to spread practical religion among the people, and to present it to them in a popular light. Even Socrates had only his chosen disciples.' "—*Page 141—45.*

Lest it should be thought that the example which we here recorded of this free and easy interpretation, adopted for the purpose of explaining away the multiplication of the loaves and fishes is a singular or solitary one, we should add that this interpretation will be considered reasonable and natural, if compared with hundreds which it would be easy to produce. Mr. Rose cites a note from Rosenmüller's *Commentary on Numbers xvi., 33.*—the punishment of Core, Dathan, and Abiram—in which three explanations of the phenomena are suggested. One is, that Moses foresaw a coming earthquake, and employed this knowledge to confirm his authority. Another is, that he ordered the three offenders to be buried alive with their property; and that the passage in question is merely an embellished narrative of this fact. A third nakedly suggests that Moses had had the earth secretly undermined beneath the tents of the three victims, and thus, at a given signal, was enabled to effect their destruction!

There is still more naiveté in others of the explanations. Thus Paulus\* explains away the miracle of the finding the tribute-money in the fish's mouth, by a very simple process. After dwelling on the absurdity of supposing a miracle to be performed for a sum so trifling, he says that all the sacred writer means to convey is, that our Lord ordered Peter to catch a fish and sell it in the market, and that the price might thus be said to be found in the fish. The opening of its mouth in order to find the money therein, simply means that, to take it off the hook, he must

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\* *Kommentar. T. ii. p. 658.* He is quoted (as are the other examples adduced above) by Rose, p. 131, and following.

open its mouth, for if it were to hang long it would be less saleable!

The same writer, and also Ammon, adopts an interpretation of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, similar to that alluded to in the text. Indeed, this may be said to be commonly embraced.

The miracle of our Lord's walking on the sea, stands still less in the way of this liberal criticism. One opinion (that of the same Dr. Paulus already quoted) makes him have walked *along the sea-shore*; although to take *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης*, (and still more *ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα*,) in this signification, is contrary to all analogy of language. Another (Bolte) explains it to mean that *he swam* upon the waters; and others declare it is simply to be understood of *fording the shallows*!

In the same way, the death of Ananias and Sapphira is attributed to fear of the Apostles, and the narrative is represented as a poetical embellishment of this simple fact. The story of the swine rushing over the precipice into the sea (Matthew, chap. viii.), is explained as having occurred naturally; and our Lord is said to have used the fact for the purpose of persuading the demoniac that the evil spirits had fled from him into the swine! The cleansing of the leper in the same chapter is explained as a mere *declaration of his being clean*: the temptation of Christ is but a poetical description of the conflicts of opinion from which he suffered; and the conversion of St. Paul is nothing but a trance!

But we have already had too much of this ludicrous, if it were not revolting, impiety. We have purposely abstained from mentioning many other opinions, the bare enumeration of which would shock every feeling of religion—opinions, for example, explaining the resurrection of Lazarus as the result of some secret concert;\* discarding the accounts of other miracles as “tangible fabrications;” describing the prophecies as concocted after the event;† and even attributing the impression created among the disciples as to the resurrection of our Lord himself, to his own artful and ingenious proceedings, which produced the belief that he had died and risen again. These are opinions

\* See Rose, p. 180. The work which he cites is Becker's *Allgemeine Geschichte*.

† See a number of most revolting examples, from Wegscheider, Ammon, and even Rosenmüller, cited by Rose, p. 147, note.

which, from their very nature, would seem to lay the axe to the root of every Christian principle, but they must be traced to the exercise of the same rationalizing theory, and have both claimed and obtained a shelter under the all-embracing wings of German Protestantism.

It is hardly necessary to trace the working of these principles in the explanation of the moral code of the Gospel, which has not proved a whit more sacred in the eyes of the rationalizing sceptre.

"In a religious publication which appeared in the same city, [Berlin] and was edited by a clergyman, there was published an essay advocating the Chinese practice of exposing or putting to death new-born children; while other divines of unblemished character, and in high positions, were found to affirm that monogamy is a relic of priestcraft, and that an indulgence in the sin of fornication is only to be avoided as being opposed to the habits of the country, and injurious to the bodily health."—*Page* 145, 146.

That such immoral doctrines, shocking as they must appear, should be professed by individuals, can hardly be matter of much surprise, when they are taken in connexion with the revolting laxity of religious principles which has been already detailed. But it is more remarkable that they should be held and publicly professed by individuals of high official station in the Protestant Churches of Germany. Though Mr. Dewar does not allude to the rank, or even specify the names, of the authors who maintain these opinions, it is important to know that they were taught by the celebrated Henke, who long maintained the very highest literary position in Germany; and by Cannabich, who held for many years the office of Superintendent—one of the most important in the Lutheran Church.\*

The remaining portion of Mr. Dewar's book is occupied with an account of the more recent philosophical systems, and of their influence upon religious doctrines. It is far too compendious to be minute or satisfactory. One letter is given to Kant, another to Fichte and Jacobi, another to Schelling and his school of Pantheism, a fourth to Schelling's great antagonist, Hegel; while the philosophers who have made such a noise within the last few years—Strauss, Feuerbach, and Bruno Bauer—are crowded into a single

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\* See Rose, pp. 171—2.

chapter. It is scarcely necessary to say, that such a summary as this must, as a matter of course, be extremely meagre in details; but, perhaps, for general readers, it is, on the whole, sufficiently accurate and comprehensive. The writer very judiciously confines himself to a single branch of this vast subject—the religious bearing of these several systems of philosophy; and this he explains with very considerable ability. To attempt further condensation would be to abandon all chance of making the subject at all intelligible. For the account of the less recent systems, therefore, of Kant, Fichte, Jacobi, Hegel, and Schelling (though his opinions have lately undergone a great change,) we must be content with a general reference to the letters in which the systems are severally discussed. We shall confine ourselves to the developments of Neo-Hegelism, for which Germany is indebted to Strauss, Feuerbach, and Bauer.

And let it not be imagined that, in describing the startling and appalling state of public opinion, which we shall have to detail, we are giving as a picture of German Protestantism what is, in reality, but a description of a party which is regarded by German Protestants as an anti-christian and unbelieving school. That it is really anti-christian, and that in the most revolting sense of the word, and that there are Protestants—and very many such—in Germany, who look upon it in this light, is undoubtedly true; but that these men themselves claim to be Protestant Christians, *and as such entitled to hold these opinions by virtue of the right of private judgment, and that their claim is publicly recognized and admitted*—that, in fact, they are the recognized representatives of philosophical Protestantism in Germany, it would also be folly to deny. “*Schelling is still a Protestant*,” says Professor Rosenkranz, (who is now regarded as the leader of the so-called Religious-Hegelian school,) “but he has pronounced the fall of Protestantism. For myself, I am neither Lutheran nor Reformed. The union between the two churches in Prussia, we call the Evangelical Church. *I am, then, an Evangelical*. I know very well what, with reference to the Church, I am not. I am not a Greek; I am not a Roman Catholic. I am not a Lutheran; not a Reformed Christian, in so far as I should have to recognize any particular creed. But what am I positively? The union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches has, as yet,

been only negatively accomplished. This much, as yet, has only been negatively determined, that there shall no longer be anything to keep them apart. But what positive belief is now to be held, would, out of the boundaries of philosophy, be difficult to say. The universe, God, Christ, forgiveness of sins—these stand firm; but the particular articles of faith are, as yet, undetermined."

How significant is Hegel's remarkable observation, "*Elles se sont unies dans la nullité!*" That there is something more than mere speculation in the singularly vague and latitudinarian views expressed in this, and a thousand similar passages, which it would be easy to produce, the fact already noticed regarding the Jewish merchants at Berlin, is a sufficient evidence. We shall have occasion, before we close, to produce a more recent, and still more startling example in the case of Bruno Bauer.

But we must first extract Mr. Dewar's account of the three most recent among the modern forms of German religious philosophy. And first, of the notorious Dr. Strauss—who, be it remembered, is a professed Christian, and whose work procured for him an invitation *to teach theology* in the High School of Zurich in the year 1809!

"Strauss was the first to throw off all disguise. According to him the accounts we have received of the life and doctrine of JESUS CHRIST have no historical foundation, but are only legends or myths; they are the representatives of certain ideas, which, in the progressive advancement of the reason of man, had developed themselves in the human mind as the result of his religious cultivation. He does not indeed deny the existence of the LORD JESUS, but only that of His divine attributes and miraculous history. As the nations of antiquity clothed with individual forms the ideas under which their development took place; as, for instance, they personified the idea of strength in the myth of Hercules, and thus made it an object to be taken cognizance of by the senses; so also the history of the person, the life, the sufferings, the death of JESUS, is nothing more than the embodying of an idea, which was at that period living and developed among the people, the idea of a mediator between God and man. And further, as the myth of Hercules stood connected with the historical fact of a person who in some degree answered to the absolute idea of strength, so was the idea of a mediator annexed to the fact that an individual existed, who, by his personal-character and the peculiarity of his fate, attracted the attention of his contemporaries, and to whom therefore were attributed all those qualities and actions which belong to the perfect

development of that idea. 'Christ, therefore, is to us the son of a pious husband and wife, Joseph and Mary. But God blessed the fruit of their union. He gave to the child a pure soul, a lofty spirit, and therefore we rightly term the son of a man a 'son of God.' And so with the other miracles of His life. \* \* \* What do we lose, if we disbelieve these tales? It is not to be conceived, that, besides repentance and amendment on the part of man, the death of an innocent person should have been requisite, and that it was this death which enabled God to indulge His compassion, and to grant pardon of their sins to the penitent.'\*

"Strauss has published another important work,† in which he carries yet further his theory of Christian doctrine. And here more especially he sets out from the philosophical system of Hegel. Regarding the Divine Being as the only Spirit which is working and developing itself in the world, and not as existing out of it, he teaches that God does not reveal Himself in His fulness in any one manifestation, but only in the never-ending process which is going on throughout all. Christian doctrine, therefore, being only a single part of revelation, is full of imperfections and contradictions, and having long defied all attempts at explanation, is hastening on to its dissolution, when it will be lost amid the discoveries of modern philosophy. He consequently attacks the several articles of the Christian Faith, and shews how the ideas, which in the course of that philosophy have been developed in the human mind, are already sufficient to supersede,—and must do so,—the doctrine of the personality of God; the doctrine of the creation of the world by Him; that of the fall of man, and of inherent sin; that of the act of redemption; that of the immortality of the soul and of a future existence. These doctrines, he asserts, expressed in their original forms the feelings and the wants of the time in which they arose; but with the advancing civilization of mankind, it was necessary that they also should undergo a process of development and elucidation; and consequently the resolution of Christian doctrine into speculative ideas is not, strictly speaking, a destruction, but a return to the true inward meaning, which the religious conceptions of a period had disfigured."—*Page 193—97.*

Feuerbach's system is still more extraordinary; and yet Feuerbach is a man of undoubted talents, and of great erudition.

"Feuerbach, who followed Strauss with a yet more unscrupulous

\* Sendschreiben an die Hochgeachteten Herren, &c. Von Professor D. T. Strauss. 1839. Herausgegeben von dem Verein zur Beförderung der Volksbildung.

† Christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, und in Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft. 1841.



work\* on Christianity, has carried out the philosophy of Hegel into what is termed the 'anthropological system.' He sets out from the modern speculative theory, that the Christian faith is a stage in the development of the human mind, and the religious notions which have been entertained, necessary acts of thought. But, continues Feuerbach, a closer investigation of these notions will shew that they are not necessary acts of thought, but only accidental, subjective, and partly distorted directions which the human mind has taken. Religious ideas must therefore be explained psychologically; that is to say, man has given objectiveness to his consciousness, to the feelings, wishes, and wants of his heart, and assigned to them an independent existence out of himself, and a relation to himself which do not really belong to them. If, for instance, we consider God as a Being of goodness or love, it is only because we have given objectiveness to the feelings of love, of which we are conscious in our hearts. If we believe in the existence of God, it is only because we ourselves exist. In a word, the existence of a God out of man, the existence of a relation between God and man, is a dream, an illusion, which owes its origin to the fact that man has regarded that which is divine within himself as having an external objective reality. There is no deity, except the spiritual attributes of man, his understanding, his will, his love.

"It is scarcely necessary that I should dwell upon the results of this theory, when it is applied to the doctrines of the Christian faith. What we are taught in Holy Scripture to consider as facts are to be esteemed thenceforward as feelings merely of man's own heart, to which he has assigned reality. It is only because he wishes God [that is, the personified idea of his own existence] to be Almighty, that he falls down in prayer, and entreats the working of a miracle, such as the restoration to health of a dying person, which yet, in reality, can never be accomplished by these means. It was only because they wished to see the dumb speaking, the deaf hearing, the lame walking, the sick restored to strength, the dead to life, that the multitudes who witnessed these miracles imagined they saw them. And CHRIST Himself is only the personified and realized wish of the human heart to be freed from the laws of morality, from the conditions to which virtue naturally is bound;—the realized wish to be liberated immediately, miraculously, from the moral evils of his nature. The greatest self-enjoyment of which man is capable is in the idea that God is acting, suffering, offering Himself a sacrifice for him."†—Page 198—200.

There remains yet one step in this development of horrors. Bruno Bauer, who held the post of theological

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\* *Das Wesen des Christenthums.* 1841.

† Biedermann; *Deutsche Philosophie*, vol. ii. p. 490.

tutor in the University of Bonn, has carried out the principles of Strauss with a degree of daring consistency which has startled even the shadowy orthodoxy of Germany into alarm.

"According to Bauer, on the contrary, the New Testament is pure fiction. As the earliest of the Gospels, he regards that of St. Mark, written perhaps two centuries after the death of CHRIST. From this Gospel he supposes the others to have been copied, their respective authors expanding his narrative and adding to it, entirely according to pleasure.

"He enters at considerable length into the details of the life of JESUS, as they are presented to us in these records, and I need hardly say that he derides every part of it which would invest our Lord with a divine or supernatural character.—His descent from David, His miraculous conception. ('dieses grauensvolle Wunder'), the mission of the Baptist, the baptism of our Saviour, the miracles He wrought, the parables He spake, the sending out of His Disciples, His resurrection from the dead, His descent into Hell, His ascension into Heaven,—all, all he decides to be a tissue of pure fictions. And yet, he adds, the authors of the Gospels are no more to be regarded as cheats and forgers for forming this image of the Saviour, than a Phidias who sculptured an Apollo or a Venus, and thus invented a body to suit the notion of those deities which happened to be entertained among the people."—Page 201—202.

Now we pray the reader to bear these views of Bauer's in mind, and to form his own estimate of the condition of Protestantism in Germany from the following facts.

Bauer was a theological tutor at Bonn, when he published the work\* in which the views explained above are embodied. Although the tutors, or *privatim docentes*, of a German university, receive their license from the faculty to which they belong, and not from the government or the ministry, yet the crown deemed it expedient, in his case, to interfere; and his work was submitted to the judgment not only of the theological faculty of his own university, but also of those of the five remaining universities, which are within the dominions of Prussia. They were required to pronounce upon two questions: First, "Upon what ground does Bauer stand with regard to Christianity?" Second, "Should his *licentia docendi* be continued to him?"

"The replies to these questions by the six Prussian Universities

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\* Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker.

are signed by twenty-six divines, the most eminent, it is to be presumed, for learning and piety, whom Germany can produce, including Neander, Marheinecke, Wegscheider, and Tholuck. Of these twenty-six, eight, in passing a solemn judgment upon this work, (a work, remember, which asserts the Gospel histories to be a series of human inventions and falsehoods,) declared that they found nothing in it contrary to Christianity; eleven came to the opposite conclusion; while the remaining seven, constituting the theological faculty at Halle, avowed their inability to come to a decision, and remained neutral. In answer to the second question, ten gave it as their opinion that Bauer ought to be deprived of his license to teach theology, while the other sixteen decided that he ought to be permitted to retain it. The Prussian Government adopted the advice of the minority, and removed from his tutorship. But it is a characteristic circumstance, that even those who declare against Bauer, are very careful to assert 'the great and irrevocable privilege of Protestantism,' a perfect liberty in believing and teaching, and recommend that he should be deprived of the power of instilling his sentiments into the future clergy of their Church, not on the ground of his having given any new and strange interpretation of Scripture, or taught that Christianity contains doctrines differing from all those which had hitherto been received; that would have been exercising his privilege as a Protestant, which he might have done with impunity; but because he disclaims the Bible altogether, and boldly advocates the total abrogation of the Christian religion. This inconsistency is dwelt upon in the separate vote of Dr. Marheinecke, dean of the theological faculty in Berlin. He shews that Bauer has only advanced a few steps further than many others, (among whom he instances, especially, Schleiermacher,) who have denied the Divine Inspiration and the authenticity of the Scriptures, and complains of the gross injustice of punishing him, while these have been rewarded and loaded with honours."—Page 213—15.

What must be the condition of the public mind with such examples as these in the high places! And what amendment is to be hoped from the teaching of the clergy, who have imbibed their theological principles in a school which will not refuse the *licentia docendi* to a Bruno Bauer!

We cannot conclude without offering a few observations upon the relation which the work seems to bear to the present state of parties in the English Church. The object which Mr. Dewar proposes in setting before his countrymen this painful and revolting picture, is to open their eyes to the peril of the unrestricted use of the principle of private judgment in matters of religion. He is, as will

indeed easily be collected from the passages which we have transcribed, a warm advocate of church authority; and regards it as indispensable for the due maintenance of Christian truth. Indeed, his work is seemingly intended to help on the recent remarkable movement in favour of authority in the Anglican Church—a movement which appears to have had its first origin mainly in the apprehension of the growth, in England, of a state of things similar to that which in Germany fills every well-regulated mind with sorrow and alarm; and although few persons, perhaps, directly proposed Germany as the model of their fears, yet many circumstances combined to point towards it as a source of apprehension: not the least among which appears to have been the introduction among us, through the medium of English translations, of a class of theological and exegetical writings, which, without at all descending to the same startling results, yet embodied, in a seemingly innocuous form, the very same principles from which these conclusions almost necessarily flow.\*

Accordingly, Mr. Dewar's volume abounds with affectionate and grateful eulogies of his own church, and with thankful self-gratulations on the contrast which she presents. In her he finds unfailing antidotes for the unchristian opinions which he deplures in Germany; in the "truly Catholic and unvarying service of her beautiful worship; and in the Apostolical form of her church government, by an unbroken line of bishops, sworn to drive away all strange and erroneous doctrines;" and he feels assured that the "great body of a church which offers up to God that holy sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, and which submits to the guidance of those spiritual fathers, can never be otherwise than Catholic in spirit and in principle."† Indeed he goes a step further, and boldly maintains not only that the Anglican Church is perfectly Catholic in principle and practice, as regards the doctrine of church authority, but that she *alone* can be said to be such, *the Roman Church being in this particular a practical follower of the rationalizing principle.* To this startling proposition we have already adverted, simply for the purpose of showing how completely Mr. Dewar misrepresents

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\* See Rose, Preface to the 2nd edition; also Letter to the Bishop of London; p. 24.

† Page 12; see also p. 18, p. 226, and following, &c.

the principles of our creed upon which he attempts to ground it; nor shall we dwell further upon it now, our business being more immediately with the principles of his own church. And, indeed, we so heartily sympathise with him in the main object—an exposure of the perils of private judgment—which he has in view, that we hardly think it worth while to turn aside into a special controversy.

It would be difficult, then, to conceive a better demonstration of the necessity of a recognized authority in matters of faith than a simple historical detail, such as he has here given, of the fearful lengths to which unassisted reason is tempted to carry its speculations; and it was not unnatural in a zealous Anglican, like Mr. Dewar, to conclude that the recital of the wild extravagances of German Rationalism would produce in England, in favour of the national church, an effect similar to what the reality has actually occasioned in favour of Catholicism in Germany; where, as he tells us, "many pure and high-minded men have despaired of ever seeing good arise from that of which the very root was evil, and abandoning their church rather than their God, threw themselves into the arms of the Romish communion—where, if they found some things which do not belong to pure Christianity, they found at least the semblance of religion." It is true that, to the extent and importance of this Catholic movement, Mr. Dewar's passing allusion does very imperfect justice. Mr. Rose\* admits that "the revulsion in favour of Popery is confessed, however reluctantly, by the great organ of the Rationalist party."† He states that, "in the years 1813-14, *more than three hundred men of cultivated minds* went over to the Catholic Church;"‡ and we could easily produce, in the conversions of later years, still more satisfactory evidence that the revulsion was neither accidental nor transitory. Our business, however, is with the simple fact that the reaction was produced; and that this was due, in the first instance, to the very violence of Rationalism, it is impossible to doubt. We have it on the authority of one of the most distinguished of the party, that there were many who were driven to feel with Fene-

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\* Page 216.

† The Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung, October 12, 1826.

‡ Page 216.

lon the truth of the principle, "Either a Catholic or a Deist;" and saw no resting place between them.\*

But a view, which would be natural enough in an enthusiastic admirer of the Anglican Church, will not, perhaps, be received without suspicion by an advocate of the principle of private judgment. Men will, perhaps, be tempted to enquire from Mr. Dewar whether, in exchange for the liberty of opinion which he requires them to surrender, he can give them an assurance of enjoying within that church, for which he claims their allegiance, the peace which they sought in vain amid the endless variations of the Protestant Churches. And if they consider the controversies of the past years, there seems little probability of his being able to satisfy them. When he denounced the blindness of the Lutheran Churches, for breaking up into parties on the question of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist, though "it was a point on which had they been willing to refer to the practice of the primitive church, a doubt could no longer have existed;" (p. 33.) did it never occur to him to reflect that, easy of decision as this controversy appears to him to be, the boasted authority of his own church has failed in three centuries to produce anything approaching to uniformity of belief upon the same point? And when he proposes, as a simple solution for every doubt, that men should "heartily follow the teaching of the Catholic Church in those doctrines which it is clear have been held always and everywhere by all faithful Christians," (p. 229.) does he imagine that such a rule, which practically makes the judgment of the individual as to what those doctrines have been, the standard of Catholic faith, and which, moreover, entails upon him the obligation of an endless and intolerable examination, is any great improvement upon the less complicated Protestant rule of "the Bible—the Bible alone?" If Mr. Dewar imagines that his rule is so easy of application—if he conceives that, on the easy principles of the "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*," an enlightened Anglican can construct a creed for himself by personal enquiry—that he can decide, by a brief investigation, what *are* the doctrines which have been thus universally held—we fear he will find that he is

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\* Henke's Allgemeine Kirchengeshechte, iv. p. 193. The passage is a very striking one.

grievously mistaken.\* Might not the controversy which, at this moment, agitates his church, undeceive him as to any such expectation? Have not the very foremost in the movement in favour of church authority—those who have from the commencement been its very life and soul, been carried, step by step, to discover the insufficiency of the principle as recognized by Anglicans; and, like the distinguished converts in Germany to whom Mr. Rose refers, “to seek in the bosom of the Roman Church the peace which they had sought in vain amid the endless variations” of the parties within their own?

Mr. Dewar himself “has no wish to conceal the magnitude and importance of the differences within the church;” (p. 228.) in truth, they regard the very foundations of faith themselves: and yet could he point out, at this moment, to any sincere enquirer *any possible tribunal within the Anglican Church at which an authoritative decision regarding these disputes could be obtained?* Is it possible to conceive that Almighty God, in His providence for His church, could ever have invested her with authority which all men should be bound to obey, and yet have left her without the power of instructing her members which of two opposite doctrines, affecting the very essence of religion, they shall be required to follow? He who can bring himself to believe this of the Church of God, must have but a low and unworthy conception of the privileges, as well as of the obligations, of membership.

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ART. VII.—1. *A briefe instruction and maner howv to keepe bookes of Accompts after the order of Debitor and Creditor, &c.... Newly augmented and set forth by John Mellis Scholemaister.* Imprinted at London: 1588.

2. *The Elements of Book-keeping.* By P. KELLY, L. L. D. London: 1839, Eleventh Edition.

3. *Double Entry Elucidated.* By B. F. FOSTER. London: 1843.

**W**HEN did it ever happen, even in this mercantile country, that the readers of a literary journal were invited to turn their thoughts to such a subject as the

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\* This subject will be found discussed at some length, ante vol. xviii. p. 331, et seq. Art. “Difficulties of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.”

above works treat on? What possible right can exist to force them upon the consideration of mere accounts? The difficulty of answering these questions constitutes, in our opinion, the best justification of our article. The proper matter for a magazine is two-fold; it should consist first, of the things which every one looks for; secondly, of the things which no one looks for. But perhaps some will suppose we mean to treat of the book-keeping of a scholar, or a philosopher. By no means. All we have to say on this case is, that *double entry* should be carefully avoided. No man with a library should let more than one friend in at a time; for while he is talking to one, the other will look round the shelves, and there will be no keeping a single book for him. The only good book-keepers, in this sense, are the borrowers; buyers are book-losers.

In attempting to give some little account of the principles of an art which is wrapped up in technical terms, and of which the treatises are so deficient in explanation, that their writers charge one another with obscurity, we have two distinct motives. In the first place, the only true and sound system is by no means so universally practised, particularly in retail trade, as is commonly supposed; if a knowledge of its mere principles were disseminated among educated persons, as a part of their school training, this fault would be amended. For, in the next generation, a large proportion of those in trade will be well educated persons, we mean liberally educated; and those who have not this advantage would be ashamed of employing methods so imperfect that their very customers could teach them better. In the second place, many private persons, in keeping their own accounts, could draw useful hints from a little knowledge of the manner in which the best traders keep theirs.

The practice of accounts is vitiated by the confusion which arises from giving the same name to things of very different character. When the beginner is told that there are two modes of keeping books, one by *double entry*, and the other by *single entry*, of which he finds, or supposes he finds, the second to be much the more simple, he is naturally inclined to prefer that which comes most easily. In either case he is told he *keeps books*. We should suggest the addition of a third method, decidedly more simple than either; namely, book-keeping by *no entry at all*, which will not only keep books, but is the



plan of all others for keeping them clean. The three systems have each their advantages; *no entry* prevents the trader from fretting about the times, and is perfect ease and leisure as long as it lasts; *single entry* seems simple, but will never allow of a *coup d'œil* giving the actual state of affairs; *double entry* does this last, with somewhat more trouble at first, and makes the accounts check each other to a considerable extent.

This system of double entry, as it is called, is due to the Italians of the fifteenth century; and the number of treatises which have been written upon it, as well in Latin as in the modern languages, would fill a volume with their titles. It is the only one which deserves the name; to speak of it with any other, is the same as to compare a system of mensuration without demonstration to the elements of Euclid, and to discuss the relative merits of the two under the common name of geometry. Let those who please make this discussion; it is quite right to ascertain whether demonstration is or is not wanted; but to take advantage of the associations connected with the term geometry, in favour of a mode of study which has no claim to them, is a fallacy of words. And so it is with book-keeping; those who contend for double-entry had better find another and a separate word by which to denote it, than allow the inferior and incomplete system to live upon the reputation of the higher and sounder method.

Imagine a person beginning business with mixed assets, money, goods, funded property, bills which have some time to run, &c. &c.; also with debts, bills drawn upon him, and accepted by him, &c. &c. Suppose also, for illustration, that he does what every one would do, if it were not for the expense, namely, keep a trustworthy clerk for every different species of transaction; one to superintend the stock, another to keep the cash, a third to collect the bills when receivable, a fourth to pay those which become payable, a fifth to draw his dividends and invest, a sixth to manage his sugar trade, if he deal in sugar, and so on. It is plain, that if each of these clerks do his duty, he will keep an account of all that goes out and comes in throughout his department. If cash is to be paid for a bill falling due, the clerk of the bills payable must go to the clerk of the cash for it, and each one would make his entry accordingly. The clerk of the cash must be able to show that he is discharged from a sum

for which he was responsible, and that he has thrown the responsibility on the clerk of the bills payable. The latter, who must admit that he has received this sum, must be able to show by his entry that he has paid it, and to whom. The person who received the money, or the clerk who manages his account, must also have an entry made. If the owner would know his business, or any part of it as required, how can any of these entries be dispensed with? He may want to know the state of his ready cash, to see whether, for instance, he can take advantage of some short investment; he may wish to see whether it would be prudent to accept a heavy bill, to become due at a given date, with reference to the liabilities of that date already outstanding; or he may desire to know at a moment's notice the state of one particular person's account with him, before he enters upon a new transaction with that person. Is there any hour of any day, (Sundays excepted,) at which he may not have to demand either of the preceding pieces of information? Persons not acquainted with business might suppose that, whether the several accounts are kept by different clerks, or all by one, such a system must be universally adopted. This, however, is not the case. How many bankruptcies have arisen from the want of it, no one can say; but all men of business admit some, perhaps many.

The great instrument in a system of double entry is a book called the ledger, formerly spelt in English leager, leiger, &c., a name, the derivation of which is disputed. The waste-book and journal, which occupy so prominent a place in the treatises, are conveniences, but not essentials; it is not only possible to describe the system without them, but actually more favourable to perspicuity to do so. This ledger consists of a number of pages, one to each account, or one for every clerk in our illustration above given. Each account is of two parts or columns; one side, (always the left,) headed *debtor*, the other headed *creditor*. It will still be convenient to keep up our fiction of the clerks, and to suppose the pages of the ledger, or the separate accounts, to be so many books, one in the possession of each clerk.

These mystical words, debtor and creditor, with the corresponding verbs *to debit* and *to credit*, are the key to the whole proceeding. A great deal of obscurity is produced by the manner in which the books endeavour to

compress the meaning of these words into their usual sense, of a person who owes, and a person to whom there is owing. But it ought to be insisted on that the debtor of the books is one who relinquishes any claim, or incurs any responsibility, or undertakes any disposal, or agrees to stand in the place of another debtor; while the creditor is one who is relieved from any responsibility, or to whom one is incurred, or who has completed the disposition which he has undertaken, or has found another to be bound for him. *Charge* and *discharge* would be words of wider meaning; and some of the older books endeavour, by these and similar amplifications, to give an idea of the wide extent of the main terms debt and credit.

In every transaction, some one of the accounts (or of the clerks who keep them) becomes creditor to some other account; and the second account becomes debtor for as much to the first. This is what is called the *double entry*. If then at any one moment, all the sums named on the debtor sides of all the accounts were added together, and the same for the creditor sides, the totals would be precisely the same. Thus, if sugar be sold, and a bill taken for the amount, the clerk of the sugar is relieved of charge, or becomes creditor by the transference of a responsibility to the clerk of the bills to be received, and the latter, who has undertaken to receive this money, becomes debtor, or under an obligation contracted by his dealing with the former. The phrases are "sugar creditor by bills receivable," and "bills receivable debtor to sugar." It is absurd to say that there is a money debt between these parties; the bill clerk will never pay money to the sugar clerk; for when the money is received, the receiver will pay it to the cash-clerk, and a new pair of entries will be made, namely, "cash debtor to bills receivable," and "bills receivable creditor by cash." Of course it matters nothing that we have substituted the name of the office for that of the clerk who holds it, at least to a reader who is accustomed to speak of men by their official titles. And it will much assist the reader who is not very familiar with the technical terms, to personify all the accounts, to imagine a man in charge of each. Again, it is plain that no effect is produced upon the equality of the sum totals of debtor and creditor items, by the introduction of the preceding couple of pairs, in which one of each pair balances the other. Every transaction, however

small, must find its two places. "Si puero," says Stevinus, "ad emendum nuces stuferum dares, quo in loco istud disponeres? Ad familiæ impensas apponerem scribendo Impensæ familiæ debent per arcam." That is, if a boy get a stiver to buy nuts, Stevinus would have it entered to the debit of the "family expenses" account, as "family expenses debtor to cash," and of course with the balancing entry in the cash account, "cash creditor by family expenses."

We will now proceed to distribute the stock into the several accounts. The stock account is the merchant himself. He hands over all his effects to his several clerks, and makes himself creditor to each for what he gives each, making them debtors for their several charges. In each of the accounts which represent his creditors, or his obligations, he acknowledges his creditor, and makes himself debtor in the stock account. Thus, "stock creditor by cash" £1000, and "cash debtor to stock" £1000, imply that his cash-clerk begins business with £1000, in actual money or bank notes. If his principal cash-clerk be a banker, he thus begins his banker's account, and opens another, under the name of "cash," for money actually in the house; or he may, at his pleasure, include the banker's balance under the head of cash. Thus, again, if he owe A. B. the sum of £100, the stock account, and A. B.'s account will severally show the items, "stock debtor to A. B." £100; "A. B. creditor by stock" £100. The several accounts being thus opened, the routine of business begins, and every transaction makes a debtor and a creditor. To find out how to enter a transaction is the whole difficulty of book-keeping. Those who are used to it, acquire such familiarity with the phrases, that they see their meanings much more completely than those of the explanations. We once witnessed with great amusement, the following scene in a London banking house: A gentleman presented a cheque for some amount, saying, that he would draw a portion and leave the rest in their hands. The cashier stared at him, evidently puzzled; the gentleman repeated his announcement. The man of business caught sight of his meaning, and with a look of benevolent pity, not unmixed with wonder that such things could be, said, "I see, Sir! you wish to *open an account*." Never use an untechnical phrase to a man of books; a physician will even call catarrh a cold, when speaking to a

layman; a lawyer will not interrupt your round-about description of an estate-tail; it is said, we know not upon what authority, that an Eton boy once kept his countenance when the second syllable of a dactyl was made long. There is knowledge without pedantry, and there is pedantry which sometimes relaxes and forgets itself; but the pedantry of an accomptant, a regular thoroughgoing accomptant of thirty years' standing, never slumbers nor sleeps. For this there is a reason and a good one. Every person who is brought up in routine, without a knowledge of the reason why, or the principle upon which, depends on the smallest points of that routine for his accuracy. Change his phrases, and his things are gone. Now the *modern* treatises on book-keeping show that the subject has fallen wholly into routine, that the little there is to explain is thought too difficult for the reader. Take the following explanation, which is all that Dr. Kelly gives on the subject mentioned. "*Profit and Loss* is a general term used for either gain or loss, such as may arise from trade, adventure, interest, commission, or chance of any sort. On the debtor side are entered all transactions of loss, and on the creditor side those of gain." A beginner would imagine that profit and loss were two terms, of which profit is used for gain, and loss for itself. He would also be puzzled to know why loss should make the account a debtor, and gain a creditor. Who is debtor, and who is creditor? The answer to these questions is a material part of the system.

It is evident that there must be an account opened to include all circumstances for which no other provision is made, and all which goes in or out, without an exact equivalent coming out or in. Suppose a clerk to whom is handed over all such receipt, and whose business it is to apply in the proper quarters for all such disbursements. This clerk supplies the place of *nobody* in a school, as far as his debtor functions are concerned. If the principal have his pocket picked of a ten pound note, it is he who did it, and he must answer for it; if a quantity of goods get damaged, and sell for less than prime cost, it is his fault, and he must make up the difference; if a debtor fail, and pay only five shillings in the pound, he it was who led the debtor into imprudent speculations, or drove him to Ascot, and he must make up the remaining fifteen shillings. But then on the other hand, if goods make a

profit, if the principal get a legacy, or pick up a purse which no advertisement will find the owner of, or get an allotment of shares to be sold at a premium before they are bought, or if an old bankrupt debtor, whose account has been long properly closed, send word that he is now able to make up his dividend to twenty shillings, it is this clerk from whom all the good is supposed to come. The name of this clerk in the books is *profit-and-loss*. Every contingency is now provided for, and under the head of stock, or profit-and-loss, or that of some person who deals with the concern, or that of some goods in which the concern deals, or those of cash, or bills, or commission, or interest, or brokerage, or household expenses, or insurance, or some one or other of the multifarious forms of money transactions—every penny which ever has been, either actually paid to or by the merchant, or stipulated to be paid to or by him, finds itself in two places, as a debt and as a credit.

Suppose the first distribution of the stock to have taken place on the 1st of January, and that on the next 1st of January it is desired to know the final result, either that a new ledger may be opened, or that the success of the year may be ascertained. If there be no wish to observe the effect of any of the accounts upon others, in the manner we shall presently explain, then the thing to be done is to ascertain, upon the whole, how each account stands. It may happen that by accident an account balances itself, or that the sum of the debtor items is exactly equal to that of the creditor items. But if not, the difference between the two sides is entered under the side which gives the smaller sum, and with the name of that side, as to or by balance. Thus the following might be the final state of the cash account, (omitting the dates and references.)

Cash.			Dr.			Contra.*			Cr.		
	£.	s.	d.				£.	s.	d.		
To Stock .....	200	0	0			By D. ....	10	0	0		
To A. ....	50	0	0			By E. ....	150	0	0		
To B. ....	30	0	0			By F. ....	40	0	0		
To C. ....	20	0	0			By Balance.....	100	0	0		
	<hr/>						<hr/>				
	£300	0	0				£300	0	0		

\* This word, which is always inserted, is tolerably useless.

The state of the cash-clerk's account, or of the cash-box, (this is tautology, for cash means *cassa*, the box, and comes out of book-keeping into common life, and not the other way,) is this. It has received at various times three hundred pounds, of which it has paid two hundred. It is therefore *debtor* for one hundred pounds; there must have been error, loss, or fraud, if it cannot give up £100 on demand. How then can it be *creditor*? The cash clerk is as much debtor for this £100 as he was for £200 when he first opened his account with the stock. The treatises never explain this, and we rather suspect that accountants never trouble themselves with the reason, which is as follows. A new clerk is appointed, whom we may call the *balance clerk*, whose duty it is to receive from all the clerks who owe, and to pay to all those who are creditors. When the cash-clerk hands over the £100 to the balance-clerk, he becomes creditor, or is relieved of charge, and the balance-clerk becomes debtor. Accordingly the entry in italics above is met by another in the final balance account, namely, "balance debtor to cash £100."

Now it is evident, that by the aid of the balance-clerk, all the accounts are rendered powerless in affecting the result; each one has debts and credits of the same amount. If the entries have been correctly made, and the additions also, the account of the balance-clerk, or the balance account, will give the sum of the debts also equal to that of the credits. For it has been so from the beginning; and the balance-clerk, who never debited another without crediting himself, and *vice versâ*, does not disturb this arrangement. The difference between his account and that of the rest lies in this, that his must of necessity balance itself, if all has been rightly done.

Before, however, the balance-clerk is called in, it must be considered whether the information which is wanted can best be obtained by looking at the several accounts as they stand, or whether it would not be better, as the process last but one, to combine several accounts together. The amalgamation of two or more accounts is always possible, sometimes advantageous, and sometimes necessary. Suppose for example, that of Smith and Jones, both of whom have transactions with the concern, the first purchases the business of the second. Suppose also, it so happens that both of them owe money, or that the balance is against each of them, or that both must pay the balance-

clerk, or will in the final closing of the book (when they pay) become the creditors of the balance-clerk in their own accounts. If Jones's account be struck off, which can only be by making him creditor to something, since his debts exceeds his credits at present, it is clear that something else must be made as much debtor. Accordingly Jones's account must be balanced, by making him creditor by Smith for the difference of the two sides, and Smith must be made as much debtor to Jones. Here then an account is nullified, and the debt shown by it as due to the concern is made to exist in another account. "Debtor to Jones," means only debtor to the concern, in the person of the imaginary clerk who manages Jones's account, and "creditor by Smith," only means relieved of liability by means of Smith. Now before the final balance-sheet is made up, it will be obvious that there are some accounts, which, though conveniently kept distinct, are yet of such a nature that they must ultimately be considered as a part of the profit-and-loss account. Such are house-rent, taxes, wages of clerks and servants, packing materials, &c. &c., which though beyond a doubt they help to realise the profit, never can have any specific portion of that profit appropriated to defray them. If the balances of these accounts be transferred to the profit-and-loss account, as Jones was just now transferred to Smith, it will be as if the profit-and-loss clerk undertook to reckon with the balance-clerk for all these several heads. Thus, if the house expenses have cost £100, or if their account be debtor to cash for this sum, so that they would become also creditors to the balance-clerk in repaying it, they may pay it to the profit-and-loss, or become creditors of the clerk of this last-named fund, who will be also debtor to them.

Again, suppose goods to the amount of £200 (prime cost) have been purchased, of which £60 worth have been sold for £80 ready money, leaving £140 worth, at prime cost, in the warehouse. This account then is debtor (to cash, to bill payable, or whatever it may be) as much as £200, while it is relieved of £80 by sales, or is creditor to that amount. When the balance-sheet is made up, this account of goods must not be burdened with £140 worth unsold. It makes this over to the balance-clerk in discharge of £140 of its liability. As to the £80 which it can discharge in money, the £20 which is profit, should go



to the profit-and-loss account, and the £60 which replaced stock to the balance account, or in liquidation of debt. Now all this stands in the account as follows :

Dr.				Cr.			
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
To Cash for—	200	0	0	By Cash.....	80	0	0
yards .....				By Balance for—	140	0	0
To Profit and Loss	20	0	0	yard unsold .....			
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£220	0	0		£220	0	0

To make this more intelligible, remember that this account, or the clerk who keeps it, does not *receive* £80 in cash. No one but the cash-clerk receives cash, though, by that clerk receiving £80 on behalf of this account, this account is relieved of responsibility (or becomes creditor) for £80, cash becoming debtor. The balance-clerk demands £140 for the goods actually unsold, and to make the profit-and-loss account tell truth, £20 must be placed to its credit by these goods. The fact is, that in allowing £80 to be put to his credit, the clerk of these goods has acknowledged a new liability; £20 of this £80 does not arise from the goods, but from the good fortune of the business in selling at a profit. The advantage is exactly that which would arise from an accidental finding of £20 worth of goods, and must be treated accordingly. The effect is that the profit-and-loss account takes off the £20, or credit to that amount is carried there, and destroyed in the account of goods.

But all the transferences are not yet done, or need not be, for they are none of them absolutely necessary. The profit-and-loss account having collected the actual gains, and the actual losses, including outgoings, which are called losses, as not intended to produce a specific return, (exactly in the sense in which Adam Smith would have called Watt an unproductive labourer,) shows the net profit or loss. This might be treated as we have treated the cash account; the balance-clerk might become debtor or creditor to the profit-and-loss account, according as the clerk of that account has to give or receive, in order to balance his own account. But as the thing wanted is to know the stock with which the next year begins, it will be convenient to throw the profit-and-loss account into the stock account. This last has probably never been touched

since the commencement of the year; it remains creditor, (or demanding to receive from the balance-clerk, after he has adjusted all the other accounts,) a sum equal to the excess of the original assets over the then outstanding liabilities. But if the profit-and-loss account be transferred, and if there have been a profit, it will then have its balance increased, so as to represent the net stock at the close of the year, and profit-and-loss will not appear in the balance-sheet at all. This last can be made up in the usual form, and the sums of the two sides of this account will be the same; moreover the parcels of the balance account will be precisely those with which the next ledger commences.

The *waste-book* is merely a first book, in which all transactions are entered as they arise. They may go from thence into other subsidiary books, as cash books, bill books, &c., necessary to be at hand for the purposes of business, but not essential to the ledger. The *journal* is a book intermediate between the waste book and ledger, in which the transactions, represented in ordinary language in the waste book, are put into ledger form, and assigned to their proper debtors and creditors. Besides the advantage of a preconsideration of this principal difficulty, the journal helps to abridge the ledger, by aggregation of petty items of account. Thus, suppose it appears by the waste-book, that since the journal was last made up, A. B. C. D. and E. have severally made payments in cash. The cash account can then be debited with the sum of these payments, (which are specified in full in the journal,) under the head of "cash debtor to sundries, or sundry accounts," while each payer is credited in the usual way. References are made in the ledger, in every item, to the page of the journal from which it is brought, and every item in the journal similarly refers to the page of the ledger to which it is carried.

The whole of this system is singularly simple and beautiful, and its invention is one which ought to rank high among applications of arithmetic. It must not, however, be over-rated. It does not, for instance, prevent fraud before entry; no system will: if the servant who receives £20 return only £10, the debtor and creditor items will be only of £10 each. It will not detect any wrong entry in which a given sum is carried to the debit of one account and to the credit of another, even though the account

should be the wrong one, and the second not the antagonist account of the first. But it will enable the merchant speedily to examine and decide upon the state of any account. It is in fact the only system in which every account exists. A careful man, resolved to know his own affairs, at all times, would necessarily fall upon it, so far as what book-keepers call the *real accounts* are concerned; and this whether he hit upon the *fictitious accounts*, as they are called, of stock, profit-and-loss, and the balance, or no. By the way, it is not a little singular, that the accounts of what the concern begins with, what it ends with, and what should be the parcels of account for next year, should be called fictitious. The term is used as opposed to accounts of things and persons; but surely profit or loss are things, as much as interest, discount, commission, or funded property: very important things too; they are *the* things. Profit-and-loss are the gods of trade, or rather the good and evil principles, which are to be served and propitiated: and the profit-and-loss account is at once the pulse and conscience of the ledger.

Again, all the accounts, or many of them, must depend upon estimation, the only condition being that no contingent profit must be entered; nothing but that to which a real and legal existence is, or has been attributable, must be carried to any account. A man may value his stock at what he pleases, but he must say what it is, not what it is to be. Goods bought to be sold again must be put down at the cost price; the price may rise or fall a hundred times, but still these goods must always be carried to account, according to the money given for them. Confession of error in estimation must be made in the profit-and-loss account, and nowhere else; and this made us call it the conscience of the ledger. Thus, when a horse used in trade, and valued at £40 in the stock account, turns out a worthless animal, and is sold for £10, the profit-and-loss account is the only place in which the loss can mark as a debt against the discharge given in the horse account. The estimations assume that all debts are good, all acceptances sure to be honoured, all adventures current at the beginning of the year certain to return their investments. Until there is indisputable evidence to the contrary, the ledger not only supposes that they will be severally worth their nominal values, but in making up the balance it is supposed that they have been actually

paid, or, which is the same thing, that the extract from the debit side of the account is as good as money.

The modifications of the mode of distributing transactions into the accounts of which they ought to form part are various. Much depends on the nature of the business. In banking, for example, there are reasons for distinguishing *money* (that is, coin) from bank notes, and also for classing cheques payable on demand by other bankers, with bank notes as cash. A dealer who always has a certain article on sale, may need a journal for that article alone, of which his ledger must be the merest abbreviation: a merchant to whom such an article is an occasional consignment may not need to open its account for years. But let the arrangements be as various as they may, the main principle is observed. A writer whose work we have examined, and who pretends to perform "double entry by single," tells us that in this same system "every debit in one book has a corresponding credit in some other book." This *is* double entry; nobody demands that the ledger shall be all in one *book*, or even in one language; the cash account may be in English prose, and the profit-and-loss in Chinese poetry, provided only that the book-keeper can understand both. The author's plan is, in fact, to make the original entries in the cash-book, bill-book, &c. serve the purpose of ledger accounts; and the plan is, no doubt, worth consideration. Perhaps he meant to inveigle tradesmen, for their own good, into a real double-entry, under the name of their favourite single-entry.

We have looked through a good many books, that we might see what they say on the great distinction of *debtor* and *creditor*. Far the greater number of them give nothing but the bare and insufficient idea of receipt and expenditure: the creditor is the person who pays, the debtor is the one who receives. If a person should barter wine for cloth, causing the entries "cloth debtor to wine," and "wine creditor by cloth," the writers will have it that the cloth warehouse is indebted to the wine which gave it cloth, and the wine cellar has a claim upon the cloth warehouse which took out wine. A debt which is never to be paid, a credit which is never to be claimed, are very odd things; and the final adjustment of the affair shows that nothing was contemplated but that the cloth account should be debtor to the *balance-clerk*, and the wine account his creditor. Through this last clerk the final account is settled. Surely

an account must be looked upon as made with the account which is to take the proceeds, or bear the deficit. There are two sides to an account, and A. B. is to take the difference if the left hand exceed the right, or to make up the difference if the right hand exceed the left. With whom is that account in a state of currency? To our weak minds it seems with the person or thing immediately affected by the result: with A. B. we say. In the cash account, in page 440, the cash has to account to balance for receipts of £300, from which it is released of £200 by payment; it remains debtor for £100 until balance comes and takes it, after which event it is nullified. It would then be correct to say that cash is debtor *to* balance *by* stock, in the same manner as it is creditor to balance also *by* D. one of the persons who received money. Stevinus so understands it in our quotation, as we see by his '*debet per arcam.*'

The author whom we just now quoted not only narrows the definition by saying, "*Drs.* are those who stand indebted to us, and creditors are those to whom we stand indebted," but he adds the following pious wish, "May you never be under the disagreeable necessity of calling a meeting of *creditors.*" This, of course, is addressed to the man or men of the concern; not to the accounts. We should very much like to see a meeting of the ledger-creditors. *Stock* would come in with a face of gloom, as knowing he would have to bear the loss; *Profit-and-loss* with one of fear, as sensible he would have to bear the blame; *Cash* with a jaunty air, and his hands in his breeches pockets, defying all the world to make him debtor to balance for more than he can pay; while *balance* would sit on a chair as one who had no interest either way, only anxious for a bit of waste paper to light his pipe, for which, perhaps, he is debtor to stock: while *bills payable* would assure him that if he would only wait till three days after due, he could supply him with as much as ever he wanted.

On the history of book-keeping we can find but little. The two most celebrated ancient treatises are those of Lucas Pacioli and of Stevinus. The former, in which certainly the method first appeared in print, was contained in his celebrated *Summa de Arithmetica*, &c. Venice, 1494. How long the Italians had had it, and whence they got it, is not known. If the Arabs had it, of which we know nothing, then we should say that most probably it came from the East with algebra in the thirteenth century. The

passages which have been cited from Pliny and Cicero to prove that the Romans used double entry seem to us quite inconclusive; they establish the fact that debtor and creditor accounts were common; but this does not constitute the Italian method. It is not impossible that some writers may have thought *double* entry consisted in having *two* sides to an account, one for the debts, the other for the credits. The work of Stevinus was originally published in Dutch, in 1544, if we remember right; but our only access to it is in the folio collection of Snell's Latin version of Stevinus, published in 1605. It is not in the better known collection of Stevinus's writings by Albert Girard. This work was drawn up for the use of Prince Maurice of Nassau, and is the first in which the system is shown to be applicable to something more than merchants' accounts. It is shown how to keep public accounts by it; and it is said that Prince Maurice caused it to be so employed for some time. Beckman quotes from Anderson's work on the origin of commerce the name of John Peele, (who published in 1569) as the oldest English work on double entry: but as all Anderson's description may equally apply to single entry, he (Beckman) doubts Peele's claim. Again, Beckman mentions that Ames has preserved the title of a book "newely augmented and set forth by John Mellis Scholemaister, 1588," being "a brieife instruction and manner how to keep bookes of Accompts—by three books named the memoriale, journal, and leager," which purports in the Preface to be a republication of one published at London in 1543, by Hugh Oldcastle, schoolmaster. All this is quite correct: we happen to possess a copy of the work; and we find that it is by double entry, as Beckman suspected; shewing "why one parcell in the Journale maketh two in the Leager." Dr. Kelly says there is no trace of any other English work on the subject until that of John Collins, the famous correspondent-general of the men of science, who published his 'Introduction to Merchants' Accompts' in 1652. But we find at the end of the 'Pathway to Knowledge,' London, 1596, quarto, a treatise on *double entry*, translated from the Dutch of Julius Cæsar Patavinus, alias Germanus. This work is one on Arithmetic, also from the Dutch. It was altered into the form of dialogue, and published under its old title, by John Tap, London, 1613, 8vo., with the same work on book-keeping appended. We find that Collins was reprinted in

1654-5 and in 1666 (this edition was destroyed in the great fire), and again, in folio, and in an enlarged form, in 1674. Collins says, in the preface of this last edition, that he had been urged by the "stationer" (what would a publisher say now to any one who called him so) to give a new edition, which might be improved. "But I concurr not," continues he, "finding that my said long experience hath not at all advanced my knowledge in good Method of *Accompts*, though I confess I understand the nature and intrigues of bad ones much better than I did." After the work of Collins appeared, "Amphithalami, or the Accountant's Closet," by Abraham Liset, in two parts, London, 1684, folio; and also a very elaborate work, "The Merchant's Mirror," by Richard Dafforne, London, 1684, folio. The author of the last had lived long in Holland, and drew his materials, or at least his general plan, from writers of that country, of whom there were many in esteem, as Forestain, Impen, Cloot, Mennher, Savonne, Pieterseon, Rentergem, Vanden Dyck, Hoorbeck, Vandamme, Wencelaus, Coutereels, Stevin, Willemson, Waningen, Goosen, and others. The art seems to have taken deep root in Holland.

Great numbers of English works were published during the last century. Of these we shall only particularly notice "The Accountant," London, 1750, quarto, by James Dodson, the author of "The Antilogarithmic Canon." In this work the method was, as far as we know, first applied to the details of a farm and a retail trade. This last had of course been often done, considering the trader in the light of a merchant, and keeping the accounts of goods in a very aggregate form. But one of Dodson's examples is the case of a retail shoemaker, and the *soles* account and the *upper-leathers* are kept very distinct.

Most of the treatises have been written by teachers, not by accountants. Of those which have been written by the latter, several might be named which go deeply into details, scrutinizing the endless matters of account which arise, in a manner which shows the very great power of meeting all cases which exists in the system. But from first to last, from Pacioli and Stevinus, to Jones or Kelly, there is a resemblance between the details which makes it possible to prepare the learner for any one book from any other. In the discussion about teaching the subject, it seems to have been considered

material to argue the details which the young learner should be taught. From the practice of accountants, from their very different modes of marshalling their accounts, it seems to us very evident that, let the beginner learn from what book he may, the chances are that he will not continue to use precisely the mode to which he has been accustomed. The object then should be to make him thoroughly habituated to the great principle of that which he is to practice. Why has it been thought necessary to vindicate one system of details or another? Probably because the routine fashion of teaching prevents the learner from acquiring power over the management of anything beyond what he has seen. He goes through the examples of a treatise, with little more of explanation than will just suffice for a vague notion. Taught as he is by examples only, the examples are scanty; the expense of printing puts a limit to the power of writers. If indeed the treatises, instead of giving journals and ledgers at length, were to use slighter finished examples, with copious waste-books for practice, supplied with occasional remarks upon the journal entries to be deduced therefrom, in the shape of foot-notes, the student would be able to acquire some facility of acting for himself. By way of *answer*, as it were, that he might know whether he was right or wrong, it would be enough to give the balance account deduced from the several waste-books. We are told in the treatise, that young book-keepers are very frequently obliged to spend weeks in detecting the error which has prevented the balances from *balancing*. This must be because their training has not taught them how to run alone; their books have been go-carts. It is almost impossible to make a learner behave honestly with a full solution before him; how can he have courage to confine himself to the waste-book; without a peep into the journal just to see if all is right so far?

A great many persons are anxious that their sons should be taught book-keeping, and all schools which profess mercantile education allege that it is a branch of the studies pursued. In old time, the instruction used to consist in nothing but making the boy copy out, in a neat hand, the very instances given in the book: and we are afraid that there is still nothing more in many seminaries and academies for young gentlemen, formerly called boys' schools. Hence perhaps it is that so many tradesmen undervalue the



art, and imagine, as the treatises tell us they do, that it comes to the same thing in the end whether double or single entry be employed. Those to whom it *is* the same thing in the end, those who feel fully convinced, and have a right to feel convinced, that it matters nothing to them whether they know half or the whole of their actual states, must be what they call on the stock exchange speculators for the fall; a phrase which we shall here take leave to interpret as meaning persons so sure of their inability to do anything which will make any books show gratifying results, that their going into business is but a preliminary to their appearance in the Gazette.

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We did not think that we should have had anything more to say on the subject. But it happened that, after this article had been dispatched to the printer, the work last mentioned in our title was forwarded to us. It is a well printed quarto book, and contains much good explanation. We pay Mr. Foster the compliment of enlarging a little more upon what we consider the defects of his work than we had intended to do in the case of any particular book whatever.

The author is fully sensible of the difficulties which arise from the debtor and creditor terms, under the received explanations; these he abandons, and in his general principles he tells us, that "Every transaction relating to property may be virtually considered under the single denomination of *barter*, or the exchanging of one thing for another. The *recipient* account is always debtor, and the *imparting* account always creditor." This from a writer who rejects the common definition, is rather strange, for, according to the famous rhymes, the old system says,

"What I *receive*  
Is debtor made to what I *give*,"

and *receive* and *impart* serve only to spoil such rhyme as there is. Mr. Foster mentions casually the *transference* of accounts, by which he might have explained many cases in which the simple notion of debtor and creditor is not easily applicable. Again, there are cases in which Mr. Foster declines to give more than the old account, and that in a very vague form. For instance, (page 26,) A. B.

draws on the firm in favour of C. D., and the draft is accepted ; accordingly bills payable is made creditor by A. B. for the amount, and A. B. is debited to bills payable. "Entries of this description," says Mr. Foster, "are not easily comprehended by learners on account of the confused notion which they have of the nature of bills or acceptances." Can this be? has a learner of anything only a confused notion of a promise to pay a certain sum at a certain time? He then goes on, "A little reflection, however, will show that the concern is still liable : but not to A. B. In fact this transaction is merely a transfer of a *debt* from the party with whom it was originally contracted, to the holder of the acceptance." This is singular : for the holder of the acceptance is precisely the party who has no account opened in the ledger, though his name may occur in the description of a particular acceptance. But further, what if A. B. have nothing due to him? Suppose his draft was accepted from motives of friendship, or suppose it was an accommodation bill, the dubious nature of which in nowise alters its ledger character. Now let us explain the matter in our way. Returning to our illustration with live clerks instead of dead accounts, observe that every transaction in the books is money, not *cash*, necessarily, but money. The clerk of the bills payable, in giving away the acceptance of the firm, has given their money, and must, *when the balance is made up*, receive money, or money's worth, (his own acceptance back again will do,) from the clerk of the balance. Should the acceptance fall due before the ledger is closed, he, for no other person takes charge of bills payable or paid, will be supposed to receive back his acceptance from the clerk of the cash. And A. B. on the other hand, is debtor for what he has received, *to* the clerk of the bills payable, it is usually said—we say to the clerk of the balance *by* the bill payable. If his account will not pay it, the balance clerk must do it when he closes that account, and the latter will report himself the creditor of A. B. for the next ledger, or the next year's continuation of the old ledger. In every case we find the explanation perfectly easy on the supposition that the clerk of the balance is the only real debtor and creditor, in his character of agent for the stock account, or rather in that of an occasional book-keeper, called in by Mr. Stock to settle how he shall open next year's ledger. This balance clerk goes round the accounts, and whenever he finds one which is not either

nullified by its own items of account, or by transference to some other, he takes the excesses, makes up deficits, and takes all the responsibility on himself.

We will debit Mr. Foster with one more remark, whether he is inclined to credit us for it, or no. There is too much division of his book into theory and practice, too much about science and art, too much made of the simple and obvious first principles of what is not a science but a very limited case of the application of arithmetic. The merchant will not be much impressed by his quotation from Aristotle's metaphysics about theory and experience, nor should he have cited Archimedes as the discoverer of a fundamental law of hydrostatics\* by means of the bath, nor need he have credited the bursting of an empty (!) flask with the first rude idea of the power of steam. There are many good remarks on general things in this preface, but they are out of keeping with the subject; and we are glad to be able to assure those who take up the book, that they will find it more practically useful than the preface would lead them to expect. Its clearness will give information about the obscure points of the common treatises, even when the student had better abide finally by the phraseology of those treatises. We have no doubt that Mr. Foster is an excellent teacher of the subject.

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ART. VIII.—*The Plea of Conscience for Seceding from the Catholic Church to the Romish Schism, in England. A Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, Nov. 5th, 1845.*  
By W. SEWELL, B. D. *To which is prefixed an Essay on the process of Conscience.* Oxford: Parker.

IT would be uncandid to refuse Mr. Sewell the praise of great power of language and description, great happiness in illustration, and great power in seizing and depicting character. His acknowledged writings would fully

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\* This mistake will last to the end of time, we suppose. What Archimedes discovered in the bath was, not that a body immersed loses the weight of its own bulk of water, but that the water which runs over from a full vessel, is of the same bulk as the solid substance, the complete immersion of which made it run over. Or rather, he did not discover this, which every one knew, but he suggested an application of it.

bear out this eulogy ; but still more the novel of "Hawthorne," which we reviewed in our last number, and in which his hand is very plainly to be traced. But Mr. Sewell's defects far more intimately affect his character as a philosopher ; amounting to no less than this, namely :—a reckless and extravagant disregard of any thing like consistency of statement or consecutiveness of argument.

These characteristics, however, in our humble opinion, are less obviously discernible in the publication before us, than in such works as the "Christian Morals." He seems on the present occasion to have been aware of his characteristic failing, and to have taken considerable pains in building a regular and sustained structure : though at last it is but like a house of cards, which the least touch from without may in a moment overthrow. In a word, we think he has succeeded, not in avoiding his usual faults, but only in concealing them a little more carefully from the public view. Nor even so far is his success complete. We have, e. g. an example of his singular disregard to consistency of statement, where he speaks (p. 50.) of "those who are gone," (viz. the recent converts from the English church :) as "men of zeal, men of piety, men of prayers, and watchings, and fastings, and almsgivings, and purity of life ;" and only three pages further, (p. 53.) says that "the plague," (meaning the grace of union with the Catholic church,) "has fallen, for the most part, upon the *weak and sickly of the flock.*" And we have an example of his notorious love of paradox, where he gravely tells his hearers, (p. 26.) that "he who cannot find, either in his parent, or in his king," (i. e. in Queen Victoria,) "or in the church," (i. e. in the Anglican church, see p. 27, "authorized minister of *our own church,*") "any voice to support him in abandoning his religious communion, *may be assured that his conscience is deluding him.*"

All that part of the preacher's observations which is directed towards illustrating the danger of self-reliance, seems singularly out of place when employed in censure of those who have submitted themselves to the Catholic Church : an authority, surely, which demands the surrender of the individual judgment far more peremptorily, than the Anglican church demands it upon any view of that church. At the same time, the observations, to which we allude, will bear their full part in producing, on those whom the preacher especially addresses, "the

young in this place," the general impression which he desires: an impression, that nothing can be more rash or presumptuous than to follow what appears to be the voice of conscience, whenever it tends to raise them above and beyond that precise type of theology, which their respective tutors hold up for their acceptance. An impression this, which those who hold Mr. Sewell's opinions are, naturally enough, very desirous of producing.

In a notice like this, there is, of course, no room for meeting Mr. Sewell point by point, though it would be no difficult task to do so. But it is worth while to draw attention to his general drift; which is much as follows: (the wording is our own) "Any one educated in a religious Society which does not *profess* divine authority, can have little difficulty in seeing that his duty lies in quitting that Society. But for a person to leave a Society which *does* maintain such a claim, is an act of inexcusable presumption, unless he be endued with an almost superhuman amount of moral and intellectual excellence." We have specified this, in order to press upon Mr. Sewell one consideration, which may tend to show him how dangerous this *à priori* sort of reasoning may become, unless carefully checked and confronted by facts. For the Jewish Law most certainly professed to be divine; how then could Mr. Sewell defend the many "sinners," who from Jews became Christians? Nay even the most holy who then submitted to the Church, could in no way support their claim of acting conscientiously, were Mr. Sewell their judge. For of the three "signs," which, according to him, must be found *in union*, in order that we may trust our conscience, two were certainly absent, and the third hardly present, according to Mr. Sewell's interpretation of his own language. For 1st, the command *did* take an "affirmative form" in the very sense which Mr. Sewell denounces, (p. 11. 13.) seeing it was the positive marks of divinity in Christ's Church which mainly attracted them, and not chiefly the adverse notes which met them in their own: and 2ndly, they certainly expected higher satisfaction in numberless ways as Christians than they had received as Jews, which is exactly what Mr. Sewell condemns as "a following of the bias and inclination of ones own heart," (p. 11. 21—25.) Nay, even as to the third test which Mr. Sewell proposes, it is very difficult to see in what way the Apostles referred their

converts to "human testimony external to themselves," except in the same way which the Catholic Church adopts now, and which, in *her* case, Mr. Sewell condemns as merely a pretence. They claimed absolute authority as Christ's representatives, just as Catholic missionaries now claim it in behalf of the Church. They worked miracles, and Mr. Sewell will not deny that Catholics sometimes do the same, (p. 44.) The only difference is, that the Apostles preached a *new* doctrine, and appealed in part to their miracles as evidence of it; the present church preaches the *Apostles'* doctrine, and, so far as she uses miracles as an evidence, appeals to *their* miracles. But the Church has shown no unwillingness whatever to enter upon the historical enquiry which establishes her claim to identity with the Church of the Apostles; as the very articles in this Review (take as one instance, that on the Early Evidence for the Papal Supremacy) may sufficiently show: and Mr. Sewell himself confesses that his third test for the security of a sound conscience is sufficiently answered, where there is such readiness, (p. 41.)

We call, then, on Mr. Sewell to attempt some account of this seeming inconsistency; to attempt such an explanation of his sentiments, as may not bring them into point-blank collision with the unanimous sentiments of the Apostles. If he publish such an appendix to his sermon, we pledge ourselves, on a future occasion, to follow his sermon point by point, and expose the childish imbecility of its arguments; if he do *not* publish such an appendix, his readers will know how much weight they should attach to his opinion.

It is observable that the author especially refers to the view lately put forth by Dr. Pusey, on the most distinguished of the recent conversions from the English Church; and refers to it with the most pointed and unqualified severity. He speaks of one who should say, "It matters not to which branch of the tree of life he attaches himself, so long as he is not severed from the root;" (p. 34.) (language which will at once remind the reader of Dr. Pusey's expression as to being, "transplanted from one part of the vineyard into another,") and says that such language is "*an open avowed elevation of the standard of self-will;*" adding, "it is a melancholy symptom of the depth to which the wilfulness of these latter days has penetrated,

when such apologies for schism are maintained, as they are among ourselves, even by men who plead most earnestly for obedience and order.” (p. 35.) Nay he proceeds, “That is a *far better state of mind*, (so far as such a word can be used of a state *essentially miserable*,) in which we are disposed at once to acknowledge the Church of Rome as the only true representative of the Church of Christ in this land.”

There are two practical inferences which we shall draw from this sermon. The writer describes conscience, however dangerous an “adviser for the *future*” he considers it, as gifted with “almost unerring correctness as a judge of the *past*.” (p. 6.) Let any one in doubt then, consult those who *have* taken the step to which reference is made, and ask what judgment *their* conscience pronounces on the said *past* action. So far as his circumstances resemble theirs, he may obtain from them, Mr. Sewell being judge, an “almost unerring” response.

The second inference is very far more important than the mere exposure of one of Mr. Sewell’s random sentences. According to the principles implied in this sermon from first to last, *if* persons remain in the Anglican Church, it must be from a belief that that Church is divinely commissioned to teach. Much more, those who wish to follow, not Mr. Sewell but the Fathers, must believe that either members of the Establishment *are* within the Church, *or* they are bound to *seek* admission within it. Have they then any difficulty in calling the Anglican bishops *Catholic* bishops? or the mass of those spiritually subject to them Catholics? or in regarding the Anglican Church as a faithful guardian, depository, and witness of the Catholic Faith? What Catholic was ever heard of throughout Antiquity who hesitated so to speak of the Church to which he belonged? What Catholic in communion with Rome hesitates to do so? If they can *not* do so, and yet by their principles are bound to do so, how can it be said that they remain in invincible ignorance of the fact that they are external to the Church Catholic? We would most humbly, yet most earnestly and affectionately, beg them to give this question, as in the presence of God, their most careful consideration.

Reverting to Mr. Sewell, we observe with pleasure that that gentleman deprecates “railing accusations” against Rome; and we only hope that future publications, over

which he exercises an influence, may be found free from them: an event, however, of which we should have had more hope, if he had added some expressions of regret for his own former delinquencies in that particular.

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ART. IX.—*Le Prêtre, la Femme, et la Famille—Priests, Women and Families.* By T. MICHELET, translated from the French, (third edition,) with the Author's permission, by C. Cocks. London: 1845.

THIS is one of those books, the very existence of which is sufficient to prove that we are in a fallen condition. There is nothing sacred that it does not attempt to profane, nothing holy that it does not attempt to pollute, nothing pure that it does not attempt to defile. Not satisfied with throwing his filthy abominations at the living, the author even goes to the grave—not to call back the glories of the illustrious dead, but, with diabolical but impotent malice, to insult their lifeless ashes—to strip them in their tomb, and to rob them of all they have left behind them on earth—their unimpeachable and illustrious name. There is something so base in this conduct, that every generous mind instinctively shrinks from the coward who thus covers himself with the cloak of two hundred years, in order that he may stab more securely. It is the live ass kicking dead lions. Every thing else in the book is perfectly consistent with this. The same spirit animates the whole. Every thing is viewed in the worst aspect, and the mind of the writer seems to be so gross and so materialized that he is totally incapable of perceiving the spiritual meaning which is obviously conveyed by the worship of the church, or even that which is contained in the texts of holy scripture which relate to the heavenly bridegroom. We would not certainly have defiled our pages with any notice of such a production, if it had not been translated into English, by a person who rejoices in the euphonious appellation of the plural of Cock, and on account of an extract from a letter which he received from the author, in which the latter hopes that this translation will not be uninteresting in London, when Jesuitism is labouring so foolishly in



England. "Nothing can be more strange," he observes, "than their hopes of its near conversion." Perhaps if M. Michelet was now writing to the translator, he would omit this impertinence. He would have heard of the most extraordinary and glorious re-action which has taken place in modern times. But with this we have nothing to do at present; our object is to expose this production in its nakedness and deformity, in order that all those who love truth, or virtue, or generosity, or justice, towards the living or the dead may avoid it.

The character and design of this book may be indicated in a few words. It is an invective which contains neither facts nor argument; written for the express and avowed purpose of bringing into suspicion, contempt, and hatred, the priest, the convent, the confessional, the church, and we may add, without exaggeration, the entire Christian religion. The causes of the violence and bitterness which characterize the language of the infidel writers of France whenever they speak of the Church, are the rapid and almost miraculous advances which religion is making amongst all classes in that great country. For this assertion we can adduce the unexceptionable testimony of M. Michelet himself. He admits in this book, *first*, the restoration of the churches which had been desecrated by the infidels of the first revolution, and had since then fallen into ruin. He says, (p. 161.) "the priests were building up their saint-sulpices and other heaps of stones, when the laity retrieved Notre Dame and Saint Ouen;" and in the next page he adds, "they (the priests) have decked themselves out with their churches, again invested themselves with this glorious cloak, and assumed in them a triumphant posture. The crowd comes, looks, and admires." This last sentence contains his *second* admission that these numerous and splendid churches are crowded, and he repeats the same thing in the first paragraph of the preface to the third edition, where he observes, "from the pulpits of their crowded churches they preach against a living man." The *third* testimony which he reluctantly and bitterly bears to the triumphant progress of Catholicity in France, is contained in his account of the rapid increase of convents, and in the almost incredible number of young ladies who are educated in them. "The increase of religious houses," he exclaims, (p. 201.) "is rapid and unheard of. Lyons, that in 1789 had only forty convents, has now sixty-three;"

and p. 223 he says, "six hundred and twenty thousand girls are brought up by nuns under the direction of priests. These girls will soon be women and mothers, who in their turn will hand over to the priests, as far as they are able, both their sons and their daughters." These last words lead us to M. Michelet's *fourth* and final testimony in favour of the triumph of religion over infidelity in his country: that the infidel schools and the infidel university are beginning to be deserted, and that the boys as well as the girls of France are receiving a Christian education. "The son," says he, (p. 229) "leaves his school for the *Christian school*, (the italics are M. Michelet's,) or the college for the little seminary." And (preface, p. 43.) he says, "that two hundred thousand boys are educated by the priests." Thus we find on the testimony of even her worst enemies, that religion is resuming her empire in France—that her churches are rising from their ruins in renovated beauty—that not only in the provinces, which were always Catholic, but even in Paris itself, and under the eyes of the philosophers, those spacious and numerous churches are crowded with admiring auditors—that more than six hundred thousand young ladies receive a religious education in the convents alone; that the little infidel colleges are abandoned for the Christian schools, and that even the university itself, the last stronghold of infidelity, is beginning to be deserted. Nay, M. Michelet's own lecture-room has been invaded; he has been frequently silenced by the uproar of the indignant multitude within the walls of the university, and it was only by packing the hall with his own partisans that he was enabled to proceed. This is a glorious reaction for France, for religion, for social order. The right arm of the Omnipotent has been stretched forth, and the idols of infidelity have fallen from the high places which they usurped, and have been flung out of the temples which they polluted. The cold sneering philosophy of the French deists, which poisoned the very source of domestic happiness and of social virtue, which deluged Europe with blood and filled with tears and lamentations millions of happy homes, which for a time was the devil that possessed the soul of France, has been cast forth, and religion arrayed in all her native charms has re-appeared in the chivalrous land of heroes and of saints—in the land of Charlemagne and St. Louis—of Bossuet, Fenelon, and St. Vincent of Paul. The sudden

downfall of infidelity in France ought to convince those who still cling to it so desperately and so bitterly, that there is no wisdom, no prudence, no counsel against the Lord.\*

Lest some persons might imagine that the word infidel is used gratuitously and harshly, we shall endeavour from the glimpses which we get from this book alone, to give some idea of the kind of thing (shall we call it religion?) which the author would substitute for Catholicity. This investigation will also enable us to ascertain what degree of importance we are to attach to his aspersions of the character of the clergy and of the institutions of the church, when they are not supported by facts or arguments. "Every man," says M. Michelet, "whether a *philosopher* or *believer*," &c. (note, p. 153.) which words imply that no person can be at the same time a believer, that is, a Christian, and a philosopher. No man certainly can be at the same time a Christian and a philosopher, if the latter word be taken as synonymous with French infidel; but if it be taken in its genuine signification, every *true* philosopher not only may, but must also be a firm believer and a sincere Christian. In numberless passages he urges the necessity of the husband keeping the wife from even going to church. Thus (p. 163) he says,

"When a woman returns home from church, she finds every thing prosy and paltry. Had she even Pierre Corneille for a husband, she would think him pitiful if he lived in the dull house they still show us. Intellectual grandeur in a low apartment does not affect her. The comparison makes her sad, bitterly quiet. The husband puts up with it, and smiles or pretends to do so. 'Her director has turned her brain,' he says aloud, and adds aside, 'after all she only sees him at church.' *But what place, I ask, is more powerful over the imagination, richer in illusions, and more fascinating than the Church?*"

And again he writes, (p. 231.)

"This is true in speaking of the school, but how much more so as regards the church! especially in the case of the daughter, who is more docile and timid, and certainly retains more faithfully her early impressions. What she heard the first time in that grand church under those sounding roofs, and the words pronounced with a solemn voice by that man in black, which then frightened her so,

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\* Prov. xxi. 30.

being addressed to *herself*;—ah! be not afraid of her ever forgetting them.”

We do not stop here to notice the contradictions into which he falls, when he says in the preface that the words of the priests are cold and without effect; for, as we shall have occasion to observe farther on, the whole book is such a tissue of contradictions that almost every proposition it contains could be refuted out of itself; nor is it necessary to waste time in proving what experience alone demonstrates, that the fact of a woman going to church to worship God does not disgust her with her own home, nor make her less attentive to her domestic duties. But he would not entirely prohibit a woman from going abroad to learn religion. By no means; for there is still a place where religious morality is taught, and that is the theatre! “The theatre,” he says, (p. 77.) “re-established religious morality, which had been so endangered in the churches.” The religion of a wife, in his opinion, is a theatrical part which should be played in the character of Christian, Jew, Mahommedan, deist, or atheist, just as her husband pleases. In the preface to the first edition of his book, M. Michelet says,

“Let us not dissemble, but acknowledge to ourselves how things are; there is in our family a sad difference of sentiment, and the most serious of all. We may speak to our mothers, wives, and daughters, on any of the subjects which form the topics of our conversation with indifferent persons, such as business, or the news of the day; but never on subjects which affect the heart and moral life, such as eternity, religion, the soul, and God. Choose, for instance, the moment when we naturally feel disposed to meditate with our family in common thought some quiet evening at the family table; venture even there, in your own house, at your own fireside, to say one word about these things; your mother sadly shakes her head, your wife contradicts you, your daughter by her very silence shows her disapprobation. They are on one side of the table, you on the other and alone.”

And (p. 47.)

“Our board and fireside must again become our own; we must no longer find instead of repose at home, the old dispute which has been *settled by science and the world, nor hear from our wife or child on our pillow a lesson learnt by heart and the words of another man.*”

What right have wives and children to think, the

naughty things, especially of their souls or religion, as if it was not the husband's business to do all these things for them; and indeed it is possible that they could not prove that they have such a thing as a soul at all! According to M. Michelet's ideas of marriage, the husband acquires a right not only to the body but to the soul of his wife; he becomes the god whom she must adore, and whom she must follow when he deserts the hopeful and glorious regions of faith, for the dark and dreary caverns of infidelity. In the same page of the preface (47.) quoted above, he says,

"The man of the present and future age, will not give up woman to the influence of the man of the past. The *direction* of the latter is, as I shall show, a marriage more powerful than the other, a spiritual marriage. *But he who has the mind has all.* To marry a woman whose *soul* is in the possession of another, (remember it young man,) is to marry a divorce."

And again, (p. 208.)

"Really to reign is to reign over a soul.....His (the priest's) business is with a soul that gives itself up of its own accord."

The meaning of all this is, that the wife should give her husband not only her body, her heart, and her love, but her soul above all; that she should make him her director, her priest, and even her god, for she must give him her soul, which God alone can claim. For him she must abandon all the firmest convictions of the past, all the fond hopes of futurity. She must cease to be a *believer* and become a *philosopher*. She must abandon the church for the theatre, and take her creed out of Moliere instead of the gospels. Of course he extinguishes the fire of hell with one drop of ink from his omnipotent pen, and he is right in doing so, for it would be an exceedingly inconvenient doctrine to be retained in the religion of the theatre. "The phantasmagoria of the middle ages," he says, (p. 216.) "which we thought forgotten, revives; the dark infernal region of hell, at which we had laughed, exacts a heavy interest and takes a cruel revenge." We know not whether more to admire the cavalier way in which M. Michelet laughs at so awful a subject, or the hardihood of the assertion that the doctrine of hell is an invention of the middle ages! Our astonishment, however,

probably arises from our having been more accustomed to the language of believers than of philosophers.\*

M. Michelet's work is divided into three parts. The first treats of *direction* in the seventeenth century; the second of direction in general, and especially in the nineteenth century; and the third of families. It may be necessary to observe, that by *direction* the author understands "spiritual guidance." The first part is, and indeed this may be said of the whole book, a confused heap of false accusations, sometimes openly made, and sometimes insinuated. This first part, which was to treat, according to the author, of direction in the seventeenth century, is almost entirely taken up with Quietism or Molinosism, Molinism, convents, St. Francis of Sales, Bossuet, and Fenelon. The doctrine of Quietism is so notorious, that we cannot be expected to enter into any very lengthened exposition of it in this place. Its fundamental principle is, that we should reduce ourselves to a state of nothingness, in order to unite ourselves with God; that perfect love of God consists in an habitual state of passive contemplation, without making any use of the faculties of our soul, and in regarding as indifferent every thing that could happen to us in this state. This absolute repose is called Quietism, and those who professed it were denominated Quietists. The first germ of this doctrine is to be found as early as the fourth century amongst the Origenists, who were so called, not from the celebrated Origen, but from an obscure individual of the same name. In the fifth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries several heretics revived the same errors. The most celebrated person connected with Quietism is Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest born in 1627. In 1675 he published the "Spiritual Guide," at Rome, which obtained the approbation of several distinguished individuals, more especially of the censors, and which was translated into several languages. Molinos's doctrine may be reduced to three heads. 1. Perfect con-

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\* This wretched man regrets that it is no longer the custom of husbands to beat their wives into their views. "Fear," he says, p. 220, "has much to do with love. The husband in the middle ages was loved by the wife for his very severity. His humble Griselda, recognised in him the *right of the paternal rod*. The bride of William the Conqueror having been *beaten* by him, knew him by this *token* for her *lord and husband*. Who has this right in our age? The *husband has not* preserved it." In the beginning of the next paragraph, he destroys heaven as well as hell. "How can that man be resisted," he exclaims, "who, to force one to love him, can entice by the offer of *Paradise*, or frighten by the terrors of *Hell*?"

templation is a state in which the soul does not reason at all; it thinks neither of God nor of itself, but it receives the impressions of heavenly light without any action whatever. 2. In this state the soul desires nothing, not even its own salvation; it fears nothing, not even hell. 3. The use of the sacraments and the practice of good works become indifferent, and the most criminal representations and impressions which occur in the sensitive part of the soul are no sins. There is no one who must not at once perceive how absurd and pernicious this doctrine is; how it withdraws the mind from every virtue, and opens the door for every vice. As far as we can ascertain M. Michelet's views, from the *disjecta membra* which are scattered through this book, we would infer that he wishes his readers to believe that the spirit of the Catholic Church is to lead all those who trust themselves to her guidance into Quietism.

There is nothing more apt to blind the clearest intellect than prejudice or passion. M. Michelet is afflicted with both; they sit like a night-mare upon his mind, and his writings are become more like the incoherent ravings of a troubled dream, than the sober reasonings of a waking philosopher. One half of his present production is as much opposed to the other, as it is all in open antagonism with his former writings, with the dictates of reason, and with the doctrines of revelation. His passions have carried M. Michelet so far beyond the bounds of common sense, that, after attacking the Quietists and all those whose doctrines interfered with the perfect freedom of the will, he takes the side of the Jansenists, who were the bitterest enemies of human liberty. "Whether," he says, (page 66.) "the Jansenists did or did not exaggerate the doctrine of grace, we must still call this party, as it deserves to be in this grand struggle, the party of virtue." These dear friends of virtue and liberty taught that some of God's commandments were impossible—that in the present state interior grace is never resisted—that a man may be in the necessity of sinning, and still his act will be imputed to him—that the will is not free, either in resisting or obeying grace, and that Christ did not die for any but the elect, and, consequently, that the rest of mankind have it not in their power to be saved.\* But no

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\* The five famous propositions of the Jansenists, the substance of which are given in the text, were condemned by Innocent X. Alexander VII. and Clement XI.

inconsistency, however glaring—no doctrine, however absurd or blasphemous, will prevent this friend of liberty and of the freedom of the mind from casting the shield of his protection over those who were the enemies of the Jesuits, and whose pernicious errors were condemned by the Catholic Church.

M. Michelet has taken up arms against all priests of whatever degree: they must not be allowed to give any advice to their congregation, either individually or collectively, (indeed, he would abolish all public worship except what is practised in the theatre), because all direction leads to Quietism, and Quietism would lead to the devil, if he had not—as he would express it himself—reduced him to a nonentity. The wife and children must be contented with the guidance of the husband and the father, who will save them a vast deal of trouble by teaching them that there is neither a heaven nor a hell, and that they have only to cease to be believers in order to become happy philosophers. You are mistaken, M. Michelet, you cannot slake the thirsting of the soul after immortality. She will not exchange her hopes of a future life for vague declamation which means nothing. Yet this is precisely what you offer her in exchange for all she believed and hoped and cherished. You talk of “the man of the *present* and *future* age,” and of “the day when families will be rallied, when fellow mortals will perceive the man of the future and of a magnanimous mind.” In (page 32 of the preface) you say :

“If the future that is within you, were revealed in its full light, who would turn his eyes towards the departing shadows of darkness and night? It is for you to find and for you to make the future. This is not a thing that you must expect to find ready made. If the *future is already in you as a bud transmitted from the most distant ages, let it grow there as the desire for progress and amelioration, a paternal wish for the happiness of those who are to follow you. Love in anticipation your unknown son, for he will be born. Men call him ‘the time to come,’ and they work for him.*”

Again, (page 46.) you treat us to the following piece of information :

“That which constitutes the gravity of this age, I may even say its *holiness*, is conscientious work which promotes *attentively the common work of humanity and facilitates at its own expense the work of the future.....the soil which the middle ages left us, still covered*



with brambles, has produced by our efforts so plentiful a harvest, that it already *envelopes, and will presently hide, the old inanimate post that expected to stop the plough.*"

You also talk very grandly of the "*modern spirit of liberty and of the future;*" but what you mean by the "*modern spirit of the future;*" or indeed by any of the other grandiloquent things which you would substitute for priestly teaching, and the religion of the past and of the present, we suppose can only be fathomed by philosophers. You will never be able to persuade mankind to exchange the dear substantial hopes of immortality for these absurd *non-entities*. The belief in a future state is so deeply implanted in our nature, that no ingenuity has ever been able to tear it out of the human heart. If we go back to the earliest dawning of the history of mankind—if we seek the most distant and barbarous nations of the world, we shall find that, though differing in language, manners, institutions, and in the very colour of their bodies, they all look forward to a brighter country and a happier home beyond the skies, where their sorrows shall be all ended and their tears wiped away. As rivers, though rising in the most distant and opposite directions, all flow to the ocean, so do our souls, no matter how various the circumstances in which they may be placed, by a common impulse of their nature, all seek and flow on to the shoreless sea of immortality. This sentiment has been beautifully expressed by St. Augustine: "Our souls, O Lord, have been made for thee, and cannot rest until they rest in thee." The would-be philosopher cannot confine the aspirations of the soul to this little world; it will fly to heaven and to its Creator in spite of him. M. Michelet and the infidel husbands will never be popular as directors, notwithstanding their abolition of hell and their substitution of the theatre for the church, and of Moliere for St. Paul, because human nature itself rebels and rises in arms against the dark and dismal doctrine that there is no hereafter.

Still all direction leads to Quietism.

"What signifies their writing against the theory of Quietism?" says the author, (p. 120.) "Quietism is much more a method than a system; a method of drowsiness and indolence, which we *ever meet with in one shape or other in religious direction*. It is useless to recommend activity like Bossuet, or to permit it like Fenelon,

if preventing every active exercise of the soul, and holding it as it were in leading strings, you deprive it of the habit, taste, and power of acting. Is it not then an illusion, Bossuet, if the soul still seems to act, when this activity is no longer its own but yours? You show me a person who moves and walks; but I see well that this appearance of motion proceeds from your influence over that person, you yourself being as it were the principle of action, the cause and reason of living, walking, and moving. There is always the same sum of action in the total; only in this dangerous affinity between the director and the person directed, all the action is on the side of the former; he alone remains an active force, a will, a person; he who is directed losing gradually all that constitutes his personality, becomes—what? a machine.”

This passage, which indeed contains the marrow of the whole book, is so outrageously extravagant that it must defeat itself. It amounts to this—that every individual who takes a priest’s advice in any spiritual matter, is at once a machine—a Quietist! Taking the passage in its widest signification, it is simply absurd and ridiculous. Let a priest teach a child its catechism—let him instruct it to love God and its neighbour, not to steal, not to bear false witness, not to swear, not to commit adultery, not to kill, and to honour its father and mother, and that child is an automaton and a Quietist. Let a priest give instruction in the pulpit, in the confessional, in public or in private, to congregations or individuals, and all who follow his advice become machines and Quietists! Recollect that this doctrine of M. Michelet is applicable to all Christian societies which admit a public ministry for the instruction of the flocks entrusted to their charge. If the instructions and directions of the priest or minister be pernicious, there should be no such persons; and this is what the writer aims at, although he dares not openly avow it. The truth is that there is quite too little direction at present, for it is manifestly a most powerful means of reclaiming from vice and preserving in virtue. How many are saved from falling into the abyss of iniquity—how many are brought back to holiness by the kindly and friendly remonstrances of the good pastor. That this is one of the most important duties of the Christian minister is evident from Holy Scripture. Jesus Christ, the model of good pastors, says, (John x.) “that he knows his [sheep], and that his [sheep] know him;” and (Luke xv.) “that he seeks out the strayed sheep and carries it home on his

shoulders." The very divine commission which the Apostles, and their successors in the ministry to the end of time, got, was to go teach all nations, (Mat. xxviii.) St. Paul tells us how he fulfilled this commission (Acts xx.) when he calls the elders of the Church of Ephesus to witness that "*he is innocent of the blood of all men,*" for that he had preached and taught *publicly and from house to house*; and he charges the bishops to take heed to themselves and to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed them bishops to rule the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. Again, the clergy are charged to watch over their flock, because they shall have to render an account of their souls. This thing is so evident in itself, that even Dr. Strauss, in his "Letter to the Burgo-master and Two Professors of Zurich," acknowledges it in the following words:

"But, should not the communities be able to rely with security on the judgment of the clergy?—certainly in all those points which refer to the individual salvation of the members of the community. On the question, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? the clergymen have to give an answer to those committed to their care, &c."\*

With regard to those who are immediately under the constant spiritual guidance of some individual, there are but three cases mentioned by the author—namely, those of Madame de Chantal and St. Francis de Sales, of Fenelon and Madames Guyon and de la Maisonfort, and of Bossuet and Sister Cornuan. He gives these also as instances of that dangerous proximity, which he says arises between the director and the directed. Yet, notwithstanding that he has chosen these out of a whole century—notwithstanding that he has searched all their works, and their very private and confidential correspondence with those whom they directed, he is not able to fix a single stain on their spotless fame, or to prove that, as directors, they gave one

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\* In fact, it is almost an insult to the understanding of any Christian, to waste time in proving that there ought to be a Christian ministry, one of whose principal duties is to instruct the ignorant, reclaim the sinner, and confirm the just. This is the foundation of the whole economy of the Christian religion, that it should consist of pastors, to teach, to administer the sacraments, and to direct; and of people, to be taught, to receive the sacraments, to be directed. And hence, the very first thing the Apostles did after converting any people, was to appoint pastors over them. See Acts, xiv. 22. Ep ad Titum, 1 c. 5 v. 1 Ep ad Timotheum, 3 c. &c. The Catholic church admits of directors in no other sense.

advice which was not consistent with the most virginal purity and the most spotless sanctity. The mountain in labour has brought forth a truly ridiculous mouse. For what has he produced after all his toil? A few garbled extracts, not amounting to twenty lines, from Bossuet relating to the love of God, in which he uses the very words for the most part of Holy Scripture. But this animal man does not understand the things which are of the Spirit of God. These ridiculous charges were very easily refuted, and how does M. Michelet reply? "Others," he says, (Note, page 117.) "have given themselves the cheap pleasure to refute all that I have not said, and to prove that Bossuet is an honest man. Well, who said the contrary?" And yet he immediately proceeds to quote, as charges against that great man, a few quarters of sentences which refer directly to the love of Jesus in the holy sacrament, and four (we love to be particular) bits of periods to one of his penitents, the last of which states that she should not quit confessing to him because she gave him too much trouble, and the other that, though these things were nothing to him, he was not insensible to a certain correspondence of tastes. What a filthy imagination—what a depraved mind must that man have who cannot read words which might, nay—as he himself acknowledges, as I shall show presently—which were actually written by one who was as pure as an angel, without distorting them to his own abominable purposes. And how irreproachable must not Bossuet be—how unimpeachable the directors and confessors of the seventeenth century, when this is the worst he can produce against them. Lest any one should imagine that we are prejudiced judges on this matter, we beg to appeal to the opinion expressed in the "Quarterly Review" (September, 1845,) on this very subject. "We are far too serious," say the Reviewers, "on such subjects, to pursue throughout this history of spiritual flirtations, especially connected as it is with such high, and, as we believe, *blameless* names in the satiric and glowing manner of our author." We would invite every person to read the life and to study the writings and correspondence of St. Francis de Sales, for in neither will he find anything that is not most edifying and holy. The author, too, himself acknowledges that "every favour of heaven must certainly have been showered upon him"—that "everything he has said or written is charming"—that "we everywhere

find, as it were, living fountains springing up, flowers after flowers, and rivulets meandering as in a lovely spring morning after a shower." Fenelon, as everybody knows, fell into the doctrine of semiquietism, which rejected all the grosser parts of Quietism, and confined itself to asserting that there might be an *habitual* state of the soul in this world, in which she would continually love God without hope of reward or fear of punishment. But he did not originate this doctrine, but was led into it by Madame Guyon, the purity of whose conduct casts a redeeming glory over the errors into which she fell. Fenelon, like Madame Guyon, was betrayed into this doctrine from its apparent holiness. Even M. Michelet acknowledges this, (page 102.) "To introduce spirituality so refined and so exalted, and such a pretension to supreme perfection, into that world of outward propriety and ceremonial at Versailles, and that at the end of a reign in which everything seemed rigidly frozen, was indeed a rash undertaking." And Fenelon proved by his noble conduct, when his favourite doctrine was condemned, that it was not self-love but the love of God which influenced him in adopting it. As soon as the condemnation was known, he ascended the pulpit and condemned his own book—he forbid his friends to defend it—he published a pastoral to make his sentiments known to his whole diocese, and assembled the bishops of his province, and subscribed with them the brief of Innocent XII., in which his doctrine was censured. Even the malice of Michelet can discover no charge of the slightest impropriety or immorality in Fenelon. On the contrary, he accuses him with insensibility towards Madame de la Maisonfort, who, of all others, was most attached to him; and he admits that he was eminently noble, shrewd, eloquent, and devout. Nor will the following passage, highly coloured as it is by the prejudices of the author, diminish the respect of any sincere Christian for that illustrious ornament of the Church. He says : (page 100, 101.)

"All these divers elements, without being able to combine, were harmonized in his outward actions, under the graceful influence of the most elegant genius that was ever met with. Being both a Grecian and a Christian, he reminds us at the same time of the fathers, philosophers, and romancers of the Alexandrian period; and sometimes our sophist turns prophet and in his sermon soars on the wings of Isaiah. Every thing inclines us to believe for all that, that

the astonishing writer was the least part of Fenelon—he was superlatively the *Director*. Who can say by what enchantment he bewitched souls and filled them with transport? We perceive traces of it in the infinite charms of his correspondence, disfigured and adulterated as it is; no other has been more cruelly pruned, purged, and designedly obscured. Yet in these fragments and scattered remains, seduction is still omnipotent. Besides a nobleness of manner and an animated and refined turn of thought, in which the man of power is very perceptible under the robe of the Apostle, there is also what is particularly his own, a feminine delicacy that by no means excludes strength, and even in his subtlety an indescribable tenderness that touches the heart. When a youth, and before he was tutor to the Duke of Burgundy, he had for a long time directed the *newly converted*. There he had had the opportunity of well studying woman's character, and of acquiring that perfect knowledge of the female heart, in which he was unrivalled. The impassioned interest they took in his fortune, the tears of his little flock, the Duchesses of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers, and others, when he missed the Archbishopric of Paris, their constant fidelity to this well-beloved guide during his exile at Cambrai, which ended only with his death—all this fills up the void of lost letters, and conveys a strange idea of this *all-powerful magician, whose invincible magic defied every attack.*"

Such is a mischievous director, or rather the very impersonation of mischievous direction, according to the ideas of M. Michelet! We shall merely retort upon him in his own words, that the "*invincible magic of this all-powerful magician still defies every attack.*"

We think it right here to add a word or two on Bossuet's correspondence, from Michelet himself. "Nothing," he says, (page 112) "throws more light upon the real character of the *direction*, than the correspondence of the *worthiest and most loyal of directors*—I mean Bossuet. Experience is decisive; if here, too, the results are bad, we must blame the method and the system, but by no means the man." The italics are the author's, and we have already seen how completely he has failed in being able to fix the slightest stain on the character of Bossuet, either as a Christian or a Director, in the few miserable and garbled extracts\* which he has taken from him. He

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\* Take the following specimens from (p. 118, 119.) where these few scraps are to be found. The first terrible extract is, that Bossuet explains the words of the bride in the "*canticle of canticles*," support me with flowers, for I languish with love, July 10, 1692. (2) Jan. 17, 1792, "When the tender wound of love, &c." (3) "Jesus wishes you to be with him, he wishes to enjoy and that you

says of this very correspondence, (page 113,) "If this correspondence has reached us in a more perfect form than that of Fenelon, we are indebted for it (at least for the most curious part of it) to the veneration which one of Bossuet's penitents, the good widow Cornuon, entertained for his memory. That worthy person in transmitting these letters to us religiously left in them a number of details humiliating enough to herself. She has forgotten her own vanity, and thought only of the glory of her spiritual father. In this she has been very happily guided by her attachment for him; perhaps indeed *she has done more for him than any panegyrist. These noble letters,*

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may enjoy with him; his *holy flesh* is the means of this union and this *chaste enjoyment*." (June 4th, 1695.) "Dare every thing with the *celestial* bridegroom, seize hold of him, I permit you the most violent transports." (May 14, 1695.) "It is in the *holy sacrament* that we enjoy *virginally* the body of the bridegroom, and he appropriates ours." (June 1, 1696.) "Embrace at liberty this dear little brother who every day desires to be united to you." To what miserable shifts must Michelet be driven, when these few texts which relate to the blessed Eucharist, and to the love which Jesus there shows us, and which we should return to him, are all, with the exception of the few we shall now quote, which this moral assassin can produce even in his new edition, to justify his miserable attack upon one of the greatest and purest of men as well as of priests. "But this fine genius and best priest of his age," as the author says, (p. 114,) "was still a priest;" and to be a priest and a villain is the same thing in the estimation of M. Michelet. The second class of charges, he says, are more personal, and here they are in full. "Indeed, I would not excite these tendernesses of the heart in a direct manner, but when they come of themselves or in consequence of other reasons, &c. I am not insensible, thank God, to a certain correspondence of sentiments and of tastes. But though I feel strongly these correspondences, &c. (M. Michelet never finishes a sentence when he finds it convenient to stop in the middle of it.) All you feel concerning me is, in truth, nothing to me in that matter, and you must not fear to reveal it to me. I forbid you to adhere to the temptation of quitting, or to believe that I am either fatigued or wearied by your conduct." By such scraps it is attempted to injure the fame of this illustrious man. This process of quotation is very nearly allied to that by which another ingenious philosopher attempted to prove that the scriptures ordered every man to hang himself. "Judas hung himself," says the scripture, which also advises "go thou and do likewise." We at first thought of giving in an appendix all the letters referred to, but it is quite unnecessary, as we shall prove from the author himself. "He (Bossuet) becomes," says M. Michelet, "short and almost harsh towards the latter;" (the person to whom the extracts above were addressed,) when the business is to answer the rather difficult confidential questions which she perseveres in putting to him. He postpones his answer to an indefinite period, (to my entire leisure,) and till that time he forbids her to write upon such subjects, otherwise "he will burn her letters without even reading them."

The other reason given in the text proves how false and base and ridiculous these accusations are. But the gravest charge of all is, that Bossuet was a Quietist. This is proved by the following extracts. "A change of life must follow, but without the soul even thinking of changing itself." "Make no effort of head or heart to unite yourself to the bridegroom." This latter M. Michelet calls an eminently Quietist text. What, Bossuet a Quietist! the great and successful enemy of Quietism, a Quietist himself! We shall next hear that Wellington fought for the French at Waterloo. The two texts are perfectly similar, and we shall therefore explain the *eminently* Quietist text, and this explanation will also enable the reader to judge of M. Michelet's honest and honourable mode of quotation. It is evident from the letter in which the quotation occurs, that this lady felt that sadness of spirits which sometimes afflicts pious souls—that

written in such profound secrecy, and never intended to see day-light, are worthy of being exhibited to the public."

There is certainly something particularly grand and sublime as well as illustrative of the subject of Direction, in Bossuet's ideas of the duties of a Christian priest. He considered that every one had a right to consult him, and that he was bound to give them his advice on spiritual affairs. "*Tous,*" he declares, "*ont droit à mes instructions, à mes conseils, à mes consolations.*" He most justly thought that this was the principal duty of a bishop. "*La principale obligation d'un eveque est de conduire les âmes; je gemis de ce que ma force ne repond pas à mes desirs et de ce que je ne puis donner une egale attention à tous en particulier, ce que m'oblige de me debarrasser sur d'autres d'une partie de se soin, mais je m'estime tres-honoré de ce que Dieu daigne m'en confier un certain nombre et benir mes travaux et mes instructions.*" These are the true principles and reasons for direction as laid down by one of those whom Michelet himself appeals to, and we are perfectly satisfied to set these few simple but holy and sublime words in opposition to all our philosopher has said on the subject. Bossuet only regrets that he cannot give equal attention to each one in particular. Indeed, it was a vast sacrifice for one of his mighty genius, whose writings were the admiration of the world, to spend his time in the humble duty of directing souls how to serve God. He was quite as attentive to the poor and the ignorant as to those who were illustrious by

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she felt as if separated from the heavenly bridegroom, who gives joy and consolation to the heart. Under these circumstances she wrote to Bossuet, to instruct her as to what means she should take to make all her love flow to Jesus. He replies, that she must withdraw her heart from all creatures; that God only gives his love to those who prepare themselves, and whom he prefers for it. "Make no effort," he continues, "of head or heart, to unite yourself with your bridegroom, only draw your heart apart, the sacred spouse finding you in solitude, (she was going on a retreat,) will accomplish his own work. Do not practise any extraordinary works or particular austerities." So that he did not in the least advise her to give herself up to the dreams of Quietism, but not to perform extraordinary austerities in order to unite herself with her heavenly spouse. He again repeats all this in the next paragraph. "This is what persons ordinarily demand, when they enquire the means (of making all their love flow to Jesus,) to what particular exterior or interior practices they should apply themselves, or what effort they ought to make; whereas frequently the only means is not to make any violent effort," &c. Truly Bossuet, thou must have been "wise as a serpent and simple as a dove," or thy enemies, reading with eyes of malice thy most secret correspondence, and hashing it up into quarters and halves of sentences, would not have been obliged to content themselves with this miserable ghost of a charge against thee.



their birth or by their learning. On one occasion when he spent three hours in hearing a general confession and in instructing a very humble person, his friends remonstrated with him on what they considered a waste of time; but he returned the following noble answer: "*Et pourquoi donc suis je fait Eveque et Pasteur? Cette ame est-elle mééprisée de Jesus Christ? Ne l'a-t-il pas rachetée au prix de son sang comme celle d'un esprit plus élevé et d'une naissance plus distinguée.*" And on another similar occasion he exclaimed, perhaps in more sublime words: "*Je ne connois rien de grand que l'empreinte divine mise dans l'ame; c'est par la que la naissance de l'homme est illustre et bienheureuse. Pour la naissance du corps ce n'est que honte foiblesse et impureté.*" It was also a constant maxim of his, that all conversations between the director and the person who required his advice should be strictly confined to purely spiritual matters; and if he found any person making frivolous enquiries, or asking questions for the sake of gossiping, he instantly dismissed them. On this subject he said very beautifully, "A director holds the place of God, who does nothing useless; a gossip is unworthy of such a ministry." "*Un directeur tient la place de Dieu qui ne fait rien d'inutile, un discoureur est indigne d'une telle ministere.*" M. Michelet himself staked the question of Direction on the conduct of Bossuet in that capacity—we have met him on his own ground, and the public must now judge which of us have triumphed. Still, however, we must add one more extract from M. Michelet before we abandon this branch of the subject, more for the curiosity of the thing, than because we consider it in the slightest degree necessary. It is taken from (pp. 158—59) where he is attacking the clergy of the present time. In this place, as if the curse of idiocy were upon him, he refutes all that he had laboured to establish in the first part of his work, with no success indeed, but with great zeal and assiduity. He here expressly vindicates the clergy of the seventeenth century in general, and the three great men whom he had selected as examples, in particular from the charges which he himself had preferred against them. "In this I must confess," he says, "that there is a serious difference between our own century and the *seventeenth*, when the *clergy of all parties* were so learned. That culture, those vast studies, that great theological and literary activity

were for the *priest* of that time the most powerful diversion in the midst of temptations. Science, or at the very least controversy and disputation, created for him, in a position that was often very worldly, a sort of solitude, an *alibi*, as one may say, *that effectually preserved him.*” So much for the clergy of the seventeenth century in general; now for the particular examples which he selected from the same period, namely, St. Francis de Sales, Fenelon, and Bossuet.

“*The great men from whom we have drawn our examples, had a wonderful defence against spiritual and against carnal desires; better than a defence, they had wings that raised them from the earth at the critical moment above temptation. By these wings I mean the love of God, the love of genius for itself, its natural effort to remain on high and ascend in abhorrence of degradation. Being chiefs of the clergy of France, the only clergy then flourishing and responsible to the world, (this is of course totally false,) for whatever subsisted by their faith, they kept their hearts exalted to the level of the great part they had to perform. One thought was the guardian of their lives—a thought which they repressed, but which did not the less sustain them in delicate trials: it was this, ‘That in them resided the church.’ Their great experience of the world and domestic life, their tact and skilful management of men and things, far from weakening morality, as one might believe, rather defended it in them, enabling them to perceive and have a presentiment of perils, to see the enemy coming, not to allow him the advantage of unexpected attacks, or at least to know how to elude him. We have seen how Bossuet stopped the soft confidence of a weak nun at the first word. The little we have said of Fenelon’s direction, shows sufficiently how the dangerous director evaded the dangers. Those eminently spiritual persons kept up for years between heaven and earth the tender dialectic of the love of God.*”

This reminds us of an anecdote we once heard about John Wilkes, or our memory fails us. This person was praising another in the most extravagant manner, when one of the company observed, “Why, Wilkes, I heard you say not an hour ago that he was the greatest scoundrel in existence!” “Yes, my good friend,” replied Wilkes, “but you must recollect that I was attacking *him then*, and that I am now disposing of *another* person.

The truth is, that to assert that all spiritual instruction and direction leads to Quietism, that it makes the person instructed a mere machine, is not only subversive of all faith, “which is from hearing,” but it would also prove

that all teaching in human science is pernicious, as it must lead to the same results. The question simply is, whether what is taught is true or false, for all true teaching must develop, enlarge, and enlighten the mind. If teaching human knowledge be good and wholesome for the mind, does it become pernicious merely because it ascends from the effect to the cause, from the creature to the Creator, because instead of confining itself to earth, it soars upon the wings of faith to heaven? Do the pastors of the Catholic church teach Quietism or the very opposite of Quietism? Michelet tells us that it was approved of *by Rome*. The authority of *Rome* does not reside in the censors of books or of the inquisition, but in the Roman pontiff, the head of the church. Nothing is approved "by Rome," that is not approved by him. Was Quietism, in any shape or form, ever approved by the Pope, or by any authority which is recognized as representing the Catholic church? As soon as the matter was brought authentically before the Pope, he assembled the cardinals and submitted the doctrine of Molinas to their examination; and in 1687, it was condemned solemnly by Innocent XI. "The Spiritual Guide" was publicly burned, Molinas was obliged to abjure his errors in presence of an assembly of cardinals, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. There were sixty-eight propositions condemned on this occasion, and the words with which the pontiff prefaced the condemnation, are so memorable that we shall transcribe their substance, and from this it will be seen that he grounds his reprobation of this doctrine on its opposition to piety and pure morality, and on the hateful consequences which would flow from it. He states, that he consulted many Theologians, who delivered their opinions orally and in writing before himself and the cardinals, and that this doctrine was condemned by the unanimous vote of all, theologians, Cardinals, and Pope, as heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and destructive of Christian discipline, and every person in the church is prohibited, under pain of excommunication, to practice or to teach these doctrines by word or by writing. It would be quite as just to charge Rome with the blasphemies of Luther or of Michelet, as with those of Molinos. Even when this doctrine was purified of its grossness by Fenelon, it could not escape the vigilance of that church which can no more in the seventeenth or in the nineteenth, than it could in the time of St. Augustine, either approve,

or practise, or be silent concerning those things which are opposed to faith or morality.\* If the author would take the trouble of looking into the works of his friends, the Reformers, he would find that they were the precursors of Molinos in the worst and most sensual part of his doctrine, by teaching the slavery of the will and the uselessness of works. Perhaps if he were even to look into his own heart, he would discover that it is he who would make woman a Quietist, (in his sense of the term,) and a machine. He would allow her no liberty of thought, no freedom of action. You are not content with her body and her heart, you must also have her soul and her religion, and she must sacrifice both to please you. You even regret the disappearance of the good old times, when husbands disciplined their wives into their views. And yet this man is a philosopher, an apostle of liberty, the champion of women, the emancipator of those who dwell in convents—this man, who would reduce women to a depth of moral if not of physical degradation, which would scarcely have been tolerated amongst those who believed that they had no souls. We should be astonished if this man of mawkish sentimentality—this man, whose conceptions are all so gross and sensual—could understand the tender, the pure, and the spiritual love of the sacred heart of Jesus. Whilst he is trying how he can pervert the emblems of God's love into objects of sarcasm or ridicule, the humble Christian is reminded by the sight of them, of the sufferings of his Saviour and the goodness of his God. He tells, among other similar things, the following awful fact, (*p.* 152.) "This very year, at Rouen, in the chapel of the sacred heart at Saint Ouen's, I saw a drawing (which the young ladies had made with the pen, and which bears at the foot the approbation of the ecclesiastical authority,) the representation of Jesus on his knees before the kneeling virgin!" The note of admiration is worthy of the author, but for our part we must say, that we did not think it possible that Jesus and Mary, the Son and mother, could have lived thirty years in the same abode and never knelt together in prayer. Why, they went up to the temple to all the solemn feasts and prayed together, and we have no doubt, however shocked M. Michelet's *piety* may be, that

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\* *Ecclesia quæ sunt contra fidem aut honam vitam nec approbat nec tacet nec facit.* St. Aug. Ep. 55. Ad Januarium.

the virgin and her Son frequently knelt together in prayer every day until Jesus commenced his public mission. We can now understand his sneers about "keeping up between heaven and earth the *tender dialectic of the love of God*," and his excessive sensibility about the director, alluding to the dangerous topic of the love of God. It is quite clear that he either does not believe in the existence of God, or that he does not think he has the first claim upon the hearts and affections of his own creatures.

We have now concluded the first and by a great deal the largest part of this book, and we have also replied to a great deal of what is contained in the remainder. The second part is chiefly occupied with two subjects; *first*, an attack upon confession and of course upon priests, and *second* an attack upon convents. His first objection, which is contained in p. 167 and the following, is against the priests. He says, "They will answer by the middle ages and by the multitudes who had lived mortified lives." He then proceeds to point out the difference between the priest of the middle ages and of the present time—"the first answer will seem, *perhaps*, harsh—then the priest believed," still he adds a little after that "he will allow him to be sincere." M. Michelet answers himself, but even if he had not, every one would know what value to set on an accusation of this kind without any sort of evidence, and preferred by a person who does not even know what faith is. *Secondly*, he says the priest is not now so mortified; and yet a little after (p. 179,) he complains that one of the most grievous wrongs which a priest inflicts upon a husband, is by making his *wife turn saint*, so that the unhappy master of the house hears nothing but "to-day is a fast day," "to-morrow is a holiday." There is, it would appear, still too much mortification practised in the church to suit the taste of reformers or philosophers. In their amendments this is always one of the first articles that they expunge from the creed. His *third* reason is, the *superiority of culture* which the priest *then* received. We have a great veneration for the middle ages—they were ages of faith and of knowledge, but we believe there is no one who will believe that the priests were better instructed then than they are at present. In fact, the thing is impossible, and almost as absurd as what he adds, that "every thing she (the penitent) utters to the priest is a revelation to him." "Astonishment and fear take possession of his

soul. If he is not wise enough to hold his tongue he will be ridiculous." His *fourth* and last reason, will save us the trouble of saying anything in reply to this story about the ignorance of the priest on those matters at least, which are connected with their professional duties. "There is," he says, (p. 169—172.) "another difference (between the present and the middle ages,) which will strike only those who are acquainted with the middle ages—the *language was not developed* as it now is. No one being then acquainted with our habits of analyzing and developing, confession was naturally reduced to a simple declaration of sin without any detail of circumstances. There was, if you will, confession; but the woman could not express herself, nor could the priest have understood her." He then adds, that "the priest has had in his hands ready made questions for the last two centuries, by which he will force his fair penitent to dive into her own thoughts. This terrible instrument of enquiry, which in unskilful hands may corrupt the soul by its injudicious probing, must necessarily be modified when morals change. The manuals they put into the hands of the young confessor, are grounded on the authority of the casuist, whom Paschal annihilated long ago. Even if the immorality of their solutions had not been demonstrated, remember that Escobar and Sanchez made their questions for a horribly corrupt period, from which, thank God, we are far removed. And this young priest, who, according to your instructions, believes that the world is still that dreadful world, who enters the confessional with all this villanous science and his imagination full of monstrous cases, you, imprudent men! (what shall I call you?) confront him with a child who has never left her mother's side, who knows nothing, has nothing to say, and whose greatest crime is, that she has not learned her catechism or hurt a butterfly. I shudder at the interrogatory to which he will subject her, and at what he will teach her in his conscientious brutality. But he questions her in vain. She knows nothing and says nothing. He scolds her and she weeps—sometimes forgetting himself in his impassioned dream, he is suddenly and roughly awakened by a lesson from an intelligent and *satirical* woman kneeling at his feet. This lesson has given him an icy chill. Confessors do not suffer such a repulse without remaining a long time bitter, sometimes spiteful for ever—Gall drowns his heart. He prays to God, (if *he can*

*still pray, that the world may perish.* Then returning to his senses, and seeing himself irremediably hived in that *black winding sheet, that death robe* that he will wear to the grave, he *shrouds* himself within it as he *curses it*, and muses how he may make the best of his torment. The only thing he can do is to strengthen his position as a priest. I recommend him especially to be violent against the *philosophers*, and to bark at *pantheism*." We could not refuse our readers the gratification of perusing this specimen of the romantic. Without any change whatever, it might be put into almost any new novel. Indeed, so might the whole book, only that, perhaps, it would be rather dull. It would really be quite amusing to see how he supplies the place of argument by the pure force of imagination, if he had entertained one *really* charitable feeling, or had given expression to one honourable or even honest sentiment in the entire book. But every thing is blackened by the gall of his bitter heart. Like the drunkard, who imagines that every one around him is staggering, this wretched man thinks that every one is unhappy because he is unhappy himself. Poor deluded philosopher! he places all happiness in the extrinsic possessions of a wife and family. He does not know that all true happiness is in the mind, and that we have a higher authority than M. Michelet for believing "that he that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord how he may please God."\* We shall, however, have an opportunity of saying more on this subject in our observations on the third part.

We said that our author's fourth reason against priests, refuted his third, and *vice versa*. The third reason was, that every word the penitent utters is a revelation to the priest—that astonishment takes possession of his soul. And the fourth is, that the priest knows too much—that if she were to relate all the crimes in Escobar and Sanchez, he would not be astonished, and that he sends her off weeping because she has not told him enough. Admirable and consistent philosopher! But the passage just quoted requires a more particular analysis. He says, that the language was not sufficiently developed in the middle ages, to enable the penitents to explain the circumstances of their sins. Now this is evidently absurd, for St. Thomas Aquinas expressly

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\* 1 Cor. vii. 32.

teaches that there were circumstances which should be mentioned in confession, and he belongs to the middle ages. Again, he tells us, that the confessor learns his questions out of manuals grounded on the authority of Escobar. Allowing this falsehood to pass, for this writer has no weight or authority whatever, still it refutes the argument from the development of language, for both Escobar and the manuals, as the author calls them, of the priests, are written in scholastic Latin, a language which was more in use, and therefore better developed, during the middle ages than it is at present. But the charge in reality is, *first*, that the priest has received a villainous education; and *second*, that he puts the most abominable questions to children, and sends them away in tears because they have not been great enough sinners to satisfy his *conscientious brutality*, by accusing themselves of enormous crimes. As to the first, we fearlessly assert that he receives no knowledge that is not absolutely necessary for the discharge of his duties; that it is communicated under the veil of a foreign language, at an advanced period of his studies, and with the greatest delicacy and discretion. A priest must certainly know what sin is, if he is to hear the sins of his penitent, and to prescribe a punishment for the past, and the means by which it may be avoided for the future. Without this knowledge he could no more discharge his duties than the physician or the lawyer who had never studied his profession. This foreknowledge is of vast advantage to both the penitent and the confessor; to the former, because it enables the priest to see the state of the soul without obliging the sinner to enter into painful details, and to the latter, because (to use the very words of the author, p.159.) changing merely the number of the pronoun,

“His great experience of the world and domestic life, his tact and skilful management of men and things, far from *weakening morality*, as one might believe, rather *defends it in him*, enabling him to perceive and have a presentiment of perils, to see the enemy coming, not to allow him the advantage of unexpected attacks or at least to know how to elude him.”

Would to God that it were no longer necessary to know these things, and that grievous sins had gone out of the world; but, alas for poor human nature! this is not the case; and certainly to abolish heaven and hell, to exchange the church for the theatre, and the gospel for



comedies, is not the way to banish vice and to make virtue reign in the hearts and govern the actions of men. It grieves me, says St. Alphonsus Liguori, to speak of such matters as might disturb in the slightest degree pure minds, but, alas! it is necessary; and the illustrious Louis Bail defends Sanchez, whom our author so flippantly assails, in the following true and eloquent words: "Although he touches on some things in the matter of filthy actions, hell is still more filthy, and if the language be filthy, it is still more filthy to rot in sin. This author moots some nastiness, but for the cure of the diseased. If men were angels they would not need such things."\* We adopt this language as our defence of the studies for the priesthood. If any indelicate things be learned, it is for the purpose of saving, not of damning souls. It is better to use a filthy word than to allow the soul to rot in sin, or to go to the abode of the damned, in which we must still persist in believing, notwithstanding M. Michelet's assurance to the contrary. Indeed, we will venture to assert that there are as indelicate things mentioned in the scriptures as in any theology, and for the same purpose of saving souls; and the very same objection which M. Michelet has here urged against the education of the priests, was formerly preferred by Voltaire against the inspired volume. We only hope that those persons never commit sin who are so fastidious about naming it. It is certain at least that Sanchez, and the other casuists who wrote most fully and fearlessly on these matters, were men of child-like innocence and virginal purity, and that their only object was the extirpation of vice, the promotion of virtue, the glory of God, and the salvation of souls.

But then is it not frightful that the confessor, whose mind is stored with this *villainous science of monstrous cases* will propose the most heinous of them to a child who has never left her mother's side, and whose greatest crime is that she has hurt a butterfly? M. Michelet *shudders at*

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\* The following is the passage from Bail, as quoted by St. Alphonsus, in his Treatise on Matrimony, together with the words with which he introduces it. "Quod si cui mirum videatur, auctores cæteroqui prudentes ac pios de hac re fusius pertractasse et minutas etiam variorum casuum circumstantias descripsisse, audiat clarissimum virum Ludovicum Bail qui (tom. ii. concilior. c. 118.) ab hæc censura doctissimi Thomæ Sanch. egregium opus de matrimonio vindicat his verbis: quædam de materia fœdorum actuum licet tangat, turpior est infernus; et si fœdus est sermo fœdus est in peccato putrescere ut ait Petrus Blesensis. Ille auctor aliquas spurcitias movet, sed ad ægrotantium curationem. Si Angeli essent homines talibus non indigerent. (St. Aph. de Mot, No. 900.)

*the interrogatories to which he subjects her*; he is shocked at the scolding she receives, and he almost sheds tears when she weeps. All this is very fine, but it is a purely imaginary scene. The only proof is, that the child is confronted with a person who has all this *villainous* knowledge. It is just the same kind of argument as if a person were to go to a surgeon to consult him on the state of a decayed tooth, but he, instead of looking at the tooth, should instantly proceed to cut off his leg, because he had learned the *villainous science of amputation*. The priest alone must be represented as totally devoid of common discretion and of common sense; and yet when another object is to be gained, he is represented as the most designing and crafty of men. But does M. Michelet really imagine that any person can be so blinded by his prejudices, as to believe the trumpery which he here advances. Why, there is not a single writer on the subject of confession, numerous as they are, who does not impress upon the priest, in the strongest terms, to be extremely guarded in his interrogations, but more especially with women and children. St. Alphonsus Liguori, in his celebrated work called "The Practice of the Confessor," and which is more in the hands of priests than any other book, says, "that it is better that the confession of boys and girls should not be entire, than that they should get reason to understand things that they did not know before, or that their curiosity should be excited to learn them."\* Moreover, the *child* is treated *brutally*, she is scolded and she weeps. Is it possible that she will ever return there again? Certainly never if she were treated in this manner. But she does go back freely and of her own accord; and so great is the consolation which she receives by frequenting the holy tribunal, that all the infidel philosophers in France cannot keep her from it. But this is not all, for when she becomes a mother, the first thing she does with her innocent daughter, who has never been from her side, who is dearer to her than her life, whom she hopes to train up in every virtue, to be the hope and comfort of her declining years, is to send her to this very man whose *villainous science, monstrous cases, and brutal interro-*

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\* Cum his (pueris et puellis) enim melius est deesse integritati materiali confessionis quam esse causam ut apprehendant quæ nondum noverint vel ponantur in curiositate addiscendi. (Praxis confessarii.)

*gatories*, soiled her own innocent soul, and seared her own young and confiding heart!

This attack on the priest prepares us for the still more false and abominable one which follows on the confessional; and here, as in the former case, we are anxious to conceal nothing, but to place all the author has to say before the reader, and as much as possible in his own words. He says, (p. 174.)

“But you tremble; you dare not tell this terrible God your weakness and childishness; well! *tell them to your father*; a father has a right to know the secrets of his child; he is an indulgent father who wants to know them only to absolve them. He is a sinner like yourself; has he then a right to be severe? Come then, my child, come and tell me—what you have not dared to whisper in your mother’s ear; tell it me; who will ever know?”

In answer to this, it is sufficient to observe, that confession is not founded on the right of a father to know the secrets of his child, but on the promise of Christ to his Apostles and their successors, “that whose sins they should remit would be remitted unto them, and whose sins they should retain would be retained,” which discretionary power requires a knowledge of the conscience of the penitent. There was no Christian community anterior to the sixteenth century, whether Greek, Armenian, Nestorian, Eutychian, or Catholic, in which the practice of confession did not exist. Even the Anglican Church and some of the German Reformers were anxious to preserve the practice. But we believe that M. Michelet is the very first who thought that the mother ought to be the confessor of her own daughter. Certainly, if Christ left to his Church the power of forgiving sins to those who confessed their faults with sincere sorrow, as all Christians believed up to the sixteenth century, and the vast and overwhelming majority in the Eastern as well as the Western Church continue to believe still, this divine commission was entrusted to the pastors of the Church, and not left to mothers to absolve their own daughters. Unfortunately for M. Michelet, the mothers themselves agree with us, for they all wish their daughters to confess to the priest and not to themselves. The husband, however, if we are to take M. Michelet for a specimen, would wish to be the confessor of both wife and daughter. As he claims her soul, this is only natural; but we would beg to suggest, that if the wife

and daughter confess to the husband, it would be only fair play that he should confess occasionally to them.

“Then is it,” our author proceeds, “amid sobs and sighs from the choking heaving breast, that the fatal word rises to the lips: it escapes, and she hides her head.....And this man now knows of this woman what *the husband* has not known in all the long effusion of his heart by day and night, what even her own mother does not know, who thinks she knows her entirely, having had her so many times a naked infant on her knees.”

If the confessor is to be chosen by the degree of relationship, we should like to know if it extends to the father as well as the mother and husband—if it extends to the grandfather, to the aunt, the uncle, and what is the precise degree at which it stops. There is certainly a very great confidence which should subsist between husband and wife, and between parents and children; but that they should take the place of the ministers of the Church—that they should confess all their sins of thought, word, and action to each other is perfectly absurd, and if carried into practice would be destructive of society. M. Michelet does not deign to say one word on the question as to whether confession is, or is not, of divine institution, but he takes it for granted that in no possible hypothesis could the minister of Jesus Christ have a right to hear sins which are not confided to the mother or the husband. He looks upon such an institution as intuitively absurd, and therefore as one which could not be ordained by God, and indeed this view of the subject when taken in the concrete with his other doctrines that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor of course remission of sin, is perfectly consistent; but we hope to be able to show from reason and facts alone, that the practise of confession is so far from being opposed to either domestic or social happiness, that it discourages vice and promotes virtue, that it is eminently useful to man, and that God has set upon it the indelible impress of its divine origin. Before doing so, however, we must indulge the reader with a few more of the flights of the author.

He says, (p. 176—8.)

“Every reflecting mind knows full well that thought is the most personal part of the person. The master of the person's thought, is he to whom the person belongs. The priest has the soul fast as soon as he has received the dangerous pledge of the first secrets, and he will hold it faster and faster. *The two husbands now take*

*shares, for now there are two—one has the soul, the other the body.....It is with this reasoning that the priest is sure to comfort himself in his persevering efforts to sever this woman from her family, to weaken her kindred ties, and particularly to undermine the rival authority—I mean the husband's. The husband is a heavy encumbrance to the priest.....And though these details make him (the priest) suffer the torments of the damned, (we thought he had banished by philosophy this phantasmagoria of the middle ages,) he wants still more, and requires her to enter further and further into these avowals, both humiliating for her and cruel for him, and to give him the detail of the saddest circumstances. The confessor of a young woman may boldly be termed the jealous secret enemy of the husband. If there be one exception to this rule, (and I am willing to believe there may be,) he is a hero, a saint, a martyr, a man, more than man. The whole business of the confessor is to immolate this woman, and he does it conscientiously."*

M. Michelet is very anxious to get his wife's soul, that is, that she should abandon confession, religion, and God, to please her husband. We will tell him how he can unite his soul with that of his wife if he pleases, and that is by abandoning infidelity and embracing the faith of his ancestors, by assembling his family in humble prayer to God every night and morning, and by joining with them in the holy and consoling practices of religion. We promise him, from the knowledge of very many instances which have come under our observation, that he will thus remove from his heart the *torments of the damned*, which he himself, and not the priest, now suffers; and that instead of jealousy and distrust, peace, happiness, and contentment will dwell in his family. He has tried *philosophy* and it has failed; is it not fair then that he should now give a trial to religion? He will then find that the priest, instead of being the "secret jealous enemy of the husband," is the promoter of confidence and love between those whom God hath united. But, surely M. Michelet cannot expect that the ministers of religion would advise the wife to abandon her faith to please her husband; but that, on the contrary, when required to act in this manner, they would answer with the Apostles, "we ought to obey God rather than man." That the priest is in any way an enemy to the wife's rendering to the husband all obedience and love which is consistent with that superior allegiance which every creature owes to its God, we shall presently show to be one of the foulest and most palpable calumnies that was ever uttered.

In order to understand fully whether the practice of confession promotes virtue or immorality, we must consider, 1st, what effect the knowledge that in order to obtain pardon they must confess their sins to a fellow-creature, must exercise on the conduct of those who *sincerely believe* in such an institution? 2. What have been its practical results? and 3. What is the *disinterested* opinion entertained of it by the *millions who know by experience whether it has produced in their souls good or evil?* That those who go to confession are sincere believers in its necessity and efficacy the author himself bears witness. He says, *she confesses her sins amid sobs and sighs from the choking heaving heart; that so far there is no art on the side of the priest; that the force of circumstances has done every thing, that of religious institution and that of nature, and that as a priest he received her at his knee and listened to her.* Indeed, it is quite evident that no one would submit to so humiliating an ordeal who was not most deeply convinced of its necessity. And is there any other merely human motive which could operate so powerfully on the minds of all, but more especially on those of youth and of women, to make them check their passions, and preserve not only the body but the soul pure from defilement, as the belief that every sin, however secret, must not only be repented of, must not only be confessed to God, but also to a fellow man before it will be pardoned? Confession requires as a preliminary to the remission of sin, all that is believed to be necessary in any society in which this institution does not exist, namely, sorrow for sin and an amendment of life; it does not stop here, however, but demands that the sinner, whether he be king, pope, or beggar, shall submit himself to this humiliation, and thus enlists on the side of virtue and of holiness the strongest feelings of the human heart. Have its practical effects confirmed or refuted these anticipations? If the practice of confession leads to vice, as M. Michelet would have us believe, then those who abandon the confessional become virtuous, and those who return to it become immoral. Is this the case? Does not the libertine abandon it as soon as he commences his abominations? Is not a return to it the first sign of returning virtue and of an amended life? Approaching this holy tribunal certainly will not make its votaries virtuous in M. Michelet's sense of the term, that is, it will not make infidels; it will not make wives cease to be believers and

become philosophers. If the confessor were the corrupt wretch that this author paints him, it would infallibly produce this result, and the fact that those who frequent the confessional continue sincere believers, is a clear, satisfactory, and practical refutation of the base and abominable charges which are preferred against him by this man. But if it does not make infidels, it makes good and affectionate wives and mothers, obedient children, and honest servants. We have made most extensive inquiries on this subject, and we never knew any man who spoke *from experience*, and not from such books as M. Michelet's, who did not acknowledge what we say to be true. Indeed, we have M. Michelet's own testimony that woman, poor confession-going woman, *has preserved the most affection*, has remained *the most faithful to nature*, and in the *very corruption of morals is still the least corrupted by interest or hateful passions*. "Iniquity hath lied unto itself." The following is the passage, (which occurs in the preface to the third edition, p. 26.)

"It is a sad reflection to think that these men (the priests) who have so little sympathy, and who are moreover soured by contention, should happen to have in *their hands the most gentle portion of mankind*; that which has preserved the most affection and ever remained the most faithful to nature, and which in the very corruption of morals is still the least corrupted by interest and hateful passions."

We might add other testimonies in favour of the morality of the confessional from those who did not admit it to be a divine institution, such as the petition of the magistrates of Wurtemberg to the emperor Charles V. to re-establish it by an imperial edict, on the ground that crime had alarmingly increased from the period of its abolition, and also from the "Book of Common Prayer" of the Church of England, which counsels the sinner at the approach of death, when it surely would not recommend anything immoral, to confess to the minister if he have any weighty matter which troubles his conscience; but if we be not grievously mistaken, we have refuted all M. Michelet's allegations, and fully sustained our own assertion, that experience proves that the practical effects of confession are to deter from vice and to promote virtue. We must now, to make this refutation complete, appeal to the testimony of millions, who know by experience, whether the

confessional produces vice or virtue in the soul. We are told by M. Michelet that there are *seven millions of women in France* who go to confession regularly. They must be perfectly and familiarly acquainted with its operation. They must know *the persevering efforts which the priest makes to sever the penitent from her family*; they must know that every one of these priests is a villain, a seducer, *the secret enemy of the husband*—and that if there be *one* exception to this rule, he is a hero, a saint, a martyr, a man, more than a man—that his *whole business is to immolate the woman who confesses to him*. Yet these seven millions of women, who are the most true to nature, who are the most affectionate, who amid corruption are the least corrupted, not only go to confession themselves, but send there to be corrupted their sons and their daughters whom they have borne nine months in their womb, whom they have fed from their breasts, and whom they love more dearly than their own souls! “The next day,” says M. Michelet, (p. 229.) (talking of the efforts made by the mother to get the children put under the priests,) “the son leaves his school for the *Christian school*, or the college for the little seminary,” (which is always conducted by priests.) “The daughter is led *triumphantly by her mother* to the excellent boarding-school close by, where *the good abbé confesses and directs*.” In order to put faith in the representations of this wretched man, we must believe that the women of France are at once the least corrupted, and at the same time in league with the priests for the most immoral purposes; that the mothers of France, not satisfied with sacrificing their own virtue, also train up their children in these abominable practices, and that they raise up rivals to themselves in the affections of the priests in the persons of their own daughters! “Six hundred and twenty (or as he says in the note, p. 228, six hundred and twenty-two) thousand girls are brought up by nuns under the *direction of the priests*. These girls will soon be *women and mothers*, who in their turn will *hand over to the priests, as far as they are able, both their sons and their daughters*.”

There are only two subjects left on which we shall make any observation. The first is the celibacy of the clergy; and the second relates to convents. On the first of these we shall say a good deal, on the last very little—as we believe that M. Michelet hates the priest and the nun for precisely the same reason, namely, their celibacy. Every one is aware



what eulogiums he has written upon this very institution in his "History of France;" but as these extracts have appeared in the newspapers, we shall not trouble the reader by transcribing them. On this subject he says in one place in a note in his present work, that he made a grievous mistake; in another, (page 243.) that the state which was adapted to the mediæval clergy, is not adapted to the present time.

"In the middle ages the *priest* was the spiritual and *mortified man*. By the studies to which he alone devoted himself, by nocturnal prayers and vigils, by the excess of fasting and by monastic privations, he mortified his body. But in these days very little remains of all that; the church has softened down every thing. The priests live as others do: if many pass a mean and pitiful life, it is at least generally unattended with risk. We see it, moreover, in the freedom of mind with which they engage the leisure of women with interminable conversations."

Nothing can equal the inconsistencies of the enemies of the Catholic Church. Until very lately it was the universal cry that, during the "middle ages," the Church was in total darkness, and that the clergy led the most abandoned and immoral lives. We were then obliged to write in defence of the middle ages, and to prove that they abounded in holiness, and that the clergy were learned—that is, considering the circumstances of those times, and, more especially, that the art of printing had not been discovered. We are now told that the mediæval church was so far superior to that of the present time, that the most holy and venerable institutions of the past should be abandoned on account of the want of mortification, of holiness, and of learning amongst the clergy at present. Two classes of our adversaries prefer the very same charges—the one against the past, the other against the present. It is thus, to borrow Tertullian's celebrated saying, that Christ is always crucified between two robbers—"Christus semper crucifigitur inter duos latrones." We, in the meantime, are consoled by seeing one class of our adversaries refuted by the other; and by the certain foreknowledge that the seamless garment of Christ will remain untorn, and that the venerable and holy institutions of the Church will remain unchanged, in spite of all the malevolence of her enemies. Indeed, there is nothing which should more fully convince us that the celibacy of the clergy is the

glory and bulwark of the Church, than the bitterness with which all her enemies assail it. They hate virginity, because they hate everything holy; and they are jealous of the respect and confidence which the strict observance of this sublime virtue by the great body of the clergy has procured for them. But the old ground of opposition to the celibacy of the clergy has been long since abandoned; namely, that all vows of chastity were immoral, and ought to be broken. This horrid doctrine, which is equally opposed to Scripture and to reason, was no mere speculative tenet. It has been practically acted upon by all the so-called reformers of the Church, from the sixteenth century to the present time. Their first step to reformation always was to break their solemn vows to God, and to provide themselves with a young wife to be the sharer of their apostolic labours. Now, it is admitted that celibacy was an admirable institution in the "middle ages," and consequently, that the law by which it was enjoined, and the vow by which it was promised, were both lawful, and ought to be observed. The pretext now is, that this law was very good in its own time; but that times are so changed that it is no longer adapted to them, and, consequently, that the law and the vow ought to be abolished. We fearlessly assert that the training by which the secular priest is now prepared to observe the arduous virtues and to discharge the important duties of his ministry, is, *at least*, as perfect as it was during the middle ages—that his labours and mortifications, taking everything into account, are as great—his learning far greater; and that the great body of the priesthood fulfil their ministry, and observe their vows as faithfully as at any former period of the history of the Church. We do not wish to depreciate the past by extolling the present—we are as ready to defend the clergy of the ninth as of the nineteenth century. The truth is, though at all times there will be some unworthy members found in so large a body as the clergy form, that now, as well as at every former period, the great body lead most exemplary lives—that they are remarkable for zeal and charity; and that, taken as a whole, they need not fear comparison with any other body in the world. But then the priest is not now so mortified as formerly. This is false—utterly false; his prayers are as long, his duties as severe, and his privations as great as they ever were. Perhaps his mere corporeal fasts are not

just so numerous everywhere ; but certainly in England, and in Ireland, and in many other places they are far more severe now than in the middle ages, for in most of the country parishes in Ireland the priest does not taste food on Sunday until one, two, or even three o'clock. The alacrity with which the priests of the present time submit to corporeal privations, is evinced by the vast numbers who took the total abstinence pledge merely to show an example to their people. They are poorer now than in former times ; and because they are not so numerous, they are obliged oftener, by day and by night, to stand by the bed of sickness, and to inhale the air of pestilence. As to their other social privations, we shall allow M. Michelet to give evidence against himself ; for we always find him on such occasions a most satisfactory witness.

"I have never," he says, (p. 267,) "been insensible either to the humiliation or to the sufferings of the priest. I have them all present, both before my imagination and in my heart. I have followed this unfortunate man in the career of *privations*, and in the miserable life into which he is dragged by the hand of a hypocritical authority. And in his loneliness on his cold and melancholy hearth where he sometimes weeps at night, let him remember that a man has often wept with him, and that I am that man."

It seems like a judgment that M. Michelet should have used the word *hypocritical* in this place ; for, certainly, the abominable extracts which we have already given, not to speak of those places (page 42, Preface) where he italicises the term *enemies*, and applies it to the priests not less than three times in the same page, are sufficient to prove that a more hypocritical passage than the above was never penned. It is an evident and infamous falsehood (we are sorry that we must use so strong a term) to say that the priest is dragged into a life of celibacy by the hand of a hypocritical authority. He enters it freely, and of his own accord ; with a full knowledge of its duties and obligations, after a preparation and deliberation of several years, and at a period of life when he is perfectly capable of knowing his own heart. Nor is he ever allowed to judge solely for himself, for he is under the eye of others during all that time, who have long experience in judging of character, and who will not permit him to undertake the duties of the priesthood, unless they believe that, with the help of

divine grace, he will faithfully discharge them. If the priest weeps on his cold hearth, it is for the conversion of such sinners as M. Michelet; for he is perfectly contented and happy in attending to his flock, and in serving God, even in the midst of privations. This man would not think that all happiness consists in the enjoyments of the world, if he had ever “tasted and seen how sweet is the Lord”—he would not talk of his lonely hearth, if he knew that God is everywhere, and that He allows his creatures to converse with Him, and to pour out their hearts before Him—he would not imagine that the priest weeps at night for the want of wife or friend, if he knew with what peace and consolation our Heavenly Father fills the souls of those who love Him. It was this that formerly peopled the wilderness—it is this that still fills the cloister with those who have raised themselves by faith and love above this “dim world;” who have given their whole hearts to God, and have made “His law their meditation all the day long.” To such persons all the earth can offer is nothing, for they aspire to an immortal being—their hopes are high as heaven—their ambition is to reign with Jesus in the kingdom of His Father. The mere worldly man cannot understand this; but let him look to the martyrs of old, and learn it from them. The most potent tyrants, at whose nod monarchs trembled on their thrones, whose word the earth obeyed, found themselves in the midst of their victorious armies conquered by tender virgins, and by weak old men, on whose heads time had laid his hoary hand. They displayed before them, poor and defenceless as they appeared, their riches and their power—they offered them the most magnificent rewards if they would abandon their religion, and threatened them with the most cruel punishments if they did not obey; but they feared not their threats, they despised their rewards, and courted that very death and those very torments which were intended to subdue them. They were slain by the sword—they were stoned—they were clothed with skins of wild beasts, and thrown to dogs to be devoured—they were crucified; but the Omnipotent God supported them amid all their sufferings: they only pitied and prayed for their persecutors, whose worst malice, instead of injuring them, secured to them a more speedy, a more certain, and a more glorious immortality. The same God still liveth, His right arm is not shortened, and He who sustained the martyrs and

confessors of old, will not desert the priest on his *cold and lonely* hearth, if he give up his heart to Him. He will even be able to offer a prayer, or to shed a tear for the conversion of those who revile and speak evil untruly against him, remembering the promise of his Lord, "Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, *untruly for my sake*; be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven.

In order, however, to examine this subject in all its bearings, we shall consider, 1. If celibacy be contrary to the law of nature or of God. 2. If as a Christian virtue it be preferable to marriage. 3. If the same be true of it as a clerical virtue, and if its existence amongst the clergy be beneficial to families and to society; and, 4. If the church acts rightly and properly in enjoining it on all the clergy.

That a life of celibacy is not contrary to the law of nature or of God, is evident from this fact, that no such law or precept exists. One would imagine that no person could have the assurance to assert that every man and woman have not a right from nature and from God to remain single if they please. But this is not the case, and as a learned author has well said, "since religion is opposed to the bad passions of men, it is but natural that wicked men should be opposed to it."\* M. Michelet says, that celibacy is a rude contradiction to nature, and he has learned this from other *philosophers* who speak out as plainly as himself on the subject. These gentlemen write so vehemently on this matter, that we are in danger of mistaking their books for commentaries on the Koran. They would certainly make much better Mohammedans or Sadducees than Christians. The author of a book entitled "*Suite de la défense de l'esprit des Lois*,"† one of the French philosophers of the Michelet school, says, that the holy fathers, whom through contempt he calls "*cælebetarii*," were all fanatics—that lust and not the Holy Ghost influenced St. Paul in inculcating celibacy, and that "he was in this a mystic and a casuist, who relied upon himself

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\* *Adversatur religio cœcis hominis cupiditatibus, debuit ergo debetque a nequam hominibus oppugnari Valsecchi "sperimen historiæ religionis et hostium et helloren adversus eam."* We are indebted to this writer, but in another place, "*De Revelatione Evangelica*," and to the erudite Perrone, "*De Cœlibatu Ecclesiastico*," for much of what we say on the "celibacy of the clergy," and we beg to recommend these treatises to the learned reader.

† Quoted by Valsecchi, *ubi supra*.

alone, his own lights and his own errors." The same author says, "Examen de la Religion," Christ, in reality, taught us nothing but some sentences of moral science, which the Pagans had already taught much more certainly and clearly. He taught no dogma of religion; for if the principal truths of faith be examined, it will be discovered that he did not say a word about them. "*Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis;*" such are the leaders in the war against celibacy. And what reason do they give for all this vehement declamation; simply that the practise is contrary to nature and to the divine precept, "increase and multiply." "God himself," exclaims the author just quoted, "could not counsel celibacy, for it is bad." We on the contrary say, that because the Holy Ghost did counsel celibacy, as we shall show presently, it is good. But does any one pretend to say, that there is a precept binding *each individual* to marry and to propagate the human race, by virtue of the divine benediction, "increase and multiply?" In the text it is expressly called a blessing, "And God blessed them and said, Increase and multiply." The very same benediction had been *previously* pronounced with regard to irrational things, "And he blessed them, saying, Increase and multiply"—and certainly no one but a philosopher could imagine that they are bound by precepts. The passage simply contains a blessing imparting fruitfulness, and God has abundantly provided in other ways than by such a *precept* for the propagation of the human race. He knew that all would not take this word but to whom it would be given; but neither the voice of nature nor of God prohibits those to whom it is given to observe this difficult virtue. Again, if there be a natural or a divine precept of marriage, St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. Clement of Rome, St. Hermes, St. Ignatius, St. Justin, St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, both the Gregorys, St. Jerome, and the great Augustine himself, the glory of the episcopacy and the pillar of the church, all violated this law in their own persons, and almost all counselled others to adopt celibacy as the more perfect state. If each individual be bound by natural or divine law to marry and propagate the human race, pray at what period of life, O most wise philosophers! does it first take effect? As soon as the person arrives *ad pubertatem*, at fourteen, at sixteen, at eighteen, at twenty, at twenty-five, at thirty, at forty, at

fifty. What if a person cannot conveniently support a wife, are the dictates of prudence to be disregarded? If a person cannot get a wife or husband with whom they think they can live happily, must he take one with whom he foresees that he shall live unhappily? If the wife be sick or barren, must the husband propagate the human race in other ways, and vice versa? If a person cannot get a husband or wife, must the divine command still be fulfilled? Or if the husband or wife dies, is the survivor obliged to marry, and how soon? Or if it be lawful not to marry in all these and thousands of other cases which might be mentioned, can he not remain single if he thinks that in a state of celibacy he is more likely to save his soul? If there are so many earthly causes, on account of which a man may live as an eunuch, may he not also "make himself an eunuch for the kingdom of heaven?"

On the second topic, that a state of virginity is more perfect in itself than the state of marriage, we should probably have said nothing, were it not for an article in the September number of the "Quarterly Review," in which this subject is discussed. Every one is acquainted with the passage of our Lord from the 19th chapter of St. Matthew, where he abolished the bill of divorce and recalled marriage to its primitive institution.

"His disciples say to him : If the case of a man with his wife be so, it is not expedient to marry. Who said to them : All men take not this word, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs who were born so from their mother's womb : and there are eunuchs who were made so by men : and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. He that can take let him take it."

"*All sound interpreters* (says the writer in the 'Quarterly Review') concur in taking this disqualification not in its literal sense, but as a voluntary abstinence from marriage."

And after a little, the Reviewer continues :

"But if we include the future sense, and with most interpreters give a kind of prophetic significance to our Lord's words, the meaning will be that some men, for the *promotion of the kingdom of God, the propagation of the Gospel, will abstain from marriage; they will willingly make this sacrifice, if they are thereby disencumbered of earthly ties, and more able to devote their whole lives to the grand object of their mission.* But it is this lofty sense of duty in which lies the sublimity of the sacrifice, not necessarily in any special dignity of the sacrifice itself, excepting in so far as it may be more hard to flesh and

blood than other trials. He whose duty calls and who receives power from on high, (*he that is able to receive it let him receive it,*) is by this as by every other sacrifice for the cause and through the love of Christ, *thereby fulfilling the ideal of Christianity*—which is the annihilation of self for the promotion of the gospel and the good of man."

St. Paul clearly asserts in the seventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the superiority of the state of celibacy over marriage. He first speaks of the duties of those who were already married, and then, in the eighth verse, he addresses himself to the unmarried in these clear and explicit words:

"But I say to the unmarried and to the widows, it is good for them if they do so continue, even as I do so."

And again, in the twenty-fifth and following verses:

"Now, concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: but I give counsel as having obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I think, therefore, that this is good for the present necessity, that it is good for a man so to be. Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed. *Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife.* But if thou take a wife thou hast not sinned, and if a virgin marry she hath not sinned: *nevertheless such shall have tribulation of the flesh. But I spare you.*"

He returns to this subject in the 32nd verse:

"But I would have you to be without solicitude. *He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife; and he is divided.* And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord; that she may be holy both in body and in spirit."

He concludes the subject in the following beautiful and affecting words:

"Therefore both he that giveth his virgin in marriage doth well; and *he that giveth her not doth better.* A woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth: but if her husband die she is at liberty: let her marry to whom she will: only in the Lord. But *more blessed shall she be if she so remain according to my counsel: and I think that I also have the Spirit of God.*"

Here is the doctrine of the Catholic Church in the clear and beautiful language of inspiration. We hold that to remain in a state of celibacy is an evangelical counsel, not a divine precept—we hold that it is not the perfection to which Christians should aspire, but a means of attaining to that



perfection: nor is it the only or the necessary means, but the safest and the best. The chief perfection of human life consists, as St. Paul clearly insinuates above, in giving up our whole mind and heart to God; and remaining alone in purity, is, he plainly tells us, the best means of attaining it. But here we are told by the Reviewer that the words, "this is good for the present necessity or distress," contain the key to the whole passage, and that what the Apostle means is, that it was better for them not to marry at that time, because he foresaw that the Church would be persecuted. The Greek word which is translated distress or necessity, (*ἀνάγκη*) may signify, either moral or physical distress, and its meaning must always be determined by the context. Let us apply this criterion in this place. In the 8th verse the Apostle says, absolutely without any restriction whatever, that it is *good* for the unmarried and widows to *remain* even as he. Then he says, (v. 26,) that it is good for the present necessity for a man so to be. Are the reasons which he gives for the counsel of celibacy, such as are consistent with the interpretation, that by present necessity he means coming persecutions? In v. 28, he says, If a virgin marry she hath not sinned, *nevertheless such shall have tribulation of the flesh*. Certainly this reason is not confined to times of persecution. Again, as any one may see by referring to the passage which we have quoted, he says, that the person who is without a wife is solicitous for the things of the Lord, and that both body and spirit may be kept holy, whilst the person who is married is anxious how he may please his wife, and is divided. Is this reason confined to times of persecution? The meaning of the words, present necessity, cannot possibly mean that which is given to them by the Reviewer and some other protestants. The Apostle means by the present necessity, that it is necessary to please God in this short life, and this he explains in the 29th verse, "this, therefore, I say, brethren, that the time is short, and that he that have a wife be as if he had none:" in one word, he says, I prefer virginity to marriage, because death presses on, life is short, and in that state we are only anxious to please God, whereas in the married state we are divided between God and our wives. Calvin himself, writing on this passage, expressly rejects the interpretation of the Reviewer, and declares that it extends to all ages—itaque ad omnia sæcula extendo.

We therefore conclude this part of our subject in the beautiful language of the protestant Leibnitz. “Although matrimony is a sacrament, and should be considered blameless, nevertheless it must be confessed on account of manifest reasons, as well as the consent of nations and the express words of Holy Scripture, that celibacy chastely observed is more laudable: for both the understanding is more at liberty to contemplate heavenly things, and the mind and body being entire and undefiled by lust or carnal affections, holy things are handled more purely and more worthily.”\*

We now arrive at the third and most important part of our subject—namely, Whether the state of celibacy or of marriage be preferable for the clergy? We have just seen that the former is the more perfect state, and this is, at least, a presumption that it is the fittest state for the clergy, who ought to be the most perfect in their own lives, if there be not very strong reasons to the contrary. Yet M. Michelet would insist that no priest, at least, should observe this evangelical counsel; and others have gone so far as to affirm that marriage was made an indispensable condition for a Christian minister by the Apostle Paul, when he writes to Timothy that a bishop or a deacon should be the husband of one wife—“*unius uxoris virum.*” A very extraordinary affair, indeed, when we remember that neither Paul nor Timothy were themselves married. He also says that they should be the husband of *one* wife. Was it then usual with Apostles in those times to extend to some Christians the privilege which Luther and the reformers in the plenitude of their power bestowed on the Landgrave of Hesse to have two wives at a time? The truth is, that this very direction was the first step towards the celibacy of the clergy, because it excluded all those who had been married more than once from the ministry. Certainly, to abstain from second marriage is no precept—the first marriage often lasts for a very short period, leaving the survivor at an age not more advanced than that at which persons usually marry—but it is a manifest restriction of marriage, with regard to the clergy, which

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\* Etsi matrimonium sit sacramentum et irreprehensibile censi debet, fatendum tamen est, ob manifestas rationes et consensum popularem et verba expressa scripturæ sacræ plus laudi habere cœlibatum castè servatum, nam et mens solutio, est ad cœlestium rerum contemplationem, et animo et corpore integro atque mundo a libidine et carnali affectu purius, digniusque sacra tractantur. Systema Theologium. (Apud Perrone.)

did not at all exist with regard to the laity. Widows, widowers, and virgins, "might marry when they pleased, only in the Lord."

The celibacy of the clergy is so much the subject of controversy at present, that we shall discuss it a little more minutely. Let it be remembered, however, that no sincere friend of the Catholic Church is opposed to the celibacy of the clergy, but that its enemies are also the enemies of Catholicity, and generally of Christianity itself. What, then, is their motive for assailing it so bitterly? The overturning of Christianity, and the downfall of the Church. We do not require any proof to convince the children of the Church that it is good for her clergy to be unmarried: it is evident from the hatred which all her enemies bear towards it—it is evident from the greatness of the Church, after having passed under their guidance through the trials and revolutions of eighteen centuries. What, however, are the most important duties of the Christian clergy? Why, certainly, to "preach the Gospel to every creature—to all nations, whether Infidel or Christian—to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the sinner—to stand by the bedside of the sick and the diseased, to prepare them for their departure out of the world to meet their God; and to perform works of charity. There are other duties which the Catholic priest has to perform—such as the celebration of the divine mysteries, the reading of his office, and the hearing of confession; but, without taking these into account, we consider the other matters which we have recounted quite sufficient to engage the whole and undivided attention of any man; and it appears to us self-evident that that person who could best discharge them, would not be one encumbered by wife or family. But to speak in detail of the various duties which we have mentioned. By whom were the nations of the world converted to the Christian religion? Not to speak of the Apostles—of whom St. Paul, the Apostle of nations, was an unmarried man—was it not by unmarried missionaries that the light of the Gospel was carried to the barbarous nations of the world? Did Augustin or Patrick, when they added these countries to the kingdom of Christ, bring wives along with them? Did Xavier, whose burning zeal carried him to the East, and who converted such vast numbers to the faith of Jesus, take a wife with him? Those alone who

have ever been successful in the conversion of nations have left all things—wife, friends, relations—and have taken up their cross, and followed Jesus. Their charity being freed from any particular attachment, embraced the whole human race within the circle of its benevolent zeal. Death had no terrors for them ; they had already left all things, and hence they went fearlessly among the fierce tribes of savages and cannibals. Even at this moment, the Catholic Church alone has sent out unmarried missionaries, who are not afraid even in the “midst of death,” to unfurl the banner of the cross, and to preach the Gospel boldly and fearlessly as the Apostles of old. When the married missionaries, on the contrary, go abroad, we are told in one of their own publications, that they always seek some *friendly island, the first object being invariably the safety of the women*. They must avoid all dangerous places, and then they must be very careful of their own lives, for what would the poor women do so far from home, if anything should happen to their husbands. The Catholic missionary is perfectly disinterested ; he needs nothing but for his own few wants ; and many of them could say with St. Paul, that they provided for them with their own hands. We know what a powerful effect this disinterestedness must have in convincing an infidel of the sincerity of the preacher. Even St. Paul himself boasts of it in his last discourse to the clergy at Ephesus : (Acts xx.) “I have not coveted any man’s gold or silver or apparel, as you yourselves know.” Can the married missionary say this ? It is impossible, for he has a wife and family to provide for. He must not only keep out of dangerous places, but also procure them food and clothes. “They must be solicitous for their wives as well as for God, and be divided between them.” We have abundant facts to confirm this theory. The married missionaries kindly took the lands of the savages, and appropriated them to themselves ; they acquired worldly possessions, amassed fortunes for their families, and being thoroughly worldly men, they adopted its vices as they grew rich, and some of them were expelled from their apostolic missions for adultery, and others for still more heinous crimes. “From their fruits ye shall know them,” says our Lord ; and of worldly fruit they produced great abundance ; but of spiritual, even on their own showing, none at all. The reviewer already quoted reluctantly admits this :

“Our modern missions are rarely among fierce and warlike tribes, such as were encountered by the apostles of the faith in the earlier and middle ages of christianity. Among such lawless savages a female, besides the actual hardships under which her feeble frame might have sunk, must have been an *object of deep and incessant anxiety*: her perpetual exposure unprotected to worse evils than pain and death, would proscribe at once such *enfeebling, such disqualifying companionship*.”

Your modern missions must not go to China, for instance, or dangerous places, but must be made in some snug little island, where a man can make a handsome thing of it for his wife and family, but where he is sure neither to extend the empire of Jesus, nor to shed the light of Christianity on the benighted souls whom he was sent to instruct.

Let us now examine whether the parish priest or parish minister or curate can best discharge his duties as a married or as a single man. It is still true of him wherever he may be, that “he who is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God; but that he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and *he* is divided.” Calvin, himself, writing on this passage, says:

“Therefore we shall thus understand that a married man is divided, because he gives himself up partly to God and partly to his wife, but does not belong to God entirely.....The entire of what St. Paul says amounts to this, that celibacy is better than marriage, because in it there is more liberty, so that men can more disengagedly serve God.”

In the *second* place, no matter how good he may be, the married man is certainly less disinterested, because he cannot forget that he is a husband and a father, that he has a wife and children to provide for, to feed, to educate, and to set up in the world; and the probates of the wills of married bishops and of beneficed clergy prove how well and affectionately they have discharged this domestic part of their duty. Their charity is, to use the words of a celebrated writer, very often so domestic, that it never extends beyond their own family. Certainly, if we cast our eyes over the records of the churches which unmarried priests have built, the colleges which were established, and the charitable institutions which have been endowed by the Christian ministers who

had no families—the few things of the same kind which have been done by those who had families to provide for, will cut a very sorry figure beside them. It may be said that they were right in providing for their families, and we do not say they were wrong. What we do say is that, whereas the benevolent charity of the priest who has no family *naturally* expands itself so as to include his entire flock, perhaps the whole church; that of a man who has a family as *naturally* contracts itself within the domestic circle. *Thirdly*, one of the most important duties of the Christian minister is to visit families in the time of disease and death, to stand by the bedside of the departing sinner, to breathe the air of pestilence, and, like the good Shepherd, not to fear to give his life for his flock. He must, moreover, be prepared to go when called on, during the storm and tempest, by day or by night. Which condition is more favourable to these duties—that of a married or of an unmarried clergy? That the unmarried clergy—the priests of the Catholic Church—everywhere attend most zealously to these high and holy duties of Christian charity, no one dare deny. They neither shrink from the toil nor the peril; and vast numbers, especially of young priests, lose their lives by diseases contracted by their attendance upon the sick. Can the same thing be said of the married clergy *generally*? Most certainly not. The Archbishop of Dublin publicly exempted his clergy from attendance on those who had been seized by that awful disease, the cholera morbus. The Protestant clergy of America who were married, declared that they were not bound to attend on such awful occasions. Thus, the married clergy will attend in a family where there is no danger, when all their friends and even acquaintances visit and console them; they will then kneel or stand by the bedside of the diseased, and pray with him. But let the hand of God be laid heavily on that family—let a dreadful contagious disease seize upon some of its members, and threaten with speedy death all who come near that abode—let the friends and acquaintances who partook of its prosperity, now abandon it in its adversity, and the priest—the unmarried priest, who has no wife or child to fear for his life; who, if he dies, will neither leave his family destitute, nor infect them with his malady; he whose charity embraces all his flock—is there supplying the place of acquaintance

and of friend, administering corporal as well as spiritual comfort ; consoling the living, and sometimes, as actually happened during the terror which accompanied the first appearance of the cholera, burying the dead with his own hands. Where is the married minister during this time ? Some of his congregation were seized upon—he was sent for, but he did not come. “The good Shepherd giveth his life for his sheep. But *the hireling*, and he that is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, *seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth*: and the wolf catcheth and scattereth the sheep, and the hireling flieth because he is a hireling ; and he hath no care for the sheep.” The married minister seeth the wolf seizing his sheep, and he flieth ; he might catch the disease, die, and leave his family destitute ; he might carry the infection home to his own house, and communicate it to his dear wife and interesting family : his wife remonstrates, the children weep—he hesitates—God cannot require such a sacrifice from him, he is overcome, he will not go ; the wolf has come, and the hireling flieth. Poor afflicted family, your last hope of consolation is gone ; you are deserted by your own pastor. Yet do not despair ; go to the unmarried priest, and he will come, he will give his life for you ; he is no hireling, but the true shepherd ; and having tried the married clergyman in vain, they go to him who is not married ; and in this way, during the ravages of every contagious disease, thousands of strayed sheep are brought back to the one fold. The common answer of the married minister is, that the priest has not much merit ; that he is not afraid of himself, but of his family, and that if he was single he would go as readily as the priest. Be it so ; but does not this prove the infinite superiority of a single over a married life for the clergy ?

Nor can the married clergyman hope to exercise any great or useful influence over his congregation. There is nothing in his mode of life different from that of his neighbours ; he spends his time in attending to his wife and family and domestic concerns just as they do ; he has no distinctive character visibly impressed upon him, which is palpable to all the world, which makes him live like a being of another order ; which invests his very name with the idea of self-denial, holiness, and charity, which depriving him of all domestic ties of kindred makes him regard the whole flock, entrusted to his care, as his children ;

who call him by the name, and centre in him the hope, affection, and confidence which is due to a father who is ready to sacrifice even his life to serve them.

In confirmation of these views we beg to submit the following extract from the number of the "Quarterly Review" already quoted.

"If young men, impressed with the wretched state of the lower population in our large towns, shall deny themselves the luxury, (of a wife,) in order more *entirely to devote themselves and their worldly means to their mission*, and shall find that they have strength to adhere to their purpose, who will refuse to admire *the beauty and the grandeur of such christian love ?.....* The sensation produced in a village or even a town, by the appearance of a young, perhaps handsome, undoubtedly eloquent curate, may not be quite purely spiritual: the young ladies are seized with more than usual warmth of devotion—they are even more than ordinarily attentive in the church—they become remarkably active in their visits among the poor—and greatly interested in charitable societies..... Still we must not behold a young and moderately beneficed clergyman in the first moderate enjoyment of domestic happiness only; we must look forward to the *pressure of domestic cares and anxieties*. The provision for the growing family more and more *occupies the thoughts and withdraws them from the higher calling*. The scanty income must be more *exclusively* devoted to these *imperious* claims, or eked out by pupils or some other occupation."

Yes, and even where the income is enormous, it is just as exclusively in the vast majority of instances devoted to the same imperious calls.

We must make room for one other brief extract. It is taken from "Beaven's Religious Celibacy." The author is a Protestant minister who attacks this Review in his book, disclaims any connexion with the Oxford party, says that he has been reared up with a strong leaning towards the principles of dissenters, and claims to be considered unprejudiced on this particular subject, as he "has made trial of both the unmarried and the married state."

After enumerating very candidly and feelingly the inadequacy of a married clergy to discharge the duties of the Christian ministry, he proceeds, (p. 54.)

"All these circumstances combine to show that the *present is an age almost equally with that of St. Paul*, in which it is desirable for as large a proportion of the clergy as possible, to be even as the Apostle was, if not during their whole lives at least during the earlier part of them. Neither ought this, I think, to be deemed a



hardship: for even then they would only be placed in the same predicament as young men of corresponding stations in other walks of life, who, for the most part, are debarred from marrying at an early age from motives of ordinary prudence. *And surely some of the clergy may be expected to act with the same prudence and self-denial! Surely it is not unreasonable to look to the sacred order for examples of celibacy united with chastity, to that extensive portion of the community to which I have adverted.....*And even if there were a degree of hardship in thus acting, is the time come when the ministers of Christ are no longer to endure hardness in his service? Is this age in which many in our crowded towns and cities have to be reclaimed from a condition worse than that of the heathen, one in which there are no public and marked examples required of a different and more severe kind of religion than that which now prevails; one more akin to that of those who in the apostolical and primitive ages, spent themselves, and relinquished wives and children, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and to whom, on that very account, our Lord promised a reward?"

But to come to the fourth head of our subject—ought the Church to enjoin celibacy by a rigid law which extends to all the clergy? Most certainly; because we have proved that a clergy practising celibacy, discharges the duties of religion far more efficiently and faithfully than any others, and that they alone, at least taking things as they are, can preserve the respect of the people and the independence of the Church. But then we are told by almost all Protestants, that the practice of celibacy should be voluntary; that when enforced as a law, it is productive of the worst consequences on the morals of the clergy themselves and on the people, and that therefore every priest should be left to his own option either to live single or to marry. This is equivalent to saying, abolish celibacy altogether, for the experience of the societies to which these very persons belong, proves that where it is not enforced by law, it will not be observed to any considerable extent. This does not prove in the least that when the law does exist, it is not observed perfectly, willingly, and cheerfully, and that every sound member of the clergy of the Catholic Church would not oppose its repeal, even to the death if necessary. For instance, before our Lord abolished the bill of divorce, scarcely any one lived his whole life with one woman, inso-much that the disciples thought it would be better not to marry at all, than to be so entirely wedded to one; and if the bill of divorce had never been abolished, the same practice and the same feelings on this subject would

still continue. If the present law were abrogated by divine authority, no one who knows any thing of human nature can deny, that in the course of time the old practice would very probably revive. Yet the great body of Christians observe the present law willingly and cheerfully; they consider it the best, and indeed the only one which elevates the condition of mankind, and would look upon its repeal as the greatest calamity. But if it were once repealed, if there were no law of God or man to prevent every man from having more wives than one, how long would the present state of things, which every Christian loves and admires, continue? The same reasoning is perfectly applicable to the celibacy of the clergy. This is a state which almost all Christians admit to be more holy than that of marriage; a great many of those who dissent from the Catholic Church admit that it adorns the character of a clergyman and greatly increases his utility; every priest who is worthy of the name would die rather than suffer one iota of that law to be repealed; but if it were once repealed, if there were no obligation whatever on a priest but the consciousness that it is a more perfect state, we have no doubt that at present their love of purity is so great, that the overwhelming majority would observe it for a time; still some would marry, the feeling which now exists would wear away, they would take wives, and then *God* help the Christian Church, for *man* would do little more for her.

But, then, whatever good a clergy practising celibacy might do, this law is bad. 1. Because it is contrary to the divine law, which says, that they only *to whom it is given*, can observe celibacy. 2. Because it is a tyrannical law by making that a precept which the gospel only makes a counsel. 3. Because it is injurious to the morals of the clergy themselves, and of society at large.

The first objection to this law is founded on the words of our Lord, (Matt. xix.) “all men take not this word but they to whom it is given. . . He that can take, let him take it.” And do Catholics assert that continence is not the gift of God? By no means. “Every good and perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of light,” and as continency is one of these, it is certainly the gift of the Lord. Does it therefore follow that God will not give it to all who properly ask it? Why, faith is the gift of God, and

are there then persons who cannot believe, especially as he applies to the gift of faith almost the same words that he here applies to the gift of continency? "He that *can* take let him take it," he says of the latter: and of the former, (John vi.) when the Jews would not believe that he was the Son of God; "no one *can* come to me, except the Father who hath sent me, *draw* him." He does not contradict his disciples when they say that it is expedient not to marry, but on the contrary, encourages them by stating that there are some who are continent from necessity, and others from choice, who observe the virtue of chastity on account of the kingdom of heaven. He adds, however, that it is not a precept—that it is a great and a difficult sacrifice, which although expedient but few would practice. "He that *can* take let him take it." The words *can take*, imply the difficulty of the thing, and the fewness of those who would take it. Certainly it was in this way this passage was understood, not in the middle, but in the earlier, and, as our adversaries say, the purer, ages of the church. We need only mention Tertullian, (liber de monogamia,) Nazianzen, (oratio 33,) Basil, (de virginibus,) Chrysostom and Jerome, (writing on this very passage,) and Augustin, (lib. 6, confess. cap. 11.) We shall only cite the words of Chrysostom; "Ideo non omnes capere possunt quia non omnes volunt: palma proposita est; qui concupiscit gloriam non cogitat de labore. Nemo vinceret si omnes timerent periculum." "It is for this reason all *cannot* take it because *all do not wish*; the prize is proposed, he who is desirous of the glory thinketh not of the labour. No one would conquer if all feared the danger." Besides, if there were any obscurity in this passage, it would be removed by the clear, universal, and unrestricted words of St. Paul. Even, however, allowing those who differ from us to avail themselves of their own interpretation, false as it is, we are still prepared to show that the church violates no law of God, exercises no tyranny over man, by enacting the law of celibacy for the clergy. For what does the church do? She says that a clergy practising celibacy, are best able to discharge the important duties of the Christian ministry, and that she will not allow any one to undertake the duties of that ministry, who will not vow before the living God and upon his holy altar, at the time of his ordination, to observe this virtue during his entire life. This law is known to every candidate for the ministry from

his childhood—he cannot make this vow until he has passed the age at which the law of the land declares every one to have arrived at mature reason, when he is capable of judging for himself and of managing his own affairs. She does not force this vow upon any one: on the contrary, she takes care that no one can make it until after the most mature deliberation. The very preliminary studies of a candidate for the ministry, must be more or less directed to the particular object he has in view, and must therefore keep it constantly before his mind. After this he must undergo a long course of ecclesiastical studies, and special training for the ministry, during which time he is constantly begging of God to enlighten his mind, so that he may discover whether he will be able to discharge the duties and observe the peculiar virtues of the ecclesiastical state; he is, moreover, under the eye of his superior and the direction of his confessor, to whom all the secrets of his heart are laid open; supposing even that celibacy were a special gift granted to some and refused to others, what more efficient means could any one adopt to discover whether in reality he has, or has not, received that gift? Certainly none short of a special revelation from God, which no protestant can hold to be necessary; for it is not vouchsafed to any one, even to those who have received the gift, because they can and do observe the virtue. If after this searching and protracted trial, any of the candidates should consider that they have not a sufficient certainty that with God's assistance they will live chastely during their entire lives, the church addresses them in the following beautiful and affecting language:

“Filii dilectissimi ad sacrum subdiaconatus ordinem promovendi, iterum atque iterum considera debetis attente, quod onus hodie ultro appetitis. Hactenus enim liberi estis, licetque vobis pro arbitrio ad secularia vota transire. Quod si hunc ordinem susceperitis amplius non licebit a proposito resilire, sed Deo, cui servire regnare est, perpetuo famulari; et castitaten illo adjuvante, servare oportebit, atque in ecclesiæ ministerio semper esse mancipatos. Proinde dum tempus est, cogitate, et si in sancto proposito perseverare placet, in nomine Domini huc accedite.”

“Most beloved children, who are about to be promoted to the holy order of Sub-deaconship, you ought *again and again attentively* to consider what a burthen you seek to-day of *your own accord*. Thus far *you are free*, and it is lawful for you, if you please, to pass over to secular vows, (to marry). But if you shall have received

this order, it will no longer be lawful for you to go back from your purpose, but you must be the perpetual servants of God, to serve whom is to reign, and with his assistance you must observe chastity and be always wholly devoted to the ministry of the church. *Wherefore reflect whilst you have time, and if it be your wish to persevere in your holy purpose, in the name of the Lord come forward.*"

These words are taken from the "*manuale ordinandorum*," which is in the hands of every candidate for the ministry, and they are read by the bishop at that solemn moment when the destiny of this life, perhaps of eternity, is to be decided, and when the aspirant to the priesthood must either go back into the world, or devote himself entirely to chastity, to religion, and to God. Nor are these mere words of course, for many—very many who have even commenced and proceeded far, some who have finished their ecclesiastical studies, being deterred by its arduous duties, return to a secular life.

But what if some one should enter the ministry rashly, and should then find that he had not the gift of chastity, might not he, or rather, should not he marry? If this were permitted, celibacy would soon be at an end, for those worthless and vicious persons who are deterred by the present law, would then crowd into the ministry; and having once got there, they would quickly prove that they neither had, nor wished for, the gift of chastity. But then they *cannot* observe chastity. St. Augustine replies, (lib. 2, de adulteriis conjugiiis, cap. 19, et 20. Apud Bellarminum, lib. 1, de clericis cap. 21.) to those who wished to marry contrary to the law, on the pretext that they *could not* observe continency, in a manner that is perfectly applicable to the present occasion. For, he says, are not those who are married, often obliged to remain continent, either on account of the long absence of the husband or wife; (the English law obliges them to wait seven years if we mistake not,) or on account of the protracted sickness of one of the parties, which may and often does continue for years? Does not St. Paul order that a priest shall only marry once, and what is he to do if his wife should die when he is young? Does not the English church oblige her clergy who hold certain situations to remain chaste during their younger years, and when they are most liable to temptations against chastity? Are there not many who cannot get such husbands or wives as would please them, and who therefore do not marry? Does not M. Michelet

himself wish that the ministers of the church were all widowers—a class of persons by the way who are not at all remarkable for their chastity? Do all these persons, or rather classes of persons, receive the gift? We answer, yes, provided they adopt the proper means, which are prayer to God, mortification of the body, and the avoiding of dangerous occasions. They receive it because it is necessary for them, and because God will not refuse His gifts to those who ask them aright. “Ask and ye shall receive; ye ask and ye receive not, because ye ask amiss.” And if He gives it to all these classes who follow secular employments, will He refuse it to those who have devoted themselves entirely to Him alone, and who have vowed upon His holy altar that they would serve Him in chastity all the days of their lives?

Oh, but this law of celibacy exercises an evil influence on the lives of the clergy who practise it, and of the people who are entrusted to their care. That there are some bad priests who violate their vows, it would be absurd to deny. Nor need we be astonished at this, since there were persons who had damnation even in St. Paul’s time, for marrying after having made a vow of chastity. “But younger widows avoid; for when they have grown wanton in Christ, *they will marry*, having damnation, because they have *made void their first faith*.” This first faith being something that was made void by marrying, cannot mean the Christian faith, nor indeed anything but the faith promised to God by a vow of celibacy. It would be a constant miracle if, considering the vast number of the Catholic clergy, some of them did not violate their vows to God; but of these the Catholic Church says, as St. Paul said of old, that they have damnation because they have made void their first faith. Is not this to be attributed to the vices of the individual, and not to the ordinances of the Church, which are holy in themselves, useful to the ministry, and admirably calculated to elevate and adorn the character of the priest? The Church weeps over the transgressors of her holy laws; she prays for them, she punishes them, and either reforms or expels them from her ministry. But that the vast body of the clergy of the Catholic Church, who have vowed their virginity to God, are pure to a proverb, and almost to a miracle—that the transgressors are like a drop of water in the ocean, or a grain of sand on the sea-shore, is a truth which may

very easily be proved by the admissions of their avowed enemies. M. Michelet says of the priests of France at the present time: (page 226.)

“The drama which I have endeavoured to sketch, does not always, thanks be to God, go so far as the annihilation of the will and the personality. One cannot well discern where it stops, owing to the dark cloak of reserve, discretion, and hypocrisy, with which this black community is enveloped. Besides, the clergy have been doubly guarded during the present contentions.”

And then he mentions in a note the adventures of the Abbés C. and N., and two others of high rank, on whom in his generosity he might have bestowed the initials D. and O., without much danger of being prosecuted for a libel. Here is the whole charge which their avowed enemy can bring against all the Catholic clergy of France—four shadows, amongst whom he divides the two letters C and N. By using the alphabet in this judicious way, he would be able to charge fifty priests with very heinous crimes. But the rest of the clergy are so enveloped in their dark cloaks of reserve, and discretion, and hypocrisy, that poor M. Michelet, after all his watching, cannot see so much as the tips of their noses, or any other point which could be designated by the fraction of a mute or a liquid. The author of the “Continuation de l’Esprit des Lois (quoted by Valsecchi ubi supra de Revelatione Evangelica) acknowledges—though bitterly opposed to it—that “celibacy is generally well observed;” and Bayle (Art. Voyer.) declares that the writings of those who describe the evil consequences of celibacy are “full of lies and fables.” Even Voltaire, who looked upon the clergy with no partial eye, acknowledges (apud de Maistre de Pape, lib. iii. chap. 3.) that the lives of the laity were always more vicious than those of the clergy—“*La vie séculière a toujours été plus vicieuse que celle des prêtres.*” It therefore appears, on the testimony even of their worst enemies, that the unmarried clergy were always more virtuous than the married laity—that the works of those who wrote against them are full of lies and fables—that celibacy is generally faithfully observed, and that four scarecrows, “without a local habitation or a name,” are all that can be set up in the entire of France to frighten the people from attending on the ministrations of their pure, faithful, and unimpeachable clergy.

But perhaps if the clergy were allowed to marry they would be all angels; not one of them would ever fall into sin. Let us look to their lives, for "from their fruits ye shall know them." We pass over the preliminary stages—the perils and dangers of courtship, which are pretty graphically described in an extract which we have already given. Let us merely cast a glance at those who are already bound in the holy bonds of matrimony. We do this in no invidious spirit, but purely in self defence. We are not, nor do we desire to be, learned in scandal of this kind. We know little or nothing which has not appeared in the newspapers, and if we did, we would scorn to descend to the baseness of divulging it, even though we could write the name in full, instead of allowing it only half a consonant. There is scarcely a year passes without some married minister, or one who is entitled to marry, being publicly convicted by a jury of seduction or adultery, or the innocent crime of taking away another man's wife. Who can forget Dr. Lardner, who carried off Mrs. Heaviside, or the case of a married clergyman who took an action against the "*Weekly Dispatch*," for accusing him with beating his own wife and remaining at improper hours with another woman, and was cast in the action; or though last, not least, the horrid case of *Cooke v. Wetherall*, which was tried within the last few months, where a widower, one of M. Michelet's favourites, was convicted of having lived in a state of incest with his own daughter for a long time, both before and after her marriage? It is with pain we say anything on this subject, and we are very far from charging the body with the crimes of individuals, although that is the kind of justice which is shown to the priests; but we submit, that whether we look at the relative sanctity of the two states, or the efficiency of the ministry, or the purity and sanctity of their lives, the clergy who practice celibacy are in every respect superior to those who marry. Bayle in the article just quoted, speaking of Voyer and other writers, says, "they represent impurity as the deluge of Ducalion, which covers the whole earth, and as an evil which marriage facilitates instead of refraining;" *ils nous représentant, l'impudicité comme un déluge de Ducalion qui couvre toute la terre et comme un mal, que le mariage FACILITE AU LIEU DE REFRENER.*

But then the celibacy of the clergy is pernicious to the morals of the people. We have already so entirely



forestalled this part of the subject, that we shall now waste upon it very few words. We have already proved that the influence of the clergy who practice celibacy is far greater than that of the married clergy, that their lives are purer, and that they greatly exceed them in all the works of corporal and spiritual charity; looking at the matter therefore *a priori*, those who are taught by them ought to be better. Do the facts agree with the theory in this case? We should say that this is a subject which is not regarded in its proper light by many of those who write upon it. In order to decide the matter fairly, we must consider whether those who adopt *the means* prescribed by the unmarried clergy, or those who adopt *the means* prescribed by the married clergy, lead the more virtuous and holy lives. The only means which the ~~un~~married clergy prescribe are, to attend divine worship, to read the Bible, and perhaps occasionally to receive the Lord's Supper as they call it, but this most of them do not consider necessary. There is in this no practical check upon immorality, unless the man may be so notorious and flagrant a sinner that the minister may interdict him. This happens so seldom, that it cannot be considered as in any notable degree influencing the morals of the people. On the contrary, those who follow the advice of the unmarried priest must kneel before God's minister and open to him their whole hearts; they must abandon their sins and sinful inclinations, and turn themselves to God with their whole hearts and souls before they can approach the sacraments, or be considered practical religionists. In fact, a person may do all the married clergyman requires, by adopting for a few hours each week, an appearance of external decorum; a person cannot do what the unmarried priest requires of him without giving up his whole heart to God. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*—here is the reason why the priest and the confessional are so much hated by all unbelievers, because they see that they are the bulwarks of morality, the strongholds of religion, and that the empire of religion is secure so long as they stand. This is a matter which is very seldom represented fairly. The priests and the Catholic religion are charged by deists and infidels with the crimes which they themselves commit. They say such crimes are committed in Paris and Vienna, but are they committed by the priests or by those who adopt *the means* which the priests pre-

scribe against vice? or are they not all committed by those who ridicule the priests, revile the confessional, and despise religion? Let us take those places where the unmarried clergy have the most influence, where the people are the most docile, and we shall find that their lives are the most pure, most religious, and most holy. It is scarcely necessary, and indeed it would be tedious to enter into the statistics of this question from the time the Reformers, who had solemnly sworn on God's altar to lead a life of celibacy, fulfilled their vows by taking to themselves young wives. If, however, we forbear to contrast the moral condition of those places which got married clergy, with those which retained the unmarried, it is not for want of facts or information. The returns of the Poor Law Unions would afford abundant materials, as would the speeches of Lord Ashley, the reports connected with the collieries, and the statements of the Society for discouraging vice. We could show that under the ministry of the richest and best endowed clergy in the world, but who had to take care of their wives and families instead of the religion of Jesus, existed the greatest ignorance and the greatest immorality. It has been admitted by some of themselves, that these vices never can be remedied, that this ignorance never can be expelled, and these crimes extirpated, until they are encountered by an unmarried clergy who have no families to provide for, who have no wife to long for their return, but who can devote their whole energies and their lives to this great and noble undertaking. We beg of the Great God, in whose hands are the hearts of men, that this may soon be the case, that He who has inflicted upon them that which he himself has pronounced as his greatest curse, a bad priesthood, may now raise up for them a good, a holy, and a disinterested one; that the good work which has now so nobly and so gloriously been commenced, may be perfected by Him, and that as in punishment of their crimes he allowed his altars to be overturned and his religion defiled, by those who violated their vows to God and robbed the houses where he was honoured and the poor were fed, so he may now restore his religion through the instrumentality of those who are leaving all things to follow Jesus.

We will, therefore, hold fast by the holy institution of the celibacy of the clergy, which is the ornament of the christian ministry, the comfort of the people, the safeguard of morality, and the terror of the enemies of the church.

It has been handed down to us by our ancestors holy and revered, and we will not abandon it. It is founded on the example of the Apostles, as a custom which reaches back to their times and on the most ancient sanctions of councils and of popes. On the example of the Apostles, for Tertullian says, (Ep. ad prot. Apud Perrone.) "*Petrum solum invenio maritum per socrum.....cæteros cum maritos non invenio, aut spadones intelligere necesse est, aut continentes.*" Where he clearly declares that none of the Apostles were married but Peter. But St. Jerome speaks still more clearly. "*Christus virgo, virgo Maria utriusque sexus dedicavere principia; Apostoli vel virgines vel post nuptias continentes.*" The Apostles were either virgins or *continent after marriage*. Both Tertullian and St. Jerome assert, that though Peter was a married man he never cohabited with his wife from the time he became an Apostle, and indeed this seems pretty plain from the 19th chapter of St. Matthew, where Peter says, Behold we have left *all* things and have followed you: what reward, therefore, shall we have? And the Saviour of the world answered . . . Every one that hath left house . . . or wife, or children, &c. Wife and children are reckoned amongst the things which may be left, and Peter says, and our Lord admits, that he left *all* things, and consequently his wife. It was, however, a custom of the Jews, which even our Lord himself followed, (Matt. xxvii. 55,) to bring pious women with them to minister to them, and this Peter did. But if his wife accompanied him at all, it was certainly in this capacity. It is very generally maintained that St. Peter strongly encouraged the practice of continence among the clergy, even in the time of the Apostles. Certainly Tertullian seems to suppose this, (lib. de Exhort. cap. 11,) and Aurelius, primate of Africa, when impressing the necessity of deacons observing chastity in the Council of Carthage, says: "Let us also keep that which the Apostles taught, and antiquity itself observed." We have the testimony of Jerome, Eusebius, and Epiphonius, that the same practice prevailed in the Eastern churches. Hence, St. Tirinus, who is commonly called by Protestants, the author of this law, and who lived so early as the year 385, did not enact a new law but enforced one which prevailed universally in the West, and almost universally in the East. He certainly mentions the law as already existing, urges its observance

and animadverts on its transgressors as the violaters of a law already known to them. From this period we find all the Councils insisting on the observance of the law of celibacy, as one which had been long since enacted. We know that in the fourth century the same practice prevailed through almost the entire East, and especially in the more illustrious, because apostolic churches, namely, those of Alexandria and Antioch. This practice was afterwards modified, and finally fell into desuetude in the East; but with the loss of the celibacy of the clergy, that church gradually lost its influence over the people, its independence, and its usefulness as a christian institution. In the West, where alone the Catholic Church has always continued great, influential, and independent, the celibacy of the clergy has uniformly been enforced. It has lived longer than any purely human institution; it has, with the divine assistance, saved the church, when all other dynasties were overthrown by the hurricane of revolution; it has made her ministers faithful to the people, and the people devoted to their priests; and when all other churches have been reduced to slavery, it has preserved the spiritual independence of their own. There is in this institution not only a living, but a regenerative, principle. It raises up the church anew in those places where she has been overwhelmed by impiety or by heresy. So long as the priesthood continues to possess, and to faithfully practise, celibacy, the people will have sincere friends, religion will have practical teachers, and the church will have faithful ministers. Human passion is so strong, that this teaching may, for a time, be despised, and the glory of the church may be dimmed; but this unknown God will not long be worshipped in the presence of those who not only preach but practise Christianity. This is the case in France, where, under the influence of the priests, public and domestic virtue have advanced hand in hand with the Catholic religion. The women of France, led on by the example of the illustrious queen, are models of virtue and religion. The clergy are doing their part nobly, bravely, and disinterestedly, the convents are instructing more than six hundred thousand young ladies, the infidel college is deserted for the little seminary, and religion, in spite of the philosophers, is again triumphant in France.

ART. X.—*A short Series of Lectures, on the Parochial and Collegiate Antiquities of Edinburgh; read at the Holy Guild of St. Joseph, by a Member of the Guild.* Edinburgh, J. Marshall: 1845.

THIS little work is one of the many signs of the times. There is a spirit awakening in our rising youth that is deeply significant of England's future destiny: there is an effort to diffuse an enlightened patriotism, and to draw together the severed elements of society; and there is a feeling that this object can be achieved only by regenerating the moral character of the people, and above all by winning and refining the heart and its affections. But how was this to be done? The answer has long been sought; but sought in vain. Tracts have been published, novels written, speeches delivered, and benevolence and ingenuity exerted to an unusual extent; but, while the necessity for an answer has been demonstrated more forcibly than ever, the problem itself is yet to be solved. Despite, however, of failure in its principal object, the effort has elicited much good, and deserves the thanks and acknowledgment of every one that loves his country.

Among those whom these enquiries of "Young England," or perhaps the manifest wants of the nation have aroused, it is cheering to observe that there are not a few of our Catholic youth. They felt like the rest of their young countrymen, that a moral regeneration was indispensable—was the only means of averting the storm of civil commotion that has long been gathering; but while others hesitated and looked round in vain for the means of deliverance, they knew from the experience of ages, no less than the impulse of faith, that there is one, and only one regenerator upon earth; they knew that the only safe, the only true, the only universal civilization that could temper the soul of the poor no less than that of the rich, was to be found in that Church of all ages, whose work it is to guide and refine all without distinction, and gradually to remould man to the sublime image of his Maker. There alone could they expect a remedy for the deep wounds of society; there alone could they behold all that limited alleviation of evil; all that refinement of the human race that can be expected upon the earth, the doomed place of exile, labour, and pain. To

this refuge then they turned, happy to combine consolation for the present with preparation for the future. Hence, with feelings one in purpose, though various in manifestation, have sprung forth our guilds ; our brotherhoods ; our societies for administering consolation, and calling in spiritual aid to the sick and dying.

Lowly and at first sight, insignificant may be such societies ; sneered at, perhaps, or thwarted, if not persecuted ; involving in their duties a persevering regularity, and an indifference to mere comfort and even to worldly appearances, that is by no means agreeable to nature ; yet are they not the less efficacious—efficacious by teaching the poor man to look up with gratitude and affection upon that wealthier brother that smooths his pillow and cools his parched lips ; efficacious by awakening in both sympathies too strong to yield to the icy conventionalities of the world, or to the heartlessness on one side and discontent on the other that are rending asunder the shattered framework of society ; efficacious too, in a far higher degree, by procuring those spiritual blessings which only those, that are in the “one fold,” can enjoy or appreciate ; efficacious, in a word, not to the poor sufferer only, but to the happy consoler, whose work of charity is the imitation of saints, the hope of future generations, the consolation of the church, and “a spectacle to angels and to men.”

This devoted, self-denying spirit is springing up, we hardly know how or from whence ; and is already developing itself in various forms. Wants of a new kind are beginning to be felt, and the spirit that has created, is labouring to supply them. Of such wants, instinctive and scarcely conscious as they are, one of the most pressing is a desire for a vivifying perception of the spirit and practice of Catholicity. This growing demand has been partially supplied in various ways ; but much remains to be done.

An expedient suggested by the work at the head of this notice is simple, and as far as it applies could hardly fail of success : it is the diffusion of practical, unassuming works that would enable persons of limited time and education to understand the meaning of the surviving monuments of Catholicity ; and instead of gazing upon them with barren wonder, to derive from their mutilated remains food for useful thought, and stimulants to edifying exertion. Such is the unobtrusive purpose of the *Lectures on the Antiquities*

of Edinburgh. The circumstances that gave it birth will be best told by the author.

“During the course of last summer, the Council of the Holy Guild of St. Joseph appointed weekly readings to take place in their hall, for the benefit of the younger members of their Guild, and generally of all persons who were willing to be present. The Warden of the Holy Guild and others who interested themselves in the intellectual and moral improvement of youth, undertook in rotation to read aloud some book of general interest, chiefly historical or biographical, on an evening in the week. During the temporary absence of some of these, it came to my turn to provide a subject of interesting reading, and I ventured to invite attention to the numerous remains of Catholic antiquity in this city which have survived three hundred years of desolation. The Lectures pretend to no originality or deep research into the subject of the antiquities of Edinburgh. Their aim is rather to take advantage of the materials which lie on the surface, and are obvious to ordinary attention and observation, and from these to derive useful lessons without affecting minute detail.”—*Prologue.*

In the opening of his work, the author dwells upon the obligation of transmitting, unimpaired and even improved, whatever we have received from the past generation; he then leads us to the castle, to the death-bed of St. Margaret; describes the city as it was before the Reformation; explains the symbolic meaning of a church and all its parts; tells us of St. Giles's and its forty altars, and of the other ancient churches and churchyards; and throws a peculiar interest around each object by associating it with the holy ones that were the models and glory of the Scots of former days. Would that all the principal localities of the United Kingdoms were illustrated on a similar plan; we should have a more familiar, more affectionate and not less reverent feeling towards the saints, that would soften many an asperity of life, would cheer many a weary hour; would give content to the poor and mercy to the rich; and enable all to pass more safely through the dangers of an irreligious and utilitarian age.

ART. XI.—1. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. London: Toovey, 1845.

2. *A Letter, on Submitting to the Catholic Church.* By FREDERICK OAKELEY, M. A. London: Toovey, 1845.

3. *Twenty-two Reasons for entering the Catholic Church.* By THOMAS WILLIAM MARSHALL, Author of "Notes on the Catholic Episcopate."

**A**MIDST the wonderful and consoling events which have lately occurred, and are daily occurring in the religious world in England, it is not perhaps easy to sit down as coolly as a reviewer is supposed to do, and discourse, whether on the past and its consolations, or on the future and its hopes. The present is quite enough to engross all our feelings; for it is not often that we can reverse with truth the solemn declaration of God's unerring Wisdom, and say that "sufficient for the day is the Good thereof." In fact, had it not been for considerations, which will be stated later, connected with the history of this publication, and which could not be postponed to another number, we should have been tempted to remain at present silent, and share with others, in that fitting state, the feelings, too deep for utterance, of wonder, awe, and gratitude, no less than of joy and tenderness, that belong to what we are witnessing.

It is not our province to chronicle facts as they pass before us; we must be content to assume them, or suppose them known. We are not, therefore, going to give any history of what has occurred in England during the present year, nor to enumerate those who have obeyed the call of grace, and entered into the communion of the Holy Catholic Church. It is sufficient for us to consider it as notorious, that a greater number of persons have done so within the last few months than have ever, in our memory, or in that of our fathers, within the same period, or even in a much longer space: persons, we mean, who from their professions and characters were before the public, and might be justly considered as having taken such a step with proper consideration, and certainly not impelled to it by interest, or passion, or early prejudice, or by any motive short of a conscientious conviction. We may likewise safely assume, that this almost sudden, but not surprising result,



is the issue of a course of gradual approximation to Catholic Truth on the part of many learned and thoughtful men, of whom some yet remain in the Anglican establishment. We are, in other words, at this moment witnessing the fruit of what has been familiarly denominated, in our pages as elsewhere, the "Religious Movement" in England. Whether the fruit be all yet gathered, or whether more is ripening—or whether the course of Providence will altogether change, and will work through new channels—whether a reaction will take place, and whether things will go back or forward—these are matters belonging to futurity, sealed up as yet in the knowledge of God alone, and placed in our regard, in the sphere of our hopes, of our prayers, and of our earnest efforts to deserve well. They who have hoped from the beginning, will not surely begin *now* to despond; and they who hitherto have feared to indulge in that happy feeling, may well be encouraged to begin it now.

But, whatever may be our thoughts respecting future prospects (and upon them must much depend our thoughts of future duties), we cannot imagine difference of sentiment respecting the present hour. To no Catholic can it suggest other feelings than those of satisfaction and joy, of gratitude and deep obligation. For no Catholic, if he be loyal to his religion, can fail to identify himself with his Church, and his feelings with hers. To him individually there may be no accession of grace, or any other blessing by what he sees around him; but his Mother rejoices in the new children bestowed upon her, her honour is advanced in the conquest which she makes of the learning of some, or the virtuous lives of others; she receives new evidences of her notes and characters, her holiness is proclaimed by men seeking her *because* they aspire to holiness, her Catholicity is acknowledged by her communion being desired in regions remote from her centre, and her Apostolicity by sacramental grace being sought in her ministry; while the yearning on every side after unity, only to be satisfied by entering her pale, gives new brilliancy to this her special mark. Now, independently of the spirit of charity, which must rejoice in the welfare of others, and, consequently, by sympathy have its strength multiplied manifold as new brethren join us, no true Catholic can fail to rejoice in the honour of his holy religion, and in the new expansion of her maternal affection, on the behalf of these her children.

But there is another source of interest open to us, one, moreover, which regards the future. The works, though of very different dimensions, at the head of our article show, that we have received amongst us men who will be able to give an account of the step which they have taken, in a manner calculated not merely to strike, but to move others to follow them. And though we feel that we shall not be able to do justice to these works, and to one in particular, it would be unpardonable in us to let the present moment go by without placing them upon record in our pages. They mark too decided an epoch in the movement which we have been carefully watching in this Review, for us to leave them unnoticed.

The works before us contain the reasons which have influenced three recent converts, till lately members of the Anglican clergy, and already known for their writings in defence or illustration of the English Church."

It is seldom that any one, whether of a sensitive or of a thoughtful character, is brought to Catholic truth by what might appear the shortest or the plainest path. There is necessarily a complication in the process by which they reach it, because it is not through the force of human reasoning, so much as by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that this happy consummation is attained. Now, the riches of the divine resources (if we may so speak) are as immense in the spiritual as in the visible world; and as in the latter we may behold successively thousands of beautiful forms or features, yet not two exactly alike, so shall we find equal variety in the frame and figure (though each may be excellent) of minds moulded and formed by the same inward influence. St. Peter and St. Matthew were called to the faith by one mild word; St. Paul was converted by blindness, overthrow, and words of bitter taunt and reproach. The discourse which won the learned Dionysius was thrown away upon the other Areopagites; and many others, besides St. Anthony or St. Francis, have heard the texts which made *them* give up all for Christ, and embrace poverty, without therefore putting away a single luxury. A letter intended for another person, which accidentally fell into his hands, converted St. Francis Caracciolo to the religious life; wounds and imprisonment changed St. Ignatius from a cavalier into a saint; and the sight of an empress festering in her coffin, drove his disciple St. Francis Borgia from the court to the

cloister. The courage of St. Alban made a Christian and a martyr of his intended executioner ; and the cowardice and fall of one of the forty martyrs gave his crown to one of his pagan guards. All things thus work together unto good for those whom God hath chosen ; and that very choice is both shown forth and brought about by this co-operation of various, and often apparently inadequate causes. Hence, were any number of converts to give the history of their conversion, and detail the steps whereby it was preceded and prepared, we should not find two accounts alike : all would have been brought to exactly the same point, by the most dissimilar ways.

Mr. Oakeley and Mr. Newman, for instance, have both reached the same goal ; but their guidance has evidently been different. The first has had his position for some years in the busy scenes of the capital, and has been actively engaged in ministerial duties. In Margaret-street chapel, which was under his direction, he endeavoured to work out to the utmost the liturgical and devotional capabilities of the Anglican system. While in other parts the rubrical storm was raging—while the surplice, the prayer for the Church militant, the offertory, the credence, the turning to the east, and many other such points were dividing congregations, alienating the people from their clergy, and provoking episcopal censures, or causing episcopal embarrassment, Mr. Oakeley, surrounded and supported by a confiding and affectionate flock, was able to do all, and more than all, that elsewhere raised such opposition and such scandal. There “the rubric was carried out”—there music, flowers, and observance of seasons, gave a Catholic air to the externals of worship—there was daily service and weekly communion—there the duties of fasting, of self-examination, and accusation enforced. Mr. Oakeley’s publications show the bent of his mind, and the direction of his efforts. “St. Bernard’s Homilies,” “Devotions commemorative of the Passion,” “St. Bonaventure’s Life of Christ,” edited by him, prove that his object was to engraft as much Catholic feeling upon the English ritual as it would bear, to make his flock as Catholic as it was possible, without ceasing to be Anglicans. But the system broke down under the attempt—the plant would not bear the new honours set upon it. Instead of sympathy from his ecclesiastical superior, a prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts checked and crushed Mr. Oakeley’s

attempt to infuse life into the service and devotions of the English Church. The illusion, which partial success had inspired, was dispelled; and he saw no alternative but sinking fairly down into Anglicanism in its ordinary dreariness, or embracing the consolations of Catholicism. Let us hear his own words:

“For a time I was led to hope that the systems in question, ‘the Roman and the Anglican,’ were not antagonist, but congenial; and I accounted it a chief duty to appropriate, as far as might be, the more remote with a view to the amendment of the nearer. Thus I thought to model the Services of Margaret Chapel upon a type to which, assuredly, I found in the Church of England no living counterpart. And yet I never acted otherwise than with a direct eye to the provisions of my own Communion, as I understood them, nor even consciously transgressed the order of my Bishop. Still I felt with increasing discomfort, that the result, fully adequate as it was to my own actual (though, I doubt not, limited,)\* conception of the beautiful and edifying in Divine worship, was a pure anomaly and excrescence in the Establishment, at which authorities at last did not but connive, (and that with no good grace,) which neither had nor was ever likely to have, any fellow to itself, nor to be incorporated into the general whole; which was, in short, far too much the creature and the sport of accident to be that fact of importance, and that sign of hope which I was for a long time willing to account it. To bring my own Church into the utmost possible sympathy and harmony with the Roman, while at the same time scrupulously observant of her own express directions, and of the injunctions of authority, (so far as I could collect them,) this, as you well know, was my idea of the truest loyalty towards the Church of England. It proceeded, however, (I grant,) upon the assumption of an essential congeniality between the two systems, whereof I sought, while it was allowed me, to draw out and illustrate the one by the help of the other. And whether or not this assumption were in itself extravagant, (as I am not willing to admit,) at least it has been exploded. I have now come round to the opinion with which others, wiser than myself, began; that the attempt to infuse the Roman spirit into the Anglican body is like ‘putting new wine into old vessels,’ the effect of which must be to mar the vessel and spill the wine—to dissipate the Catholic introduction and shiver the Anglican receptacle to pieces.”—*A Letter on Submitting to the Catholic Church.*—pp. 33, 34.

Such, then, has been the providential course by which one

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\* “Oh, how limited, (All Saint’s day, 1845.)” Author’s note.

clergyman has been gradually brought to the happy enjoyment of Catholic unity and peace. His sincere efforts to carry out what he considered a truly sacramental liturgy, and to bring the feelings of his flock and other members of his church into fitting accordance with it, have been rewarded by a richer possession than he could have hoped for, had he attained his aims. Practical efforts brought him to a most blessed practical conclusion.

Mr. Newman, on the other hand, has been comparatively removed from active life; his time has been devoted more to study, and his works have long made him known as a scholar versed in the Fathers, and deeply read in ecclesiastical history. His sermons have been the favourite reading of every well-educated Anglican, and have possessed great charms for us; and his theological writings have avowedly influenced the belief and the conduct of great numbers in the English church. In his earlier writings, he gave proof of sincere attachment to the Anglican system; and as in Mr. Oakeley's case, love for that religious communion in which he found himself, was the principle that guided him at last to safety and peace. Extensive reading and varied research have ripened in a thoughtful mind, during a period of retirement, into thorough, earnest, and loving conviction, the grounds of which are given in the volume before us.

The "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," is not a mere production of the day, which derives interest from temporary or from personal considerations. It has been the growth of many years of application to ecclesiastical literature; it contains views that would be striking, and arguments that would be convincing, at any period, and ought to be read independently of its connexion with Mr. Newman's joining the Catholic church.

It will justly seem superfluous to enter into any lengthened notice of this important work, because no doubt it has been by this time in the hands of most of our readers. It is not, therefore, our intention to do so. But we will content ourselves with some few remarks and extracts, for the sake of such as have not enjoyed its perusal. Mr. Newman's book was written before he united himself to the Catholic church; it contains not a theological treatise but an essay. These two facts must be borne in mind; the reader must peruse it, as the description of that process of

reasoning, by which his powerful and well-stored mind was brought to full accordance with the Catholic church—not as ideally imagined by those who would have her exactly as she existed in the three first centuries, not even as the lover of mediæval catholicism would restore her—but as she is actually, after the full term of eighteen hundred years, have brought her to the full measure of her natural growth. The author's early sympathies were, we believe originally, with the very primitive church; his study led him to the choice of the first three centuries as the type of the true spouse of Christ. That study, which further pursued, brought him to see in the fourth and fifth centuries, only necessary developments of an earlier age, has at last completed the chain, in his mind, from Nicea to Trent, and to recognise in the existing communion of Rome the descendent and legitimate representative of the apostolic church.

The object of Mr. Newman's work is to show this identity, by proving how naturally, how necessarily, doctrine and practice have progressively expanded from their first meagre or rudimental forms, till what we now see is but the sequence, the continuation, and the completion of what is traced more faintly in early ecclesiastical records. In executing the task which he has proposed to himself, the author proceeds systematically; first laying down his principles, and then applying them.

First we have an introduction, in which the reasons for undertaking the work are clearly laid down; they may be summarily expressed in this formulæ. There are doctrines which are unhesitatingly admitted to be true, in a clear definite and fully developed form, as for instance the dogma of the Blessed Trinity as set forth in the Athanasian creed, which yet are not to be found in that distinct expression in writers antecedent to the Nicene council; or like the doctrine of the Eucharist, as it is admitted by many in the Anglican church, one distinguished member of which, in "a memorable sermon," out of one hundred and forty passages from the Fathers quoted in his notes, had only fifteen from Ante-Nicene writers.\* How are we to account for this? Are we to say that whatever appears on the face of these doctrines, beyond what the three first centuries clearly express, is erroneous? No believer in them will admit this. That they existed in those centuries just as

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\* Essay p. 22.]

marked and decided as they do now, only that evidences of the fact have been lost? This, though only put by way of hypothesis, is proved incorrect by the evidences which do remain, and which present such vagueness and discrepancies (real or apparent) as contrast most prominently with the distinctness and definiteness of later declarations. A hypothesis may, therefore, be fairly put forward to meet this problem; and if it satisfy all its conditions, it must answer all purposes of removing difficulty, and be entitled to serious consideration. Such a hypothesis is the "Theory of Developments," which Mr. Newman so ably puts forth in the present work.

The theory itself may be thus simply stated. All doctrine was revealed from the beginning, and the deposit of this revelation was left in the Church. But many doctrines did not at once require or receive the attention, because they did not acquire the importance, which circumstances, providentially occurring at a fitting moment, afterwards procured them. Hence, they would indeed exist, but in an undeveloped state, not unlike to the seed or youthful plant, which contains in itself all the essential parts of its after growth, or to the infant that is in reality, though not yet in size or feature, the future man. This comparison is applied to this subject by Vincentius Lerinensis, the contemporary of St. Augustine. Popular illustrations of this view will at once be obvious to every Catholic. For example, it is clear that the honours to be paid to martyrs and their relics and their places of burial, could not be exhibited till persecution came, and made martyrs; nor would any one, in time of perfect peace, have thought of anticipating and marking out definitely what those honours would be. But there were principles and feelings laid up in the Church, which were sure to come into active display, the moment the circumstances occurred which could give them life; and if Dioclesian, instead of Nero, had been the first persecutor, they would have lain three hundred years dormant, instead of thirty. Till later persecutions drove Anthony and others into the desert, the monastic or cenobitic life was not systematically known or recognized, as a state in the Church. But who does not see, that it is in strict accordance with declarations of our Lord and His Apostles, which were sure, at a fitting opportunity, to develop and produce such a form of virtue. No one, in like manner, can doubt that the papal jurisdiction, though given

clearly to Peter, and through him to his successors, was not, and could not, be fully brought out, and displayed, and confirmed, till exigencies arose that called for its exercise—till bishops quarrelled with their patriarchs, or heretics became too strong for local churches, or distant synods oppressed prelates. Had not these things occurred for 300 or 400 years, we should have been comparatively at fault for continuous proof of the exercise of the apostolic authority in the Roman See. But it is enough for us to see, that whenever and wherever they did happen, were it in Egypt, or in Spain, or at Constantinople, the aggrieved party, as a matter of course, sought protection from it; and the accused sought to defend itself, and did not protest against the competency of the tribunal chosen for appeal. Occasions thus brought out the power, defined it, strengthened it, showed its uses, its necessity, its divine part in the economy of Christ's Church.

But what we have thus familiarly put forward by way of explanation, is very differently handled in Mr. Newman's pages. There the theory is systematically, and we may say, scientifically explained, from its first principles, and is most variously and most learnedly applied.

The first chapter, "On the development of Ideas," after important general principles, proceeds to lay down seven tests by which a true development may be distinguished from a false one, in other words, from a *corruption*. Here, in truth, lies the pith of the work. Protestants will allow that many Catholic doctrines or practices, as now seen, have sprung from what was taught or performed in early ages. But then they consider them to have degenerated into downright abuses by excess as by perversion of object. Thus, the devotion paid to Saints they will allow to have had a germ in the feelings of the primitive Church; but they will assert it to have passed the boundary of a true, legitimate development, and to have become superstition, and even idolatry—therefore, a corruption. The tests which Mr. Newman lays down, and illustrates by many interesting examples, are directed to assay any doctrine, and prove whether it be a development, or a corruption, of that which prevailed in early Christianity. Our only fear is, that some readers, finding this chapter—as well as the two following, "On the development of Christian Ideas," and "On the nature of the argument in behalf of the existing developments of



Christianity"—more abstruse and solid than they are accustomed to in modern religious literature, may be deterred from proceeding further in the perusal of the book. But if they will go forward, we promise them in the succeeding chapters, which apply the tests, much gratification, edification, and instruction.

The first test of fidelity in development, "Preservation of Type or Idea," is most beautifully applied, by the comparison of the present state and form of Catholicism, with the Church of the six first centuries. We must make room for the conclusion of the first application, which is to the first three. The author first, at considerable length, with rare erudition and great sagacity, collects the popular accusations advanced against Christianity, by its early enemies. Some of these are analysed with great minuteness, and their exact meaning and origin happily illustrated; and a striking picture is thus worked out of the aspect in which Christianity showed itself to the prejudices of learned, and often amiable men, like Pliny, in these first ages. The application of this type or idea is made in the following powerful passage :

"On the whole I conclude as follows:—if there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is accused of gross superstition, of borrowing its rites and customs from the heathen, and of ascribing to forms and ceremonies an occult virtue;—a religion which is considered to burden and enslave the mind by its requisitions, to address itself to the weak-minded and ignorant, to be supported by sophistry and imposture, and to contradict reason and exalt mere irrational faith;—a religion which impresses on the serious mind very distressing views of the guilt and consequences of sin, sets upon the minute acts of the day, one by one, their definite value for praise or blame, and thus casts a grave shadow over the future;—a religion which holds up to admiration the surrender of wealth, and disables serious persons from enjoying it if they would;—a religion, the doctrines of which, be they good or bad, are to the generality of men unknown; which is considered to bear on its very surface signs of folly and falsehood so distinct that a glance suffices to judge of it, and careful examination is preposterous; which is felt to be so simply bad, that it may be calumniated at hazard and at pleasure, it being nothing but absurdity to stand upon the accurate distribution of its guilt among its particular acts, or painfully to determine how far this or that story is literally true, what must be allowed in candour, or what is improbable, or what cuts two ways, or what is not proved, or what may be plausibly defended;—a religion such, that men look at a convert to it with a feeling which

no other sect raises except Judaism, Socialism, or Mormonism, with curiosity, suspicion, fear, disgust, as the case may be, as if something strange had befallen him, as if he had had an initiation into a mystery, and had come into communion with dreadful influences, as if he were now one of a confederacy which claimed him, absorbed him, stripped him of his personality, reduced him to a mere organ or instrument of a whole ;—a religion which men hate, as proselytizing, anti-social, revolutionary, as dividing families, separating chief friends, corrupting the maxims of government, making a mock at law, dissolving the empire, the enemy of human nature, and a ‘conspirator against its rights and privileges ;’\*—a religion which they consider the champion and instrument of darkness, and a pollution calling down upon the land the anger of heaven ;—a religion which they associate with intrigue and conspiracy, which they speak about in whispers, which they detect by anticipation in whatever goes wrong, and to which they impute whatever is unaccountable ;—a religion, the very name of which they cast out as evil, and use simply as a bad epithet, and which from the impulse of self-preservation they would persecute if they could ;—if there be such a religion now in the world, it is not unlike Christianity as that same world viewed it, when first it came forth from its Divine Author.”—*P.* 240—242.

It is not our intention to follow Mr. Newman through the application of his other tests. We will only say, in general terms, that they are treated with equal vigour and erudition. We will rather look at the work under another aspect.

That in a volume like the present there may be propositions to which all will not assent, and more which may be misunderstood, or even misrepresented, we are ready to allow. We have already said that it only records the process of reasoning which brought Mr. Newman to the Catholic faith. But no one, we are sure, will read this book as it deserves to be read, without coming to the conclusion, that never did convert come to the Church with mind, soul, and heart, more thoroughly made over to her cause—with a tribute of varied learning and extensive research more cheerfully laid at her feet—with more complete, hearty, and filial allegiance, than this work shows him to have done. It is not a controversial treatise, nor a systematic defence of Catholic doctrines ; but it is more and better than this. There is hardly a contested point of faith, which is not introduced, by way of illus-

tration, or in application of principles; and everywhere the Catholic doctrine as now held, and its consequent practice as now followed, are ably and heartily defended. There are no reserves, there is no lingering wish for changes or modifications; but the Catholic system is embraced, and loved with the fervour and simplicity of one trained from infancy to the faith. The defence of communion under one kind, introduced at page 161, will be found most able and convincing. Again, the supremacy of the Holy See, its rights and privileges, are frequently brought forward, and proved, and illustrated from ecclesiastical documents and historical facts, in the ablest manner.

But the topic of all others, on which Mr. Newman exhibits the purest Catholic feeling and the noblest eloquence, is the honour and affectionate devotion paid by the Church to the Blessed Mother of God. Several times, in the course of his work, he touches upon the subject more theologically; but, towards the close of the work, there are two passages which must come home, convincingly and most congenially, to every Catholic heart. We will begin with the second, and it will fully explain itself.

“It has been anxiously asked, whether the honours paid to St. Mary, which have grown out of devotion to her Almighty Lord and Son, do not, in fact, tend to weaken that devotion; and whether, from the nature of the case, it is possible so to exalt a creature without withdrawing the heart from the Creator.

“In addition to what has been said on this subject in this Chapter and the foregoing, I observe that the question is one of fact, not of presumption or conjecture. The abstract lawfulness of the honours paid to St. Mary, and their distinction in theory from the incommunicable worship paid to God, have already been insisted on; but here the question turns upon their practicability or expedience, which must be determined by the fact whether they are practicable, and whether they have been found to be expedient.

“Here I observe, first, that to those who admit the authority of the Council of Ephesus the question is in no slight degree answered by its sanction of the *θεοτόκος*, or ‘Mother of God,’ as a title of St. Mary, and that in order to protect the doctrine of the Incarnation, and to preserve the faith of Catholics from a specious Humanitarianism. And if we take a survey of Europe at least, we shall find that those religious communions which are characterized by the observance of St. Mary, are not the Churches which have ceased to adore her Eternal Son, but such as have renounced that observance. The regard for His glory, which was professed in that

keen jealousy of her exaltation, has not been supported by the event. They who were accused of worshipping a creature in His stead, still worship Him; their accusers, who hoped to worship Him so purely, where obstacles to the development of their principles have been removed, have ceased to worship Him altogether.

"Next, it must be observed, that the tone of the devotion paid to St. Mary is altogether distinct from that which is paid to Her Eternal Son, and to the Holy Trinity, as we shall certainly allow on inspection of the Catholic services. The supreme and true worship paid to the Almighty is severe, profound, awful. Christ is addressed as true God, while He is true Man; as our Creator and Judge, while He is most loving, tender, and gracious. On the other hand, towards St. Mary the language employed is affectionate and ardent, as towards a mere child of Adam; though subdued, as coming from her sinful kindred. How different, for instance, is the tone of the *Dies Iræ* from that of the *Stabat Mater*. In the 'Tristis et afflicta Mater Unigeniti,' in the 'Mater fons amoris,' the 'Sancta Mater,' the 'Virgo virginum præclara Mihi jam non sis amara, Pœnas mecum divide,' the 'Fac me verè tecum flere,' we have an expression of the feelings with which we regard one who is a creature and a mere human being; but in the 'Rex tremendæ majestatis qui salvandos salvas gratis, salva me Fons pietatis,' the 'Ne me perdas illâ die,' the 'Juste judex ultionis, donum fac remissionis,' the 'Oro supplex et acclinis, cor contritum quasi cinis,' the 'Pie Jesu Domine, dona eis requiem,' we hear the voice of the creature raised in hope and love, yet in deep awe to his Creator, Infinite Benefactor, and Judge. Or again, how distinct is the language of the Breviary Services on the Festival of Pentecost, or of the Holy Trinity, from the language of the Services for the Assumption! How indescribably majestic, solemn, and soothing is the 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' the 'Altissimi donum Dei, Fons vivus, ignis, charitas,' or the 'Vera et una Trinitas, una et summa Deitas, sancta et una Deitas,' the 'Spes nostra, salus nostra, honor noster, O beata Trinitas,' the 'Charitas Pater, gratia Filius, communicatio Spiritus Sanctus, O beata Trinitas;' 'Libera nos, salva nos, vivifica nos, O beata Trinitas!' How gentle, on the contrary, how full of sympathy and affection, how stirring and animating, in the Office for the Assumption, is the 'Virgo prudentissima, quo progredieris, quasi aurora valde rutilans? filia Sion, tota formosa et suavis es, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol;' the 'Sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum, et lilia convallium;' the 'Maria Virgo assumpta est ad æthereum thalamum in quo Rex regum stellato sedet solio;' and the 'Gaudent Angeli, laudantes benedicunt Dominum.' Or again, the Antiphon, the 'Ad te clamamus exules filii Hevæ, ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrymarum valle,' and 'Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte,' and 'O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria.' Or the Hymn,

‘*Ave Maris stella, Dei Mater alma,*’ and ‘*Virgo singularis, inter omnes mitis, nos culpis solutos, mites fac et castos.*’

“Nor does it avail to object that, in this contrast of devotional exercises, the human will supplant the Divine, from the infirmity of our nature; for, I repeat, the question is one of fact, whether it has done so. And next it must be asked, whether the character of Protestant devotion towards our Lord has been that of worship at all; and not rather such as we pay to an excellent human being, that is, no higher devotion than that which Catholics pay to St. Mary, differing from it, however, in being familiar, rude, and earthly. Carnal minds will ever create a carnal worship for themselves; and to forbid them the service of the Saints will have no tendency to teach them the worship of God.”—*P.* 435—438.

After this, Mr. Newman enters upon an investigation which will be gratifying to every Catholic, though perhaps its result will appear new to some. He minutely examines the Exercises of St. Ignatius, to show how subordinate a part devotion to the Blessed Virgin has in that wonderful system for purifying and perfecting the spiritual man; and further gives the similar conclusion which he has drawn from the examination of a large collection of small devotional works, circulated in Rome among the people. But it will be seen that in the extract just given, reference is made to another passage, which is too striking and too beautiful for us to omit. It is as follows:

“There was one other subject on which the Arian controversy had a more intimate, though not an immediate influence. Its tendency to give a new interpretation to the texts which speak of our Lord’s subordination, has already been noticed; such as admitted of it were henceforth explained more prominently of His manhood than of His Economy or His Sonship. But there were other texts which did not admit of this interpretation, but which, without ceasing to belong to Him, might seem more directly applicable to a creature than to the Creator. He indeed was really the ‘Wisdom in whom the Father eternally delighted,’ yet it would be but natural, if, under the circumstances of Arian misbelief, theologians looked out for other than the Eternal Son to be the immediate object of such descriptions. And thus the controversy opened a question which it did not settle. It discovered a new sphere, if we may so speak, in the realms of light, to which the Church had not yet assigned its inhabitant. Arianism had admitted that our Lord was both the God of the Evangelical covenant, and the actual Creator of the Universe; but even this was not enough, because it did not confess Him to be the One, Everlasting, Infinite, Supreme Being, but to be made by Him. It was not enough with that heresy to proclaim

Him to be begotten ineffably before all worlds ; not enough to place Him high above all creatures as the type of all the works of God's Hands ; not enough to make Him the Lord of His Saints, the Mediator between God and man, the Object of worship, the Image of the Father ; not enough, because it was not all, and between all, and anything short of all, there was an infinite interval. The highest of creatures is levelled with the lowest in comparison of the One Creator Himself. That is, the Nicene Council recognised the eventful principle, that, while we believe and profess any being to be a creature, such a being is really no God to us, though honoured by us with whatever high titles and with whatever homage. Arius or Asterius did all but confess that Christ was the Almighty ; they said much more than St. Bernard or St. Alphonso have since said of St. Mary ; yet they left Him a creature and were found wanting. Thus there was 'a wonder in heaven : ' a throne was seen, far above all created powers, mediatorial, intercessory ; a title archetypal ; a crown bright as the morning star ; a glory issuing from the Eternal Throne ; robes pure as the heavens ; and a sceptre over all ; and who was the predestined heir of that Majesty ? Who was that Wisdom, and what was her name, 'the Mother of fair love, and fear, and holy hope,' 'exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi, and a rose-plant in Jericho,' 'created from the beginning before the world' in God's counsels, and 'in Jerusalem was her power ?' The vision is found in the Apocalypse, a Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. The votaries of Mary do not exceed the true faith, unless the blasphemers of her Son came up to it. The Church of Rome is not idolatrous, unless Arianism is orthodoxy.

"I am not stating conclusions which were drawn out in the controversy, but of premises which were laid, broad and deep. It was then shown, it was then determined, that to exalt a creature was no recognition of its divinity. Nor am I speaking of the Semi-arians, who, holding our Lord's derivation from the Substance of the Father, yet denying His Consubstantiality, really did lie open to the charge of maintaining two Gods, and present no parallel to the defenders of the prerogatives of St. Mary. But I speak of the Arians who taught that our Lord's Substance was created ; and concerning them it is true that St. Athanasius' condemnation of their theology is a vindication of the Medieval. Yet it is not wonderful, considering how Socinians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and the like, abound in these days, without their even knowing it themselves, if those who never rise higher in their notions of our Lord's Divinity than to consider Him a man singularly inhabited by a Divine Presence, that is, a Catholic Saint,—if such men should recognise, in the honour paid by the Church to St. Mary, the very honour which, and which alone, they offer to her Eternal Son."—*P.* 404—406.

Mr. Newman has here expressed more happily than probably it has ever been done before, the position assigned to the ever Blessed Mother of our Lord in the devotional feelings of Catholics; immeasurably lower than that of Her Son, but quite as high as heretics in ancient or modern days have wished to allot to Him. But the passage itself, independent of the noble view which it presents, will not be less interesting on the ground of its evidence, how completely the writer had imbued his heart with Catholic feeling, while he was studying Catholic Truth; how, instead of the cold calculations of even many Catholics, as to the *minimum* of reverence, affection, and confidence which they may be allowed to show to the Blessed Virgin, he has at once seized upon, mastered, and thoroughly incorporated that tender and sweet devotion which forms the solace, stay, and joy of simple and ardent souls in the Church. It has not been merely the understanding that has brought Mr. Newman into communion with her.

There is much more that we would gladly quote, but we will confine ourselves to giving the concluding paragraph of the book.

“Such were the thoughts concerning the ‘Blessed Vision of Peace,’ of one whose long-continued petition had been that the Most Merciful would not despise the work of His own Hands, nor leave him to himself;—while yet his eyes were dim, and his breast laden, and he could but employ Reason in the things of Faith. And now, dear Reader, time is short, eternity is long. Put not from you what you have here found; regard it not as mere matter of present controversy; set not out resolved to refute it, and looking about for the best way of doing so; seduce not yourself with the imagination that it comes of disappointment, or disgust, or restlessness, or wounded feeling, or undue sensibility, or other weakness. Wrap not yourself round in the associations of years past; nor determine that to be truth which you wish to be so, nor make an idol of cherished anticipations. Time is short, eternity is long.

NUNC DIMITTIS SERVUM TUUM, DOMINE,

SECUNDUM VERBUM TUUM IN PACE:

QUIA VIDERUNT OCULI MEI SALUTARE TUUM.

In this last prayer we beg leave not to join. We trust its writer may yet live many years, to see the fruit of his future labours, and even of his past. He has left many behind him not yet of the fold—these likewise must be

brought in ; and no one will work, we are sure, with more earnestness than he in the noble effort to gain them. It is just two years since this Review contained the following words :—" Whatever Mr. Newman writes is not only an evidence but a cause, not merely a record but an event. His words may serve to inform *us* and posterity of the present state of opinion in his Church, or at least of that portion of it whose standard he bears ; but they will carry conviction to the heart of many, and bring them to think as they have not done before on the subject."\* This we are sure is the case with respect to the volume before us ; many will be led by it to think seriously, and more practically, on the important evidences which it contains. And as we close it, we rejoice most heartily, in now for the first time introducing into our pages the name of its author, as that of a brother in the Faith, and a loving son of the Catholic Church.

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But we cannot close our own volume without a few reflections connected with the past course and future prospects of our Review. And let our readers have patience with us, if we refer somewhat lengthily to what has been written in former volumes.

With the present number we close the tenth year of our literary career ; and we may justly say that our first *decennium* could not finish under circumstances better entitling us to look back and examine, whether or no the Review started with just views, has persevered in them unflinchingly and invariably, and has been justified by their result. Of the society which first projected and undertook the establishment of a Catholic Quarterly periodical, a portion has continued from the first number to the present, intimately connected with it, and engaged in its direction. This circumstance is merely mentioned to show that sufficient connexion yet remains between the basis on which it was undertaken, and the views it now presents, to keep up the identity of the publication throughout, and to prove that the course which it has pursued was the result of system and deliberation—not of mere chance.

The main *religious* object proposed, in the first establishment of the Review, was to watch, to second, and to



correct, where necessary, the Religious Movement, which was just then becoming prominent in the English Church, and was beginning to interest the Catholics, both of England and of the continent. The view taken of it from the beginning by the founders of the Review was a *hopeful* one; and it was founded upon a conviction of three things—the *reality*, the *sincerity*, and the *rightful* tendencies of the movement. Not only the attentive perusal of what had been published, but other opportunities of more personal observation had led to this conviction; and it was made the groundwork of the line to be invariably pursued. While the fallacies and errors of the High-Church system were to be plainly and perseveringly exposed, every thing that could favour the kindest views respecting it, and encourage hopes for it and from it, was to be generously put forward; while those engaged in it were considered as every way worthy of our sympathy, of our kindness, and of our respect. If occasionally signs of irritation have appeared in our words, we are not conscious of any diminution, at any time, of our hopes for the cause, or of our kindness towards its promoters. Steadily confiding in Providence, and unmoved by frequent remonstrances and occasional obloquy, we looked forward to the present day, and thank God, we have now no cause to repent, and nothing, we trust, to retract. In our very first volume (on the “Oxford Controversy,”) we expressed ourselves as follows:

“Do we mean then to join in the clamour which has been raised against them? Assuredly not. We gladly close our eyes to all consideration of personal motives or feelings which have been thought to prevail in this controversy, and we are willing to look upon it solely as a struggle of contending principles. For we believe that sincere regret has been felt by this party, at what they consider the exaltation of opinions hostile to their views of the church and its doctrines. But if they would look steadily at their own position, now rendered more manifest by the issue of the contest, they would feel that they are vainly trying to raise their church to the standard of influence and power which their affections have devised. They would feel that they are only one small section of it, tending to dissent from its essential principles. We can sympathise with their feelings, we can well conceive the painful disappointment which an ardent spirit must feel, when, having fixed its eagerest ambition upon the establishment of a favourite theory, it finds a clog upon its efforts in the very cause it has espoused. . . .

... "But only let these ideas be indulged to the utmost; let those who reason, and those who feel upon religion, only boldly pursue their respective trains of thought unto their ends. Let them construct, in mind, "the Church" which would realise their conceptions, the religion which would embody their ideas of perfection, and there can be little doubt what the result would be. They would pass from the dreams of theory to a reality, which would satisfy their warmest longings, and fill up the measure of their just desires."—*Vol. i. pp. 264, 265.*

From that moment forward the Review has continued to express the same convictions and the same feelings, as the following passages will abundantly show.

"The fearless and uncompromising revival of high church principles by a small body of youthful, learned, and as far as we have opportunity of knowing, amiable clergymen, in the face of much unpopular feeling, of great alienation from their brethren, and of little encouragement from their superiors does credit to their sincerity and to their zeal. They have placed themselves in a prominent position, and in the post of honourable danger. They have endeavoured to throw outworks beyond the acknowledged precincts of their church's walls, to protest against the encroaching lines of dissent; and they have manned them, we think, in forlorn hope, determined to keep the pressure of the attack. We, indeed, on our side complain, and their more immediate adversaries,—their rebels as they consider them—agree, that they have seized, for this purpose a territory, not their own, but of our legitimate possession."—*The High Church Theory of Dogmatical Authority. Vol. iii. p. 46.*

"If the battle, of reason, we mean, and argument, has now to be fought, we, at least, will not steal away from the field; our habits and feelings would suggest another course, and prompt us, like Tasso's shepherd, to seek seclusion from the war, in the humbler task of our own improvement, or of mere domestic duties. But there are times when every citizen is a soldier, in the spiritual as in civil warfare; and a crisis like this is one. The course which we shall pursue shall be consistent and persevering. We seek not the wealth of our Anglican neighbours, nor their establishment, nor their political power, nor their usurped influence. All these things we esteem as dross. But we covet their brotherhood in the faith, and their participation in our security of belief, and their being bound to us in cords of love, through religious unity. For these things, we will contend, unceasingly, and to the utmost of our power; and GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT!"—*On the High Church Theory of Dogmatical Enquiry. Vol. iii. p. 79.*

"Will they succeed in their work? We firmly believe they will:

may, strange to say, we hope so. As to patching up, by their prescriptions, the worn-out constitution of the poor old English Church, it is beyond human power. ‘Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata,’ (Jer. li. 9,) will be their discovery in the end. It is no longer a matter of rafters and partition walls; the foundations have given way, the main buttresses are rent; and we are not sure but that one who has been, for three centuries, almost deprived of sight, and kept toiling in bondage, not at, but under the grinding wheel, has his hands upon the great pillars that support it, and having roused himself in his strength, may be about to give them a fearful shake. We speak only of moral power, but it is of the immense moral power of truth.

“How, then, will they succeed? Not by their attempts to heal, but by their blows to wound. Their spear may be like that in Grecian fable, which inflicted a gash, but let out an ulcer. They strike boldly and deeply into the very body of dissent, and the morbid humours of Protestantism will be drained out. Let this be done, and Catholic vitality will circulate in their place. They show no mercy to those who venture to break unity in their Church, and like all unmerciful judges, they must expect no mercy. Why did *you* separate from the Roman Church? is a question that every reader of these volumes will ask twenty times. He will find it is true, what is intended for an answer given him as often: but he will be an easily-satisfied enquirer, if any of these answers prove sufficient for him.”—*Tracts for the Times*. Vol. iv. p. 308.

“Sincerely must every Catholic deplore the infatuation of such as think and act in this manner. But they have a claim upon other and better feelings than those of idle sympathy. Few more pernicious sacrifices have been made to the false divinities worshipped by the age, than that of denying the spirit of proselytism to be inherent in Catholicity. In the odious sense of the word, as an intermeddling intrusive spirit, we disown it; but as a steady, unceasing desire to bring others to the possession of the same truth as we hold, a prudent yet zealous endeavour to recommend that truth by word and action, it is an essential portion of the Christian spirit of charity. Our faith, though it may remove mountains, is nought without it. Ever since these words were uttered, ‘We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write.....Come and see,’ (John i. 45,) it has been the very essence of the apostolic, and, consequently of the Christian spirit. For our own parts, we have no disguise. We wish for no veil over our conduct. It is our desire, and shall be, to turn the attention of our Catholic brethren to the new forms of our controversy with Protestants, in the anxious hope that they will devote their energies to its study, and push the spiritual warfare into the heart of our adversary’s country. That in some directions this is begun, we are able

to assert. There are not wanting those who feel the insufficiency of our controversial endeavours in the past, to meet the exigencies of the present moment. And we are confident that all our excellent seminaries, at home and abroad, will use all diligence for repairing their defects. There is much that weighs heavily upon our breasts in reference to this subject. Time, and still more, the Divine blessing, will, we trust, enable us to develop our meaning, and to effect our designs.”—*On the Tracts for the Times*. Vol. iv. pp. 334—5.

“As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending.....His ardent desires were with the truth: his heart was not a stranger to its love.”—*On Froude's Remains*. Vol. vi. pp. 424—435.

“What is in futurity He alone knoweth; but the present is in our hands, and from it we may not only presage, but prepare, the future. Blessed be the hands that shall begin the work of rebuilding the desert places of Israel, and blessed be those that shall continue it until it shall be perfected.”—*Vol. viii. p. 271*.

“And of those who have not received the mercy of being so preserved, we heartily and lovingly hope, that the time will soon come when they may sing, ‘Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.’” —*Vol. xii. p. 249*.

“This is a sad, a miserable, an humiliating spectacle; and yet we rejoice at it. We rejoice at it, not in a spirit of cruel triumph, but in the spirit of heavenly hope and charity. There surely are some in that Church who will not stand this new thwarting of their expectations that the Catholic elements yet remaining in it would overbalance the grosser parts of error and schism—its Protestant ingredients—and rise gloriously above them. But in vain! Their whole episcopate is Protestant to the core, bark, and pith, root and bough—all eaten into, and hollowed, and hopelessly destroyed by this same canker-worm; and it is useless to hope for Catholicism from it. . . . Here indeed we ought to close; but like the Jews of old, we love not to conclude with unpleasant topics, nor in condemnatory phrase. Hope springs up, phoenix-like, from the ashes of deep humiliation, and we cannot but fondly trust that these low alliances of their supposed ecclesiastical leaders, will make many turn their thoughts towards that true Mother Church which looks indeed upon them with parental affection, and beckons them to her bosom. There they may depend upon no man's presuming to brand them with the opprobrious name of “Protestant;” and there they will find the charms and sympathies of an extended communion unequivocal in its principles, as sweet and glowing in its exercise. As proof that yearnings after such a blessing do

exist, we will quote two passages from a recent publication, which we gladly take this opportunity of recommending to our readers, entitled, "Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches, and among Foreign People." By F. W. Faber, M. A. We need not say that we mean not to agree in all the sentiments of the passage: we are content to accept it as an expression of ripening feelings, and as an augury of brighter times."—*Vol. xii. pp. 547. 553. 554.*

"Such, it seems to us, has been and is the course which, we will not say, the Oxford divines have pursued, but rather, which Almighty God Himself has pursued in their regard. If we may venture to dive into His ways, so deeply mysterious, it seems to us that He has been all along mercifully guiding them to an increased knowledge of divine Catholic truth, by means of those positive portions of it they already possessed in their own system."

"No man can read these volumes, and not see that the triumph of Catholicism in England is only a question of time. It is not that the respected writers alluded to may not have used some un-Catholic expressions in the course of these treatises, but that, viewing them as a whole, and considering the general tone that pervades them, we have no doubt of the orthodox intentions (if we may use such an expression) of their authors; and regarding them as expressing, not so much the views of individual writers, as those of an immense school amongst the young divines of the Anglican Church (a school, too, which is daily attracting within its sphere all the best and purest minds of England)—we say, regarding these publications in this point of view, we can feel no doubt that they indicate the certain and not very distant triumph of Catholicism in this country."—*Vol. xv. p. 111-114.*

These extracts may have wearied our readers, but we have considered it right to place them here on record; because clearly the moment is come for deciding, whether or no the view taken of our religious prospects ten years ago was correct, and our readers should have before their eyes the evidence by which their judgment may be guided. We must observe, however, that the tone and tenour of the entire articles from which we have made our extracts would, far more than these, give evidence of what we state. And if we bring them down to no later period, this is because at a given point it was considered unnecessary to pursue controversy further; but it became the scope of the Review, rather to promote Catholic devotion, and familiarize our separated friends with its practices. The battle, it was felt, was over, and the silent operation of grace was alone required.

We should think that no one can now look back upon the past years, and read their religious history by the light

which recent events have shed over it, without seeing how natural and necessary a development these are of all that has preceded them. The intermediate steps, from the first "Tract for the Times" to Mr. Newman's Theory, are now clearly traceable; and the final conclusion adheres to its premises, by an unbroken logical chain. Tell any one who believes in the truth of the divine promises, and in the sure power of grace, that certain men, whose lives give evidence of sincere and upright dealing, and prove them to be uninfluenced by worldly motives, have set their hearts and directed their efforts, to know the truth, and to practise it, and he will conclude without fail, that discover it and follow it they needs must and will. Let the immediate object of their efforts be visionary or false, let years pass on, and the progress seem slow; still the result, so far as hopes may presume, is certain. But, add to these grounds of confidence, the collateral symptoms of the last few years—that wonderful revival of religious taste which, seconded by unwonted and providential liberalities, has raised the outward manifestation of religion in a short time from meanness to splendour; and that no less marvellous creation of a Christian school of art abroad, the influences of which upon religion here could not but be felt; the kindlier feeling in the mass of the people towards the Catholic religion, untraceable, as far as we could judge, to any outward action upon it; the rekindling, by a Hand no less invisible, in the hearts of Catholics, of a fire long only smouldering, of warmer piety, brighter hopes, and more fervent love of genuine Catholic devotion; the awakening sympathy of the universal Church, working through the unseen nerves that knit her parts in unity, for the paralysed member that seemed to begin to stir, and wish again to belong to the living body; the inward bidding of the whole Catholic world to prayer for its return to life, by a Voice irresistible and instantly obeyed; the gradual detachment of individuals from Anglicanism, like the blocks that roll from the rock ere it gives way, sent to us as if to bear tidings of promise and support our trust; these, and many other encouraging signs of a divine energy at work, without human agency or co-operation, further than such as was subserviently necessary, left us no room to doubt that we had the happiness of witnessing in our evil days one of the most striking and most amazing, yet, at the same time, most affectionate and most con-

soling, workings of God's power and goodness, beautifully, as always, combined. Not to have had hope, with such evidence, would have seemed to us impious.

We close our tenth year, therefore, full of gratitude and joy. Whether anything which has appeared in these pages may have ever helped forward any one individual but a single step, we will not presume to speculate. For, though to have assisted in rescuing but one soul from error, would be ample fruit for any amount of labour, yet to imagine that any human agency can be worth calculating, where the power of grace has been so mighty, and has so magnificently set aside all earthly co-operation, would be as foolish and as insolent as for the taper to boast of brightness in the mid-day sunlight. Our gratitude and joy are, therefore, for this only cause—that we have been allowed to bear witness in these years past to the gradual unfolding of a Merciful Providence, that we have been permitted to point out Its steps, and that we have been spared now to record these feelings of unbounded thankfulness; a thankfulness incompatible with the slightest thought of sharing in its cause.

We look forward, therefore, to new, and more cheerful prospects. The controversial period of our Review is, we trust, now over; a new epoch has come in its history; and we see opening before us fields for our labours more agreeable, more varied, and, we trust, no less interesting to our readers.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—1. *Gregorian Music; consisting of Masses, Graduals, Offertories, Hymns, and Motetts, arranged, and partly harmonized for the use of Catholic Choirs, with full Organ Accompaniments.* By J. B. BENZ, Esq., Lately Director of the Choir at Mary's College, and at St. Chad's Birmingham. London: J. Alfred Novello, Music Seller, by appointment, to her Majesty, 69, Dean Street, Soho, and 24, Poultry; Richardson and Son, 172, Fleet Street, London, 16, Dawson Street, Dublin, and Derby; R. Nichols, 1, New Street, Birmingham, and all other Booksellers. 1845.

- 2.—*A Manual of Instruction on Plain Chant, or Gregorian Music, with the Chants as used in Rome for High Mass, Vespers, Complin, Benediction, Holy Week, and the Litanies.* London: Dolman.

**B**OTH these works are most seasonable, and they do not at all interfere with one another. Mr. Benz, the compiler of the first, after having directed two Catholic choirs in England, and practically learnt our deficiencies and wants in regard to sacred music, has applied himself, after returning to Germany, to assist those who are placed in circumstances similar to his own. His work is intended to aid organists and directors of choirs in introducing and securing a truly religious style of music—easy of execution, effective and solemn. Many choirs will be able to manage Gregorian music, which would utterly fail if they attempted more florid compositions; and this work will fully supply their wants. The organ accompaniment, generally very difficult to put to Gregorian music, is here added in full throughout, and is of a character that will guide, sustain, and give full effect to a small number of voices. We confidently hope that Mr. Benz's work will greatly serve to promote sacred music amongst our Catholic congregations; at the same time we should have been glad to see him adhere strictly to the Roman chaunt, instead of sometimes introducing its German modifications.

The author of the second work, being a priest, writes for his own order, although his book will be most useful for others desirous of studying and applying correct principles of ecclesiastical chaunt. The first part of the book contains a Manual of Instructions on Gregorian Music. By means of this, any one may easily make himself acquainted with its rules. The rest of the work is occupied with the Tones for the Psalms, and for Prayers and Versicles, and other parts of Divine Service that are chaunted. We have carefully examined every part, and have found all most accurate and conformable to authentic models. We sincerely hope, therefore, that it will be universally adopted as the standard in singing at the altar, and in the Church. And in this we are encouraged by seeing prefixed to the work the approbation of all the Vicars Apostolic. This sanction should seem to stamp the work with a character of authority.

- II.—*A Free Examination of Sir Walter Scott's Opinions respecting "Popery" and the Penal Laws.* By JAMES BROWNE, Esq., L. L. D. Edinburgh: Marshall. 1845.

**T**HE lamented author of this little posthumous work was one of the many learned and able men, who have in these latter days joined the Catholic Church. He published, during his life, several excellent works, besides most valuable contributions to periodical literature and to scientific collections. In this short essay he analyzes the opinions of Sir W. Scott respecting Catholics with considerable



severity, but not with more than they deserve. But, besides the illustrious though bigotted Romancer, other calumniators of less note come in for their share of castigation. Such are Colonel Shaw, Captain Kincaid, and not least of all, the honourable member for the Kilmarnock district of burghs, Mr. Colquhoun. We finished the perusal of this little book with a feeling of regret that its author's earthly career is prematurely closed, and that its early promise is thus lost to the Church.

III.—*A Papist Misrepresented and Represented.* By the Rev. JOHN GOTHER. New Edition. London and Derby: 1845.

NEVER was there a more auspicious moment for the circulation of works of this class, than the present. And the edition of Gother's well-known tract, which is now before us, (from the Derby Press,) is just of that character which will secure an extensive circulation. It is extremely cheap, and yet so convenient, so neat and so legible, that the most fastidious library need not scruple to receive it upon its shelves.

IV.—*A Short Treatise on the Cross.* London and Derby: 1845.

It is by books like this, tender yet solid, devotional yet instructive and practical, that the heart of England is to be won. Few can fail to be affected by the closing appeal of the pious authoress.

"And do not think that the time you give to this stranger, such as I would describe her, is wasted or lost. Even if you should not always speak of God, his work of mercy is accomplished. She was sad, and your short visit or your benevolent reception has put a balm upon her heart. She was alone, and your kindness has made her feel that she has found a friend.

"O how happy I should be—I who often received so much kindness, but who have also passed through so many trials—I who have lost nearly every earthly tie, and who can now count scarce any other friends than the friends of my God—if in these parting lines I have been successful in pleading the cause of others while pleading my own; if I could turn the attention of those devoted to God, especially the hearts of his ministers towards this work of mercy so little thought of, at least in some places; and if many strangers might hereafter repeat to them beforehand as I have often done this last blessing of our divine Saviour; 'I was a stranger and you welcomed me.'"

V.—*The Catholic Pocket Book, Almanack, and Diary for 1846.* London and Derby.

WE have seldom met a more complete little publication than this. It is extremely elegant in its form—the illustrations are numerous and pleasing, the arrangement is most judicious, and the amount of useful information, not only on matters which are usually found in almanacks, but on many other subjects which will interest the Catholic reader, is absolutely incredible. Among the many merits of the Derby Press, there is none which should be more cordially acknowledged than the production of this most

valuable and interesting publication, especially as its extremely moderate price places it within the reach of every family however humble.

VI.—1. *The Claims of Labour; an Essay on the duties of the Employers to the Employed.*

2.—*An Essay on the means of improving the Health, and increasing the Comfort of the Labouring Classes.* London, 1845.

IF the urgent calls upon our space in the present number of this Journal have compelled us to devote but a few lines to the Essays now before us, it is not that we do not feel deeply the importance of the subject of which they treat, and appreciate heartily the spirit in which they are conceived. The condition of the labouring classes is unhappily too often discussed by those who have little sympathy with their claims, and little practical knowledge either of their actual wants or of the means of providing usefully for their relief. With too many, also, it is taken up as a fertile and ready theme of declamation, which affords ample scope for oratorical display, and enables an ambitious writer or speaker to purchase, at the cheap rate of a few well-rounded periods, a character for indignant benevolence, and for warm and active sympathy in the cause of humanity. To others, again, it is a sort of safety-valve for that superabundant (often good-natured) activity, vulgarly called *fussiness*, which causes its possessor to believe that in his hands the destinies of at least a portion of his fellow-men are placed; and that on him depends the due adjustment of the social relations which he feels to be sadly in need of revision.

The writer of these Essays has nothing in common with any one of these classes of philanthropists. His book is an emanation of pure, deep, practical, and well-regulated benevolence; the production of a man who feels what he writes, and who has reflected and observed upon what he feels. He has evidently endeavoured, both by personal observation and by careful study of the observations of others, to make himself acquainted with the nature and extent of the evils which he deprecates, and the most safe and practical means for their removal or alleviation. His spirit throughout is that of a Christian philanthropist—his views are those of a kindly, generous, self-questioning, and self-sacrificing philosopher. In every page you read a deep and heart-felt consciousness of the justice of old Fuller's motto, quoted in the title-page: "Well may masters consider how easie a transposition it had been for God, to have made him mount into the saddle that holds the stirrup; and him to sit down at the table who stands by the trencher!"

In order to give an idea of the practical character of the Essay, it will be enough to explain the extent and division of its subject. There is a chapter on the broad general relation of "Masters and Men;" and another upon "Social Government," in which the author

contrives to introduce and explain all his general views, as well as the principles upon which they are founded. Then follows a most minute and practical chapter upon "Labour in Factories," which runs through all the details, both of present abuse and of prospective remedy—the mill (and, incidentally, all other places of employment)—the school-room, too frequently neglected or overlooked—the play-ground—an important department in the economy of labour, even considered in the scale of pounds, shillings, and pence—the workman's house, on which so much depends for comfort, for health, for morality, for religion, for self-respect—and lastly, the public requirements of town life, at present so little thought of, and where thought of, so unaccountably disregarded. On each of these topics, the suggestions are full of good sense and even better feeling; and the whole is wound up with a most appropriate and instructive chapter on general "sources of benevolence."

The second essay is still more practical than the first, and both contain a vast body of useful statistical information, evidently derived from authentic sources, in fact, chiefly drawn from parliamentary reports and other official papers.

It would be impossible for us to state too strongly, our warm and hearty admiration of the writer, or to press too emphatically upon our readers, (especially at this season of universal open-heartedness,) the consideration of his statements and his suggestions. We particularly recommend the concluding chapter, on the "spirit in which the remedies are to be effected."

VII.—*Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley.* By the Author of "Sketches in Ireland." "A Tour in Connaught, &c." Second Edition. Dublin: 1845.

It is hardly necessary in introducing a book already so well known, to do more than word the fact that it has reached a second edition. It appears to be an exact reprint of the first, and contains the same intermixture of warm and hearty good-humour, with those prejudices of caste and party, which are, we trust, fast disappearing in Ireland, though they have outlived the day of the Rev. Cæsar Otway. These prejudices, however, seldom display themselves in the "Sketches in Erris," in any worse shape than a slight allusion or a passing jest; and there is enough of attraction in the pleasant fund of anecdote and personal adventure, as well as of eloquent and animated description with which the book abounds, to render the lover of picturesque description willing to encounter the little annoyance which he may otherwise experience.

We subjoin a specimen of the writer's general manner.

"We now ascended the hill a little higher, and came to a chasm that yawned unexpectedly at our feet. It was about fifty yards long and about ten wide, and down, about eighty feet below, you saw the sea as green and clear as an emerald, rising and heaving softly and harmoniously, and disclosing many fathoms deep all

the magnificent and beautifully tinted vegetation that adorn the caverns of the ocean. Sunk in the middle of the fair plain, you cannot at first imagine how came the sea here, but by-and-by you see that it is open at both ends, that, in fact, the roof of a great sea cave, that has penetrated through this promontory, has fallen in, and you learn that you can enter at the north-east of the promontory, and passing along in a boat for nearly half a mile, can come out at its south-western side, and that this is a great sky-light by which the sun and air are admitted into the recesses and sonorous labyrinths of this great excavation. It is called Poolnashanthana; there are many of the kind on this coast, and I had already observed a fine one in the Mullet of Erris, but this one at Downpatrick is far and away the deepest, the largest, the grandest I have seen, and is certainly a great natural curiosity. At the bottom of this chasm, there is a ledge of rock, perhaps the remains of the fallen-in roof, which is bare when the tide is out, and which, covered as it is with sea vegetations, that never have been disturbed, presents a perch for the cormorant, and a bed for the seal, and around which the lobster crawls and hunts its prey amidst its translucent recesses.

"On a soft sunny day, when all above and below is still, it is pleasant to wear away the lazy hour in looking down from above, and ponder on the beautiful contrasts of light and shade that this cavern presents, to see the riven rock painted by nature's own hand with ochres, red, brown, and yellow; lichens, scarlet, white, orange; crystalizations of lime, iron, or silice, sparkling where a sunbeam brightened them. Down below, the starfish and medusa floating in purple beauty, and spreading out their efflorescent rays; while every now and then the quiet modulations of the incoming tide, as they sigh below, are broken in upon by the cooing of the sea-pigeon in its safe fastness, or the hoarse shriek of the catiff cormorant as it reposes after the success of its fishing in the calm deep. I would like to spend some of the few idle days my lot allows me in this busy world, hanging over this Poolnashanthana, and in quiet loneliness admiring how beautiful, and grand, and good God is in his multitudinous creations."

VIII.—*Adventures in the Pacific; with observations on the Natural Productions, Manners, and Customs of the Natives of the various Islands.*  
By JOHN COULTER, M. D. Dublin: 1845.

THIS is an agreeable and interesting, though not very profound book. It would be difficult to convey a better idea of its character and contents, than will be collected from the title—the work being a record of personal adventures, in the course of which, the author had an opportunity of making many observations, whose results are here detailed. The contents are extremely varied, and supply a morsel for every taste from the sporting youth, up to the religious "elderly young lady." Amid the round of whale hunts, and seal hunts, and of fishing and shooting, in all their varieties; of adventures among the natives, and dissertations upon the progress of Christianity in the several islands, the interest is never allowed to flag; and though we can scarcely say that the book adds much to the existing stock of information on the subject of the Islands of the Pacific, yet we do not hesitate to recommend it as a book which will repay the labour of perusal, by the very enjoyment which it cannot fail to produce.

We subjoin one specimen—a cannibal feast in the Marquesas.

"I was leaning against a rock resting myself, when I was startled by a slap on the shoulder; and on turning round, beheld Toomova, unhurt, in all his triumph, and my companion, Mate's nephew, covered with blood, and a broken arm. The first told me I was a very good man, shook me heartily with both hands, and said that the women were getting some water up from the stream, and something to eat would be here directly. This was pleasant news. The latter told me to get on my legs, and come along with him over the ground, to see all the dead; and

added, with a significant gesture, 'Epo, newe, newe, kai, kai te tannai,' the interpretation of which is, 'By-and-by eat—eat plenty of men.'

"The men brought all the dead down into the valley, and deposited them in the ground already described, where the review and feast were held. The women and boys brought away all the arms, both whole and broken, and deposited them in the houses of the parties to whom they belonged. In this battle we lost a good many men, but the loss of the enemy was very heavy. Though our party was by far the weakest, yet we had the advantage of the defences and works, the ground otherwise, and the fire; and the men acted very bravely. Indeed it became them to do so, for if they had given way, and the others poured in after them we would have been all eaten.

"Near where they deposited the bodies, they now dug several large holes in the earth, and into them they cast a number of stones, so as to cover the bottom of the pit, over which there was a pile of wood set on fire. The knife generally in use at the Marquesas, is a split flat piece of the large bamboo, the edge of which cuts as sharply as any of our instruments. With this they cut up the dead bodies of their enemies into convenient sizes, and rolled the pieces up in banana or plantain leaves. As soon as the stones were nearly red hot, the burning wood was removed and thrown aside. Those parcels of human flesh were then arranged on the hot stones, and a deep covering of grass strewed over. Then water was sprinkled over all, and as soon as the steam arose the whole was covered over deeply with earth, to remain until the next day.

"A great many ovens having now been set at work in this manner, the remainder of the day we spent in burying our friends, after the manner I have before stated. The Marquesans never eat their own party. I must throw a veil over the feast of the following day, as I had only one look at the beginning of it, and left the arena sick to loathing: went off to the house, and did not leave it until this horrid scene was ended. Thus terminated the Marquesan battle and its consummation."

IX.—*Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc.* By G. B. CHEEVER, D.D. London: 1845.

WE notice this book solely for the purpose of laying before our readers the following passage, full of significance, at a time when the prospects of Rome in these countries are so bright and cheering. The spirit is not, it would seem, confined to England alone.

"I shall not soon forget an evening's walk and conversation of great interest, which it was my privilege to enjoy with D'Aubigné, just before I left Geneva. We passed along the magnificent face of Mont Blanc in the sunset, and returned over the hill by the borders of the lake beneath the glow of twilight, in the deepening shadows of the evening. He spoke to me with the kindest openness and freedom of his History of the Reformation, especially that part he was then engaged upon, the length of time before he should be able to issue another volume, and the impossibility of pleasing the opposing parties in his account of the Reformation in England. He told me that he was quite beset with the multitude of letters which were sent to him, urging him to set this, and that, and the other points in such and such a light, beseeching him to do justice to the English church, each man wishing to colour his history through the medium of his own opinions and prejudices. It is not difficult to see on which side the sympathies of the author belong; but the tenor of the history thus far assures us that it will still be strictly impartial and faithful to the truth. A great work is before him in the history of the Reformation in Geneva; another in France; another in England. How vast the field! how varied the incidents! how full of life and thrilling interest! D'Aubigné spoke this evening with much anxiety of the future prospects of his own country, in consequence of the increase of Romanism, and the incapacity of the Church, in her humiliating dependence on the State, to prevent the evils that threaten the Republic. He seemed to feel that the single measure of separating the Church from the State and rendering it independent, would save his country; and under God, it would: it would put religious liberty in Geneva beyond reach from any invasion of Rome. His conversation on this point was like what he has written in his 'Question of the

Church.' 'We are distressed,' said he, 'and know not whither to turn. All around us Rome advances. She builds altar after altar upon the banks of our lake. The progress is such among us, from the facility which strangers have in acquiring the rights of citizenship, that quickly (every one acknowledges it) the Romish population will exceed the Protestant population of Geneva. Let Rome triumph at Rome; it is natural. Let Rome, as she assures herself, triumph at Oxford; the conquest will be great. But let Rome triumph at Geneva; then she will raise a cry, that will echo to the extremity of the universe. Genevèse! that cry will announce to the world the death of your country.'

X.—*The O'Donoghue; a Tale of Ireland Fifty Years ago.* By CHARLES LEVER, ESQ., Author of "Confessions of Harry Lorrequer," &c. with Illustrations by H. K. Brown, 8vo. Dublin: 1845.

Everything from Mr. Lever's long popular pen will, of course, command attention: but we fear his last work will hardly be regarded as his best. With the same lively and animated style, the same power of graphic description, the same rapid, nervous, and exciting narration, it wants the sustained interest which characterized his earlier works, and which in the eyes of the mass of readers, covered minor defects of plot and of composition. We do not remember him ever to have been so unsuccessful in the conception of any character as he has been in his *Mark O'Donoghue*.

At the same time we gladly acknowledge in "The O'Donoghue," a decided change of tone, and (excepting one instance, which, perhaps, admits of explanation,) a manifest disposition to avoid offending the religious prepossessions of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, and to sympathize with the social wrongs of the oppressed peasantry of Ireland. There is more of this manly and honest spirit in a few pages of this pleasing tale, than in all his previous publications except *St. Patrick's Eve*; and he has, for the most part, taken care to avoid that exaggerated caricature of Irish extravagance and frivolity which gave so much and so just offence to those who thought that Irish literature should not be made a vehicle for vulgar ridicule of Ireland. We do not hesitate, therefore, to say that inferior as it decidedly is in dramatic interest and effect to most of Mr. Lever's former publications, the *O'Donoghue* does more credit than any of the rest to his feelings as a man and to his spirit as an Irishman.

We have heard offence taken by some of our zealous friends at his making a Protestant of the only amiable member of the old stock of *O'Donoghue*—This of course is a matter regarding which tastes and opinions differ, and must continue to differ; but we have little difficulty about giving up an imaginary convert or two upon paper, at a time when so many substantial equivalents are daily and hourly transferred to our living ranks.

We have just seen with great pleasure the announcement of a new serial work by Mr. Lever—"the Knight of Gwynne." We look forward to it with considerable anxiety as a further development of the kindlier feeling which we would fain recognise in his more recent publications.

XI.—*The Theogony of the Hindoos, with their Systems of Philosophy and Cosmogony.* By COUNT M. BJÖRNSTJERNA, Author of "The British Empire in the East." London: 1844.

The possession of our Eastern dependencies has rendered all connected with them of value and of interest. Yet even if their inhabitants were not our fellow-subjects, and pledged to the same allegiance as ourselves, we should still value any record of a people so ancient and so remarkable as the Hindoos. There are some writers, our author among the number, who believe them to have been the parents of Egyptian, and through it, of European civilization. Though we do not deem the proofs of this Indian parentage sufficiently established, it is possible that Egypt may have been, in no small degree, indebted to the Hindoos for its proficiency in the sciences and the arts. The temples of the two countries bear a striking resemblance in style of architecture, and the pillars of Dendera and Karnak look as if, like those of Ellora, they were destined to support an overhanging mountain. The learned author of this work attaches too much importance to the chronology of these nations, which is now admitted by all scientific men to be deserving of very little attention, in its early periods. To suppose, for an instant, that they will warrant the belief of human beings having existed on this earth before the commencement of the Mosaic Chronology, is utterly untenable. This is not the only ground of complaint and censure which we have found in the pages before us. We think we can discover therein some traces of that would-be superior intelligence of the last century, which endeavoured to exalt philosophy above faith, as if it were a thing superior to, and altogether distinct therefrom—a thing not to be dealt out to the world at large, but to be kept as the fortunate portion and privilege of a favoured few. This doctrine we beg most explicitly to dissent from and condemn.

The Theogony of the Hindoos has been made known to these countries by the labours of several distinguished English writers, more particularly Sir William Jones and Mr. Colebrooke; and Count Björnstjerna has added little or nothing to what was already known. The Hindoo Theogony is remarkable for being, in its various forms, received by a greater number of the human race than any other religion. The Buddhists, according to our author, may be estimated at about 380 millions, and the Brahmins at 150 millions, if the entire human family be computed at 1,000 millions. The latter is the more ancient form of the Hindoo faith, and dates near 2,000 years before the Christian era. The Vedas, or sacred books, are supposed to be somewhat older. It is distinguished by the division of its followers into Castes. Buddhism is of more recent origin, and may be called a reformation of the other, using this word rather in its conventional than its etymological meaning. It took its rise in the northern provinces of India,

about 600 years before Christ, and spread with marvellous rapidity over that country and the provinces of Central Asia—made its way into China and Japan, and is now the religion of a great portion of the inhabitants of the south.

We may, at some future period, bring this interesting subject more fully before our readers. At present we must be contented with this brief and imperfect notice.

XII.—*Forest and Game-Law Tales.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU, in 3 vols. Edward Moxon. London: 1845.

THE scope of this work is to show the misery and mischief which have been wrought by laws for the preservation of game, under every modification, from the earliest period of English history. The first volume alone is published, in which we have four short and stirring stories, bringing down the blood-stained record to the times of Charles 1st. The next two volumes will probably carry on the story to our own times, shewing, as they well may shew, the same devastation of property, the same excitement of evil passions between the oppressors and the oppressed; the same destruction of liberty, character, domestic happiness, nay, *almost* even of life itself, under the present system, although masked by tamer forms. We think there will be many to appreciate such an object as this, and to consider it timely, as it is just. Our business is with the literary merits of the book, which are first-rate; there is as much originality as force, in the incidents selected by Miss Martineau. The yeoman hiding his small store of grain for his children, from the ravages of the "Lord Dane;" the interior of his household, the punishment of collecting wolves' tongues awarded to his stern resistance, and the pictures it gives rise to, carry the mind back wonderfully to those strange wild times; the throwing into forest of cultivated lands and humble dwellings by William the Conqueror, is accompanied by incidents as wild as touching, and the more hard and legal, though not less grinding manner, in which the same process is carried on in the reign of Charles I. is equally characteristic, and well described. The tales are in Miss Martineau's best manner. It is interesting to us to see that the traits of Catholic manners and feeling which naturally arise, are neither avoided nor unfairly treated; far otherwise; with very few exceptions, they are introduced in a wise and gentle, even a discerning spirit.

XIII.—*The complete Concordance to Shakspere, being a verbal Index, to all the passages in the Dramatic Works of the Poet.* By Mrs. COWDERN CLARKE. Charles Knight and Co. London: 1845.

THIS valuable work is now complete, it is in eighteen parts, of uniform size with C. Knight's pictorial edition; the type is clear and beautiful, and the whole getting up of the work is excellent.



The industry that has been bestowed upon this concordance, and its perfect arrangement, make it most valuable to every lover of Shakspeare ; for where is there one who has not felt what it is to remember, that *somewhere* Shakspeare has expressed in the tersest and happiest manner, some idea with which his mind is then haunted, some remark apposite to the conversation going on around him, but it would take time and trouble to seek the passage, the remembrance is vain, and is dismissed with a half sigh of regret that time is effacing from his mind, what once was so pleasantly familiar to it ; from such mortification he may be henceforward exempt. The slightest clue will enable him to trace any line, or leading word in Shakspeare. The labour bestowed upon this work must have been astonishing, and we hope for every reason its success may be complete.



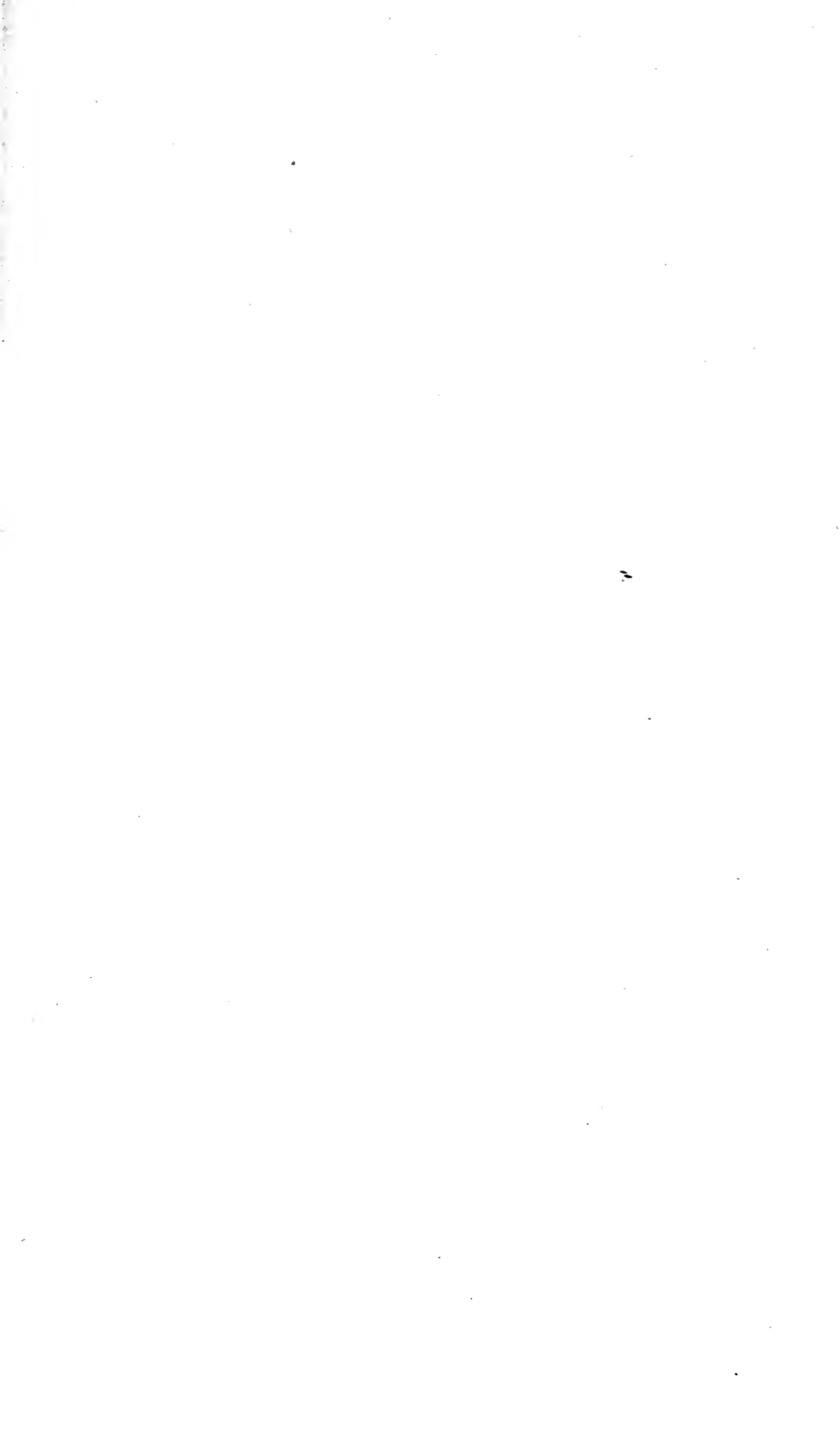
# INDEX TO VOLUME NINETEENTH.

- Ængus*, Ceile de, litany of, 34—account of his life, 59—his martyrology, 63.
- Animals*, effect upon them of domestication, 70.
- Albinas*, their existence favours the argument for the unity of the human race, 90.
- Almanac*, Moore's its absurd impositions, 114.
- Arceboldi*, John Angelo, sent by Leo X. to distribute indulgences, 234.
- America*, anomalous condition with respect to religion, 366.
- Augustine*, St., his reply to those who attack celibacy, 511.
- Bailly*, mayor of Paris, his fanciful theories, 122.
- Bairam*, 185.
- Ballads*, Irish, 374—those of Griffin, Callanan, and Banim, 378—of Moore and Mangan, 379—Specimen from Banim, 381—from Carleton, 383—from Mr. Walsh, 387—historical ballad, 388.
- Bauer Bruno*, his religious opinions, 427—maintained as teacher in spite of his infidelity, 428.
- Beavan*, extract from his "Religious Celibacy," 506.
- Belgium*, character of the people, 337—constitution, 337—attacked by Joseph II., 338—democratic party now existing, 338—annexed to France, 339—persecutions, civil and religious, against the people, by the Dutch, 339—present condition of the people, 340—nobility attached to religion, 341—state of the middle classes, 341—morality of manufactories, 343—of the women, 344—evidences of religion in cities, 344—numerous lay confraternities, 345—state of the lower orders, 346—rural population, 346—admirable character of Belgic clergy, 347—of the religious houses, 349—state of education and learning, 352—political condition of people, 360—connexion of Church and state dissevered, 367—consequences of this, 368.
- Benson*, Swedish archbishop, 232.
- Bentley*, Mr., asserts the Hindoo Astronomy to be modern and fabricated, 124—the question made to turn upon religion, 126.
- Benz*, on Gregorian Music, 546.
- Bessan Bey*, 186.
- Bonds* signed by Scottish nobles, 219.
- Book-keeping*, method of, 433—method by double entry due, to the Italians, 435—explained, 435.
- Bossuet*, malignantly attacked by Michelet, 472.
- Boyne*, battle of, 287.
- Brecan*, St., his tomb, 35.
- Brian*, Boriomhe, 58.
- Brigade*, Irish, history of, repulses Eugene at the battle of Cremona, 298—feats at other battles, 299—anecdotes concerning, 302—destination of different members of it at the revolution, 303.
- Mac Donald, 304—Kilmaine, 306—relatives of Marshal Bugeaud, 308—Major Mac Elligat, 309—Field-marshal Browne, 310.
- Brownson*, Mr., 390—his Quarterly Review, 391—his account of his conversion to Catholicism, 391—influence of religion upon his opinions respecting the Pope's rule, 397.
- Brown*, Dr., Examination of Sir Walter Scott's religious opinions, 517.
- Calmar*, treaty of, 231, 232.
- Cambrensis*, the great father of anti-Irish lies, traditions he brings forward respecting the Irish round towers, 20.
- Catholics*, Irish, breach of faith to them after the taking of Limerick, 291—their sufferings are greater than those caused by the edict of Nantes, 295.
- Celibacy* vindicated, 490—is not contrary to the law of nature, 495—is approved and recommended in scripture, 498—necessary for missionaries, 503—is rightfully enjoined on all her ministers, 507—is not against the positive law of God, 508—is not tyrannical, 508.
- Cemeteries*, royal Pagan, in Ireland, account of them in an ancient manuscript, 27—description of them by Mr. Petrie, 28.
- Christian*, King of Denmark, causes himself to be crowned King of Sweden, 236—his unhappy end, 243.
- Christina*, wife of Administrator of Denmark, 235—end of her career, 237.
- Church* and state alliance between them to be maintained, 363—consequences of this separation in Belgium, 368.
- Church*, Catholic, mixed monarchy her exclusive creation, 332—despotism her unvarying enemy, 335.
- Churches*, the ancient Irish, 30—that of St. Fechin, 31—further evidence that they were built of stone, 34—churches of stone constantly referred to under the name of 'dom-

- liag,' description of their ruins, 36—church of St. Dairbhile, 47.
- Churches*, Lutheran, controversies and hatred which divided them, 409—412.
- Clerissy*, M., Mehemet Ali's French engineer, 186.
- Clot*, Bey or Dr., head of medical schools at Cairo, 187.
- Communion* under one kind, ably vindicated by Mr. Newman, 533.
- Confession* vindicated against Michelet, 484—as ancient as the Church, 485.
- Conscience*, admitted by Mr. Sewell to be a sure witness to the past, 457—its favourable testimony in converts, 457.
- Controversy* between Amsdorf and Major, 408.
- Conversions* to the Catholic Church numerous lately, 523—evidences of her truth, 523—various motives of, 524.
- Cows*, variety in, 71.
- Cross*, a short treatise on the, 547.
- Dairbhile*, St., and her church, 47.
- D'Atton*, Mr., supports the opinion that the Irish round towers were built by fire worshippers, 19—his arguments fully considered, 20.
- Darnley*, his marriage, 209—his misconduct, 212—his part in the murder of Rizzio, 214—summoned before the council, 214—his death, 215.
- Developments* in doctrine, examples of, 529—Mr. Newman's theory of, 528.
- Dewar*, Mr., his account of German Protestantism, 401—which he favourably contrasts with the Anglican Church, 430—asserts the Catholic Church to be rationalistic, 430.
- Dogs*, instincts of, 73.
- Dominic*, St., 148—his conventual home, 154.
- Order of St., 148—design of its institution, 148—its rules, 149—schools of their institution, 151—its eminent men, 156—its establishment in England, 157—in Ireland, 158—connection between the two branches, 159—connection with the first Irish university, 160—apply to the Holy See for powers to erect an university, 162—how far the design succeeded, 164—supposed to have fallen at the suppression of the convents 167.
- Dominicans*, their order of advancement, 155.
- 'Domtiag'*, to be translated stone church, 35.
- Edinburgh*, its parochial and collegiate antiquities, 519.
- Egypt*, interest felt for it, 174—and on what accounts, 175—education there, 180—the army, 181—conditions of its peasantry, 182.
- Elizabeth*, Queen of England, 202—her difficulties, 202—and policy, 203—her conduct to Mary when she took refuge with her, 222—refuses to see Mary, 224—she admits nothing proved against Mary, 226—detains her, her subsequent policy, 226—end of her career, 229.
- Queen, number of executions in her reign, 283—treatment of the Catholics, 283.
- Erik*, king and patron saint of Sweden, 231.
- Erris* and Tyrawley, Sketches in, 549.
- Eugene*, Prince, 293.
- France*, progress of religion in, 459.
- Francis*, St., of Sales, vindication of, against Michelet, 470.
- Fenelon*, defence of, against Michelet, 471.
- Feuerbach*, his religious opinions, 426.
- Guilds* vindicated, 520—the Holy Guild of St. Joseph at Edinburgh, 521.
- Hawkstone*, story of, the novel, 130.
- Higgins*, Godfrey, his anacalypsis, 128.
- Hindoo*s, influence upon them of climate, 86.
- History*, no good Irish ones, 300.
- Horses*, varieties in, 73.
- Idea*, development of, 530.
- Ireland*, attempts to invade, 285—dissensions of the nation after the battle of the Boyne, 289—successful resistance of the nation, 290.
- Irish* soldiers, their services transferred to France, 292—to Spain, 296.
- Irishmen*, constant slanders against them, 284—elevated to military rank abroad, 297—Mahony, 298—other great men, 300.
- James*, Lord of Murray, a traitor and spy, 207—his intrigues respecting his sister's marriage, 209—and after it, 209—goes to England, 210—compels his sister to resign the crown, 221.
- James II.*, King of England, his conduct at the battle of the Boyne, 287—to the Irish, 290.
- Jennings*, Charles, General Kilmaine, 306.
- Jews*, their appearance modified by climate, 86.
- Joseph II.*, his attack on the liberties of Belgium, 338.
- Labanoff*, Prince, his energy in collecting Queen Mary's letters, 197—some mistakes in his own outlines, 197.
- Labour*, the claims of, 548.
- Langan*, Dr., supports the theory that the Irish round towers were built by fire worshippers, 17.
- Lars Anderson* appointed Archbishop of Upsala, 248—his fruitless resistance to the King, Gustavus Wasa, 254—his last days, 255.
- Laurence*, Swedish reformer, 245—is professor of theology in the national university of Upsala, 247.
- Lesseps*, M., anecdote of, 189.
- Limerick*, its gallant defence, 290.
- Linköping*, Bishop of, forced to resign his castle, 258.
- Luther* may be considered as a rationalist. 405—his principles turned against himself, 407.
- Lynch*, John, originates the theory of the Danish origin of round towers, 6.
- Mac Donald*, Marshal, anecdote of, 304.
- Mahony*, leader of the Irish Brigade, 298.
- Mankind*, different races into which they have been resolved, 68—differences of race accounted for by circumstance and civilization, 75—what differences in the negro, 77—in Europeans, 88—unvarying peculiarities of the race, 91—argument for the unity of the race drawn from their intercourse with each other, 92—regions from whence they dispersed, 97.
- Mangan*, Mr., his excellence as a translator, 313—specimens, 316—translation of Körner, 320—of Uhland, 321—of Bückert, 322—from Schnetzler, 323—from Freiligrath, 327—of Arndt, 329.
- Manuscripts*, Irish, contained in the Palæographical Sacra, 268.
- Maria Theresa*, Empress, still remembered in Belgium, 337.
- Margaret*, Queen of Sweden, 231.
- Mary*, Queen of Scotland, her letters, 199—her history, 200—account of her by Randolph, 201—refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, 207—her difficulties in Scotland, 207—mar-

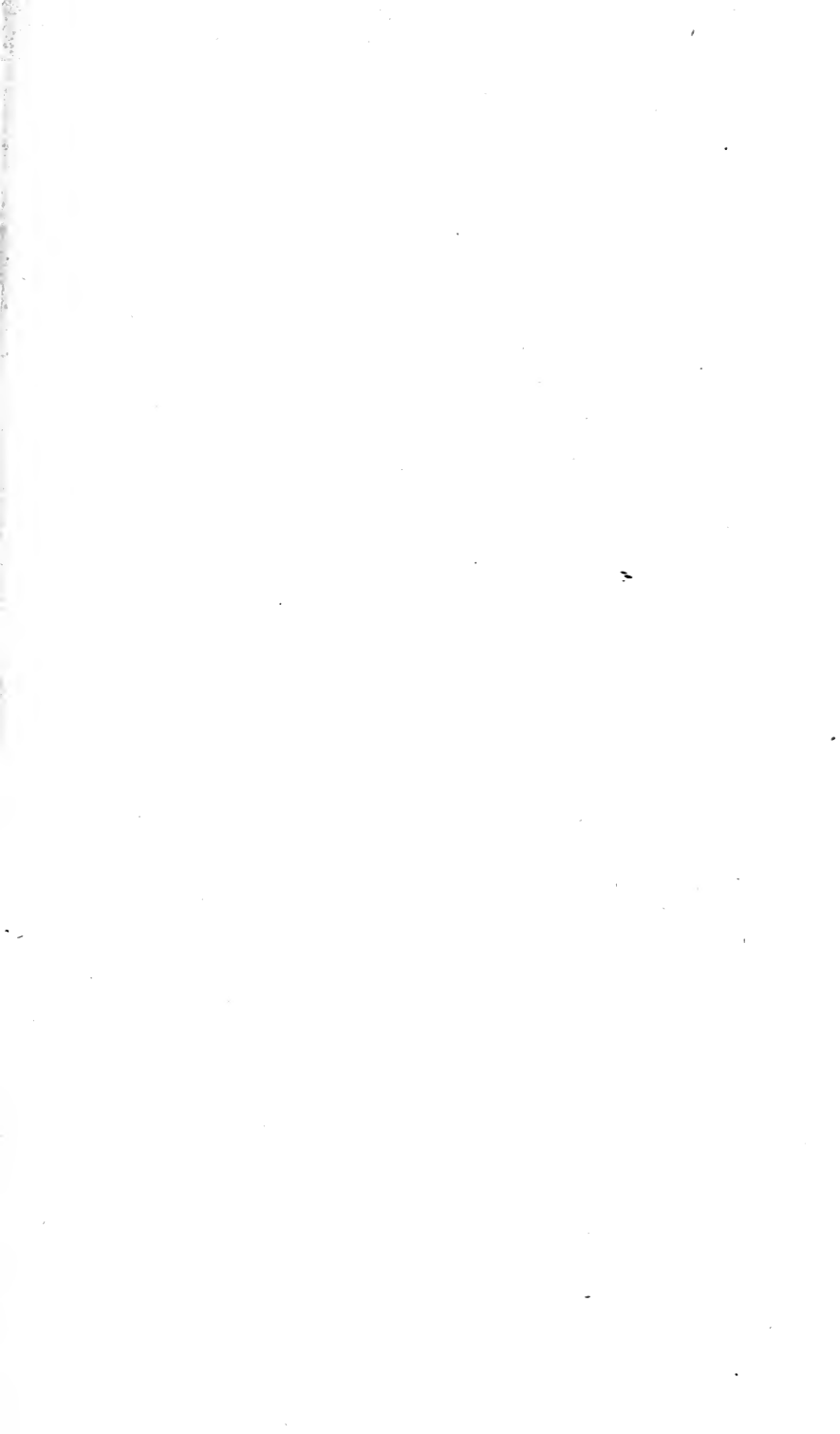
- riage with Darnley, 209—is persecuted for her religion, 210—misery of her marriage, 212—murder of Rizzio in her presence, 213—her captivity to Bothwell, 215—inquiry into the charges against her of being privy to Darnley's death, 215—her marriage with Bothwell, 218—bonds signed by Scottish nobles, 219—she is required to resign her crown to her son, 221—flies to England, 222—her letter to Elizabeth, 222—mock trial at York, 224—admitted by her adversaries to have gained the victory, 226—course of her imprisonment, 227—her death, 228.
- Mathematics*, speculations by ignorant speculators, 104—method of squaring the circle, 197.
- Mehemet Ali*, 179—system of education he has introduced, 180—points wherein he deserves praise, 183—his conduct to the English, 184—his sugar manufactory, 191.
- Michelet*, character of his work on the clergy, 458—contradictions of, 462—division of, 462—malignant attacks on Catholic saints and great men, 470—his calumnies against confession, 479—against celibacy, 490—his ridiculous examples against it, 512.
- Ministers of Edinburgh* make natural Theism an article of faith, and the Book of Genesis not, 126.
- Montgomery*, General, 311.
- Montmorency*, family of, 301.
- Movement*, the Religious, view taken by the "Dublin Review" from the beginning, 539—grounds of, 544—result of a divine agency, 544.
- Music*, Gregorian, Mr. Benz's work on, 546—Mr. Jones's Manual, 546.
- Nantes*, edict of, compared with the persecutions of the Catholics, 295.
- Negro*, upon what pretence has he been thought inferior to the human race, 77—his skin, 77—and hair, 80—form of the skull, 81—his history, 83—no need to account for his condition by the curse of Cain, 98.
- Newman*, John Henry, his conversion, 524—previous pursuits, 527—his "Theory of Developments," 527—comparison of actual Catholicity with primitive Christianity, 431—vindication of communion under one kind, 533—beautiful defence of devotion to Blessed Virgin, 533—his thorough adoption of Catholic feelings, 537.
- Newton*, his quarrel with Flamstead, 109.
- Nobility* of Catholic Europe, mostly improved in attachment to religion, 341.
- Notices* of books, 271.
- Nuns* of Sweden, their noble constancy in faith, 259.
- Oakeley*, Frederick, character of his ministry in the Church of England, 525—course by which he became a Catholic, 526.
- O'Carroll*, King of Oriel, 58.
- O'Connor*, Dr., erroneously supports the idea that the Irish were fire worshippers, and built the round towers for that worship, 14.
- O'Connor*, Mr., his Military History of Ireland, 282—errors respecting Turenne, 286—other inaccuracies, 288—297.
- O'Donoghue*, The, a Tale of Ireland Fifty Years ago, 552.
- Olaus*, Swedish reformer, 245—a man after Luther's heart, appointed superior of the seminary of Strangnas, 246—buries his father after a new fashion, 246—Gustavus Wasa protects him, 247—he publicly marries, 252.
- Organic* life, general distribution of, throughout the world, 69.
- Pacific*, Adventures in, 550.
- Palæographia Sacra*, 265.
- Papist* Misrepresented, new edition of, 547.
- Patrick*, St., account of his family or household, 33.
- Peter*, St., his supremacy, 136.
- Petrie*, Mr., his work upon ecclesiastical architecture, 1—refutes the opinion that the Irish churches were rude and poor, 30—his description of the ruins of old churches, 36—his reverent admiration of them, 42.
- Phillips*, Sir Richard, his opposition to Newton, 120.
- Pietism* in Germany, its rise and progress, 410—its tendency to rationalism, 412.
- Pilgrim*, Wanderings of, 551.
- Pocket-book*, the Catholic, for 1846, 548.
- Protestantism*, German, what it has done for the New Testament, 417—three most recent forms of German Protestantism, 425—infidels retained as teachers of theology, 428.
- Puckler Muskan*, Prince, character of his writings, 175—treatment he received from Mehemet Ali, and his return for it, 177—faults of his work, 185—his reception, 185—his journey to Upper Egypt, 190—his Abyssinian slave, 190—his flippant infidelity, 191—akes a new passage across the desert, 193.
- Pyramids*, how much nonsense they are accountable for, 123.
- Quietism*, Michelet's misunderstanding of, 468—condemned by the Church, 477.
- Rationalism*, how defined, 404—how explained by Mr. Dewar, 405—reaction to Catholicism produced by it, 431.
- Rationalists*, different theories devised by them to explain Scripture, 414—system of interpretation adopted by them, 419—explanations of our Saviour's miracles, 421—advocates of immorality, 423—claim to hold their opinions by right of private judgment, 424.
- Reformers* in Scotland, many of them the sons of the king, become commendatory abbots, 205—their conduct to Queen Mary, 209.
- Reformation*, The, produced despotism, 334—character of its progress in different countries, 402—especially in Germany, 402.
- Reformation* in Scotland ascribed to the treaty of Edinburgh, 205.
- in Sweden, 233—Gustavus Wasa lends it his support, 245—its two first apostles, 245—orders a public discussion, 250—which ends ill, 250—church bells confiscated and religious orders silenced, 252—the bishop dishonoured, 254—the reformation established by the diet of Westeras, 258—a regular consecration obtained for a heretic archbishop of Upsala, 260.
- Reginald* or Ronald, Friar of Bologna, sent to England by St. Dominic, 158—establish schools, 158.
- Review*, Quarterly, its attacks on clerical celibacy answered, 497.
- Review*, Dublin, closing its tenth year, 538—its views of the Religious Movement from the beginning, 539—motives of, 544—future views, 545.
- Rosenkranz*, Professor, his religious opinions, 424.
- Round Towers*, 4.
- Saints*, early Irish, chiefly foreigners, 34—their graves may be ascertained, 34.
- Schools*, ancient Irish Dominican, 147.
- Science*, number of ignorant speculators in, 99—ill effect they produce upon the public

- mind, 101—anecdotes concerning them, 103—  
their vagaries upon mathematical subjects, 104—  
mistakes of the theologians, 111—they adopt and defend systems on mathematical grounds, 117—a false outcry made that science is persecuted, 120—a check upon false notions given by the Mechanics' Magazine.
- Scott*, Sir Walter, anecdote concerning him, 305—his narrow-minded opinions respecting Catholics exposed, 547.
- Scriptures*, a translation into Swedish ordered by the Catholic clergy prior to the Reformation, 251.
- Sewell*, Rev. W., unfairness of his writings, 454 sermon on 5th of November inconsistent in reasoning, 454—disclaimer of railing accusations, 457.
- Shakspeare*, The complete Concordance to, 555.
- Sheep*, variety in the breed, 71.
- Speculators*, misery produced to themselves by their supposed discoveries, 121.
- Strauss*, Dr., his religious opinions, 425.
- Strickland*, Miss, certain errors in her translation of Labanoff's collection of Queen Mary's letters, 198.
- Sunset*, Egyptian, 188.
- Supremacy of the Pope* ably upheld by Mr. Newman, 533.
- Sweden*, 229—when Christianity was introduced, 230—its early history, 231—states meet to elect a successor, 232—elect an archbishop, 233—a struggle commences, which ends in the destruction of Catholicity in Sweden, 233—administrator and senate excommunicated by Pope Leo, 235—King of Denmark appointed to enforce its execution, 235—Stockholm besieged by him, 235—dreadful severity suffered by the nobles, 237—Gustavus Wasa excites the people to rebellion, 240—he besieged Stockholm again, 243—reformation introduced, 247.
- Swine*, degenerate in some countries, 70.
- Tales*, Forest and Game Law, 554.
- Tertullian*, his opinion on celibacy, 509, 517.
- Temple*, Patrick, description of, 38.
- Theology*, impositions and blunders in, 112—mathematical speculations introduced into it, 117.
- Theogony*, The, of the Hindoos, 553.
- Thiers*, M. defects of his history, 286.
- Towers*, round, Irish, described, 4—theory of their Danish origin, how it arose, 6—confutation of, 6—why they were considered as fire temples of some Persian colony, 8—reasons of Vallancey, its chief supporter, 9—confuted, 9—Dr. O'Connor supports the Eastern hypothesis, upon what grounds, 14—Dr. Lanigan also, 17—Miss Beauford takes the same ground, 18—Mr. D'Alton's arguments on the same side considered, 19—the towers are compared by Mr. Windele to the Sardinian Nuraggs, and to towers on the banks of the Tivrie, 23—human bones found under them, 24—Mr. Windele's excavations, 24—urns found in the towers, 26—of what character, 26—the name of round tower a substitution for that of steeple, 37—they are to be considered as appertaining to churches, as belfreys, &c., 43—proved by the similarity of their architecture with that of the churches, 44—proved from ancient writers, 52—by a fragment of Brehon law concerning them, 53—their probable use as places of security, 54—as beacons, 56—as sanctuaries, 57.
- Treaty of Edinburgh*, important articles it contained, 206—Mary refuses to ratify it, 207.
- Trolle*, Gustavus, elected archbishop of Upsala, 233—is degraded, 234—returns with the Danish king, 237—opposes Wasa and is defeated, 241.
- Turenne*, Marshal, his family and descent, 285.
- Tyler*, errors in his history of Scotland, 206, 210, 211, 216.
- Upsala*, Church of, in Sweden, 231.
- University of Louvain*, 358.
- Universities*, Irish, establishment of first, 160—167—second university, 165—third university, 170.
- Protestant, in Germany, maintain Bauer as teacher in spite of his infidelity, 428.
- Urns* found in the Irish round towers, 26.
- Vallancey*, General, his theory concerning Irish round towers, confuted, 9—asserts that Zoroaster was well known in Irish history, 12.
- Vincent*, St. de Paul, his sympathy with the Irish, and proposal to aid them, 284.
- Virgin*, Blessed, beautiful defence and illustration of her devotion, by Mr. Newman, 533—her sublime place in heaven, 536.
- Voltaire*, his disparaging remarks upon Ireland, 299.
- Wasa*, Sir Gustavus, Swedish nobleman, 237—breaks his parole to join his compatriots, 238—his adventures in his own country, 239—his successes, 240—is opposed by Archbishop Trolle, whom he defeats, 241—is made administrator, 243—is elected king, 244—protects Olaus, disciple of Luther, 247—actively carries on the reformation, 248—orders a discussion of religious doctrines, 250—confiscates Church property, 252—dishonours the clergy, 254—calls a meeting of the states, 256—is opposed by the clergy and some of the nobles, 256—overcomes them, seizes their property, and overthrows the Church, 258—obtains the consecration of a new archbishop of Upsala, 260—and is crowned, 261—his private life, 262—and death, 265.
- Washington*, General, anecdote of, 311.
- Westeras*, Diet of, its consequences, 259.
- Wilkes*, anecdote of, 476.
- Windele*, Mr. his excavations under the Irish round towers, 24.
- Women*, their influence on society, 343.

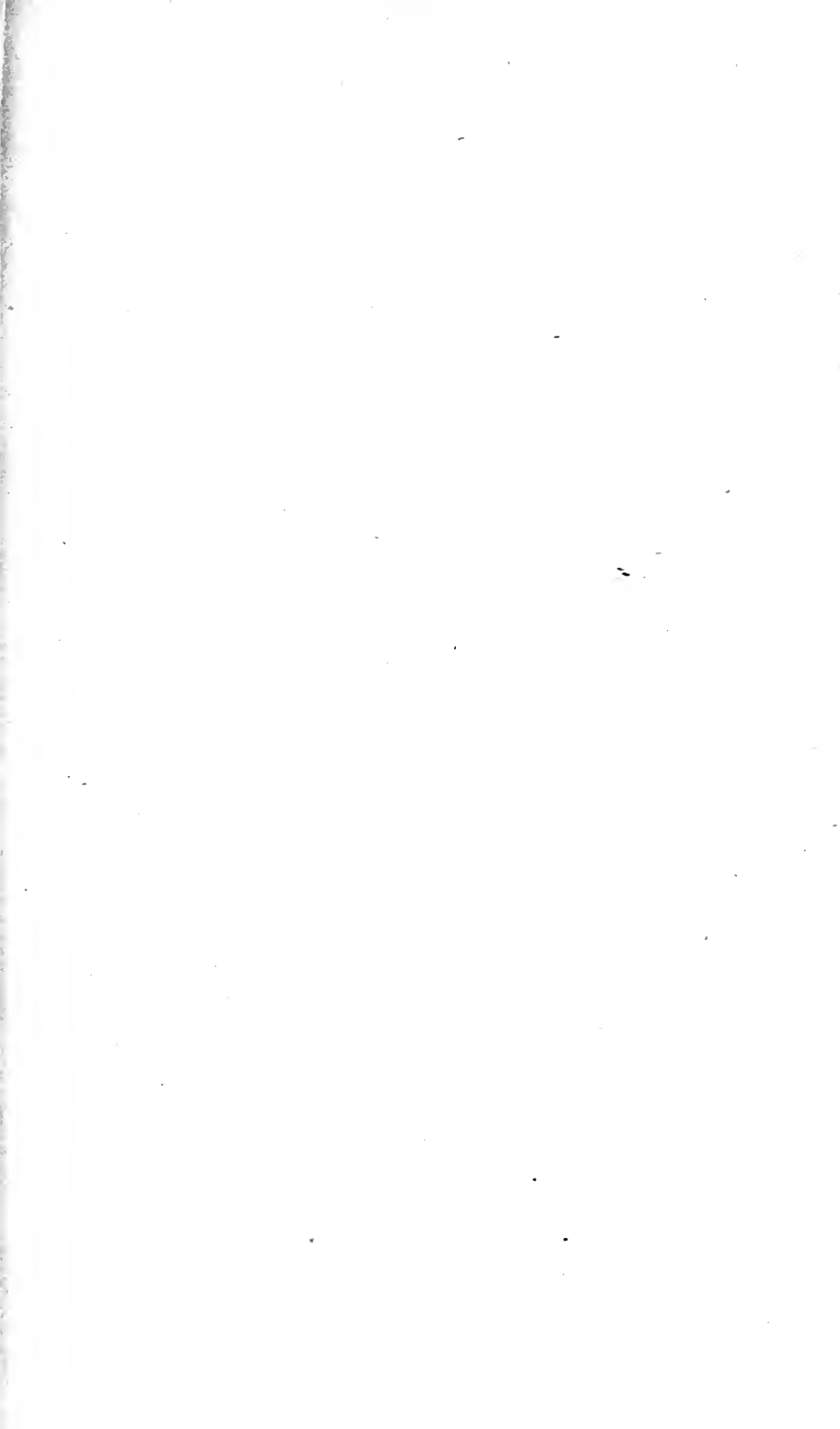


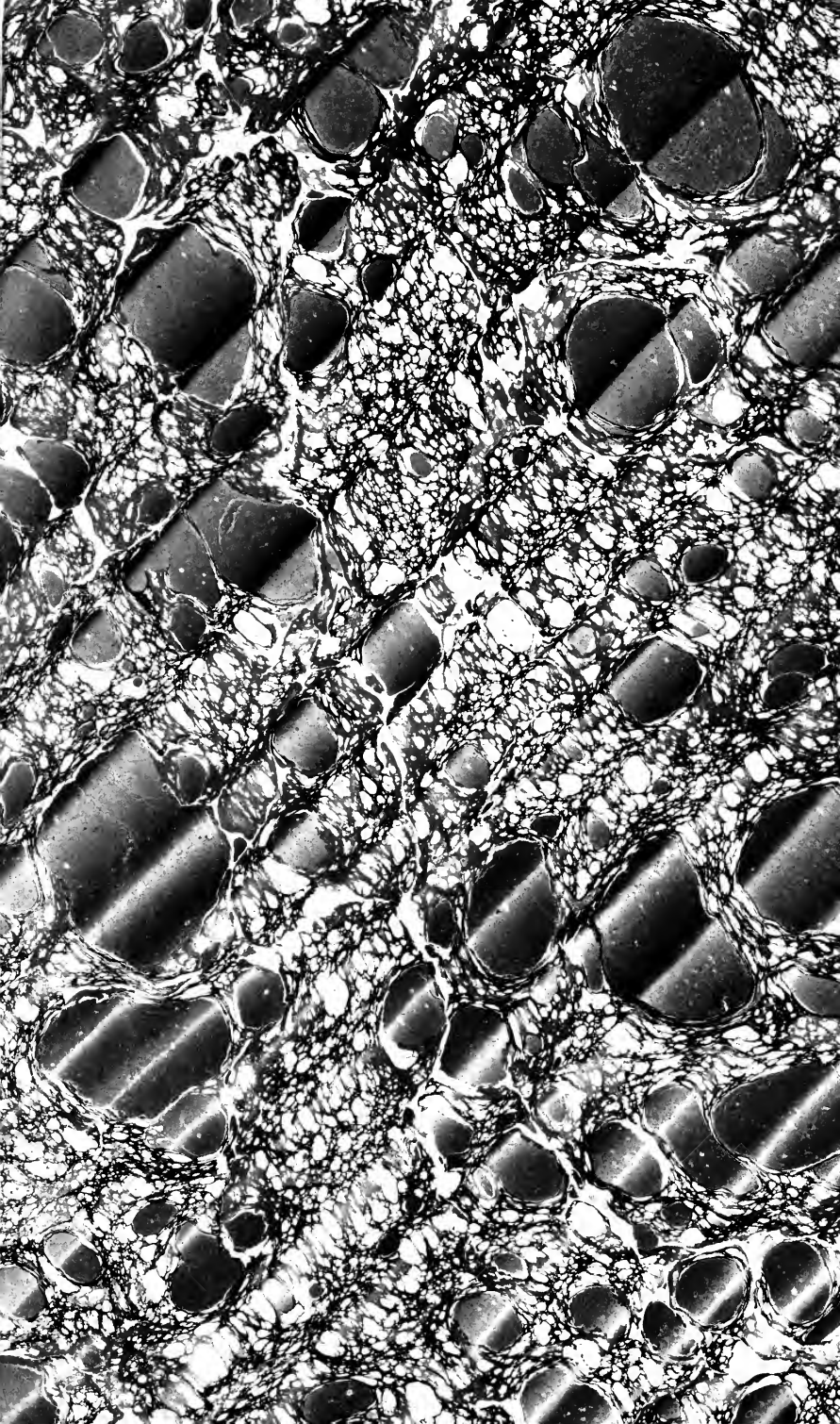
















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